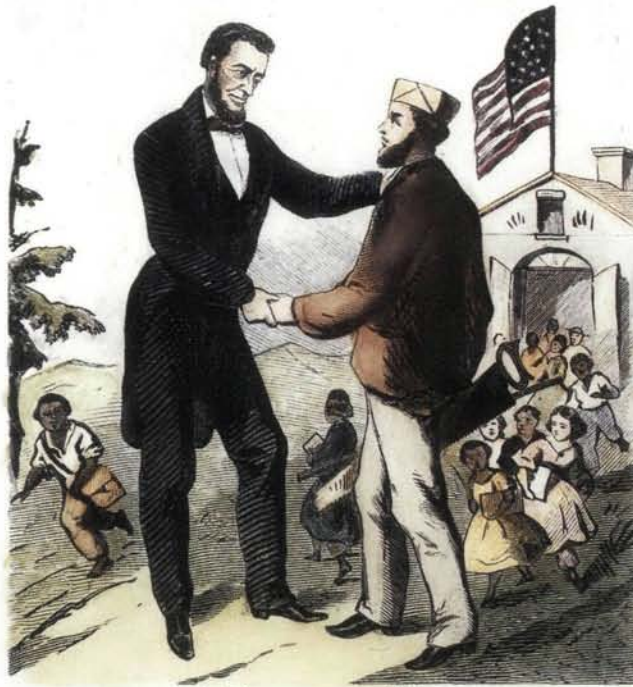


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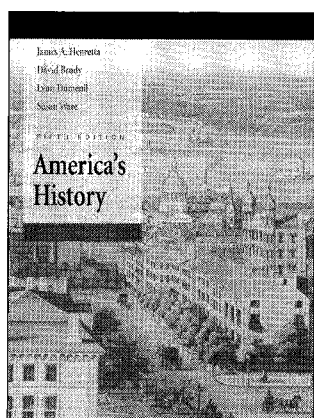


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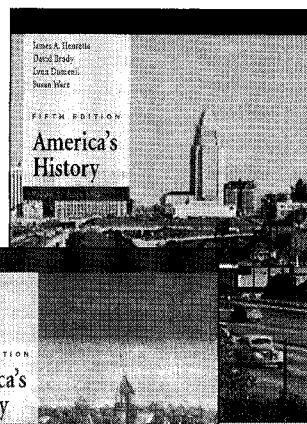
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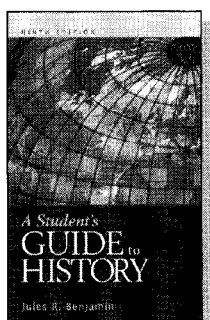
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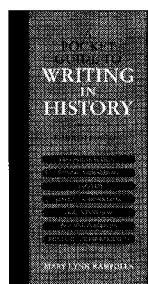
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## SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Professional Communications, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

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The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.





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## In This Issue

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This issue contains an American Historical Association Presidential Address, three articles, and a review essay. The presidential address analyzes the difficulties nations face in ending wars. The articles examine the cultural and political history of sensibility, the relationship between mass culture and news, and the contested role of women soldiers. The review essay assesses recent work on the history of human rights. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews. There is, though, a change in the classification and presentation of the reviews. Beginning with this issue, all reviews—books, film, other media—will be placed in the general topical, temporal, and spatial categories that have been used for books. Thus, for example, book reviews and film reviews on nineteenth-century Mexico will henceforth be in the same section. We hope this change will make the reviews more accessible and more useful for readers.

### *Presidential Address*

**James M. McPherson** uses his presidential address to examine the question of why nations find it harder to end a war than to start one. Like World War II, the United States Civil War did not end with a negotiated peace but with unconditional surrender by the losing armies. The issues over which the Civil War was fought—union versus disunion, freedom versus slavery—proved to be nonnegotiable. Nevertheless, during the war there were numerous efforts to achieve peace through negotiations. He argues that these efforts proceeded through three stages: foreign mediation, unofficial contacts, and quasi-official conversations. All failed. McPherson analyzes the aborted effort by Britain and France to mediate the conflict and end the war on the basis of Confederate independence in 1862, the unofficial contacts between Northern civilians and Confederate officials in 1864, and the Hampton Roads conference of February 1865, in which President Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of State William H. Seward met with three Confederate officials, including Vice-President Alexander Stephens. All of these efforts, he explains, foundered on the irreconcilable positions of Lincoln and Confederate President Jefferson Davis. As Lincoln put it in his message to Congress in December 1864, the central issue of union or disunion “can only be tried by war, and decided by victory.” In this way, McPherson’s chronicle of the failed quest to negotiate an end to this Civil War compels us to consider the unforeseen consequences of going to war.



## Articles

**Sarah Knott** explores the cultural and political history of “sensibility” in first the United States and, secondly, Britain and France, during and after the American war for independence. She takes as her point of departure the strained reactions to the execution of British “spy” John André. During the war, Knott argues, American officers used sensibility as a means of cohesion and competition, making strangely militarist and fraternal the decidedly heterosocial culture of sensibility they had once shared with fellow Britons. After the war, and in contrast to Britain, where sensibility was being discredited as excessive, feminizing, and foreign, elite Americans made sensibility—especially male sensibility—one basis for building the new nation. This American example, she suggests, in turn influenced the uses of sensibility in French revolutionary political culture. Knott’s article thus suggests how attention to military history helps us better understand the political cultures of the Age of Revolutions and the usually literary and domestic history of sensibility.

**Gregory Shaya** argues that historians can best understand the new mass culture of fin-de-siècle France by dropping the long-fashionable focus on the *flâneur*, the urban stroller immortalized by Charles Baudelaire (and later Walter Benjamin), in favor of a close examination of the *badaud*, the gawker or rubberneck. The *badaud*, so often disdained in nineteenth-century literary culture as dull and gaping, was taken up by the mass press of Paris and valorized as the model of a mass public—spontaneous, generous, and empathic—that came together outside the spell of class and politics. Steering between Habermasian models of the late nineteenth-century decline of the public sphere and recent historical studies that have emphasized mass culture’s role in forging authentic communities, Shaya argues that news and images of crime and catastrophe—and, most important, of the crowd of *badauds* that flocked to them—served to construct a new understanding of a mass public in France, a public of empathy to be contrasted with (abstract, reasonable) public opinion of the early nineteenth century. By enhancing our understanding of the cultural uses of news and the operating principles of the public sphere in France, Shaya addresses theoretical questions about mass culture of importance to historians who study various times and places.

**Melissa K. Stockdale** investigates the phenomenon of women soldiers in World War I. She takes as her prime example the revolutionary Women’s Battalions of Death in the Russian Army. Stockdale places her analysis within the Western tradition of armed civic virtue and its linkage of rights of modern citizenship with the citizen’s obligation to bear arms. The creation of the first government-sanctioned female combat units in modern history was, she argues, a product of the intersection of total war, national emergency, and democratizing revolution that profoundly affected ideas about gender roles and citizenship in Russia. Demonstrating that the women’s battalions were a national, mass movement that cut across class and political identities, Stockdale’s analysis illuminates the contingencies of Russian patriotism in a critical era. And she suggests why gender beliefs and practices, as well as the larger omission of the war experience from Russian

historical narratives for some seven decades, ensured that the story of these once-celebrated women soldiers would be largely forgotten. Stockdale's essay thus helps give the important issue of women's performance of citizenship through soldiering a new past.

### ***Review Essay***

**Kenneth Cmiel** surveys recent writing on the history of human rights. He asks why there has been, in the past ten years, a spate of new writing on the history of human rights politics. Cmiel answers by tying the new historiography to the more general optimism about human rights that emerged at the end of the Cold War. He argues that historians have taken two basic approaches to the subject: exploring how claims made in the name of universal rights have been implicated in concrete political situations, and examining the history of transnational activism. While both promise to tell us much about modern politics, he closes the essay by raising several cautionary points. First, since much of this recent historiography has been written by those sympathetic to human rights activism, he wonders how the recent past of human rights would look if approached from more critical perspectives. Second, he contends that there should be a better integration of the history of human rights activism with that of human rights atrocities. At present, they are too often treated separately. Finally, Cmiel asks us to consider whether the recent historiography is not a harbinger of something new but simply a footnote to a post-Cold War optimism that will not survive in the post-9/11 era. His essay thus provides a thoughtful and insightful introduction to this emerging body of scholarship.



JAMES M. MCPHERSON    Photograph by David Kelly Crow

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*Presidential Address*  
No Peace without Victory, 1861–1865

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JAMES M. McPHERSON

FOR AT LEAST THE PAST TWO CENTURIES, nations have found it harder to end a war than to start one. Americans relearned that bitter lesson in Vietnam and, having apparently forgotten it, have been forced to learn it all over again in Iraq. The difficulties of achieving peace are compounded when the war aims of a belligerent include regime change in the enemy polity. In the Napoleonic Wars, the coalition forces finally ended the conflict when they forced Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte to abdicate—twice. In World War I, Woodrow Wilson insisted that the Allies would negotiate only with a democratic government in Germany, and the armistice did not go into effect until the kaiser abdicated. In World War II, the Allies demanded the unconditional surrender of Axis governments in order to destroy these governments and install new ones in their place. Both sides in the American Civil War feared that regime change would be the result of losing the war. Defeat would blot the Confederate States of America from the face of the earth. Confederate victory would destroy the *United States* and create a precedent for further balkanization of the territory once governed under the Constitution of 1789. Both antagonists foresaw these potential consequences in 1861 and embraced war as the only alternative. By 1863, however, the death or wounding of half a million soldiers had replaced the *rage militaire* of 1861 with a longing for peace. This longing was expressed in music, especially the songs *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground* and *When This Cruel War Is Over*. Both expressed a profound desire for an end to the killing and suffering. “Weeping, Sad and Lonely,” begins the refrain of *When This Cruel War Is Over*. “We are tired of war on the old Camp ground,” sang those at home and in the armies. “Many are the hearts that are weary tonight, Wishing for the war to cease.”<sup>1</sup> Yet the war did not cease; many wondered whether this cruel war would ever be over.

The American Civil War could not end with a negotiated peace because the issues over which it was fought—Union versus Disunion, Freedom versus Slavery—proved to be non-negotiable. This was a new experience for Americans. The American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican-American War had all been brought to an end by peace treaties. The Confederate government would have been happy to bring the Civil War to an end in the same way, for a negotiated treaty

<sup>1</sup> Paul Glass and Louis C. Singer, *Singing Soldiers: A History of the Civil War in Song* (New York, 1975), 152–53, 267–69; Willard A. Heaps and Porter W. Heaps, *The Singing Sixties: The Spirit of Civil War Days Drawn from the Music of the Times* (Norman, Okla., 1960), 159–60, 224–26.



with the United States would have constituted *de jure* as well as *de facto* recognition of Confederate sovereignty as a separate nation. For that reason, the Lincoln administration refused to consider formal negotiations as a means to end the war.

This refusal did not prevent numerous efforts to achieve peace through negotiations, official or otherwise. These efforts proceeded through three stages: foreign mediation, unofficial contacts, quasi-official conversations. All failed.

Most civil wars tempt foreign powers to intervene either to end a conflict that threatens their own interests or to support one side or the other. The American Civil War was no exception. The French and British governments believed their nations had a large stake in the bloodbath occurring across the Atlantic. Emperor Napoleon III's intervention in Mexico's own civil war would go better if a Disunited States could not enforce the Monroe Doctrine. The Union naval blockade and Confederate contracts for the building of warships in English shipyards threatened to drag Britain into an unwanted war with the United States. The American South had furnished three-quarters of the cotton for the textile industries that were leading sectors in the economies of both countries, especially Britain. In 1861, key officials in Britain and France believed that the North could never reestablish control over 750,000 square miles of territory defended by a determined and courageous people. For all these reasons, the world's two leading powers contemplated making an offer of mediation to bring an end to the American war. Such an offer would have been tantamount to recognition of Confederate independence.

The remarkable string of Northern naval and military victories from February to May 1862, however, forced a temporary reconsideration of this position. Union arms captured parts of the south Atlantic coast, gained control of much of the South's interior river system and of at least 50,000 square miles of Confederate territory, captured New Orleans, Nashville, and Memphis, won the major battles of Fort Donelson, Pea Ridge, and Shiloh, while General George B. McClellan's powerful Army of the Potomac penetrated to within six miles of Richmond, whose fall seemed imminent.

These events had a signal impact abroad. From Paris, the American minister to France wrote to Secretary of State William H. Seward in April 1862 that "the change in the condition of affairs at home has produced a change, if possible more striking abroad. There is little more said just now as to . . . the propriety of an early recognition of the south."<sup>2</sup> And Charles Francis Adams, American minister to Britain, reported that, as a consequence of Union victories, "the pressure for interference here has disappeared." His son Henry Adams, private secretary to the minister, added that "the talk of intervention, only two months ago so loud as to take a semi-official tone, is now out of the minds of everyone."<sup>3</sup>

But in the summer of 1862, the Confederacy picked itself up from the mat at the count of nine and counterpunched so hard that by September it had knocked Union forces back on the ropes. Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia drove

<sup>2</sup> William L. Dayton to William H. Seward, April 17, 1862, in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Affairs of the United States, 1862*, part 1 (Washington, D.C., 1863), 333.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Francis Adams to William H. Seward, March 13, 1862, in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Affairs of the United States, 1862*, part 1, 48; Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Jr., March 15, 1862, in *The Letters of Henry Adams*, Vol. 1: 1858-1868, J. C. Levenson, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 284-85.



McClellan away from Richmond in the Seven Days Battles, humiliated Union arms at Second Manassas, and invaded Maryland, while western Confederate armies recaptured part of Tennessee and invaded Kentucky. These developments reopened the question of foreign mediation. The semi-official government newspaper in Paris, the *Constitutionnel*, urged Northern leaders to “listen at last to the voice of humanity” and “accept mediation” to end “a war disastrous to the interests of humanity.”<sup>4</sup>

In London, the powerful *Times* demanded that the British Cabinet “stop this effusion of blood by mediation,” while the *Morning Post*, semi-official voice of Prime Minister Palmerston’s government, proclaimed bluntly that the Confederacy had “established its claim to be independent.”<sup>5</sup> Chancellor of the Exchequer William Gladstone agreed. “Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South,” said Gladstone in a speech at Newcastle, “have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either; they have made a nation.” Gladstone privately urged his colleagues to acknowledge “that the South cannot be conquered . . . It is our absolute duty to recognise . . . that Southern independence is established.”<sup>6</sup>

By September 1862, Palmerston and his foreign secretary, Lord John Russell, the two men whose opinion counted most, were well-nigh ready to agree with Gladstone. As the Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac into Maryland, Palmerston wrote to Russell that Union forces had “got a very complete smashing” at Second Manassas, “and it seems not altogether unlikely that still greater disasters await them, and that even Washington or Baltimore might fall into the hands of the Confederates.” If something like that happened, “would it not be time for us to consider whether England and France might not address the contending parties and recommend an arrangement on the basis of separation?” Russell concurred. Palmerston thereupon informed Gladstone of a plan to hold a Cabinet meeting in October to hammer out a joint proposal with France to the Union and Confederate governments for “an Armistice and Cessation of the Blockades with a View to Negotiations on the basis of Separation,” to be followed by official diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy.<sup>7</sup>

Secretary of State Seward had previously made clear that the United States would reject any offer of mediation and would break relations with any government that recognized the Confederacy. But if the invasions of Maryland and Kentucky were crowned with success, the Lincoln administration might be forced by circumstances and by the growing antiwar movement in the North to change its

<sup>4</sup> *Constitutionnel*, July 19, June 7, 1862.

<sup>5</sup> *The Times*, July 17, 1862; *Morning Post*, quoted in *New York Tribune*, July 30, 1862.

<sup>6</sup> *The Times*, October 9, 1862; Gladstone to Lord John Russell, August 30, 1862, Gladstone to William Stuart, September 8, 1862, in Gladstone Letterbooks, quoted in Howard Jones, *Abraham Lincoln and the New Birth of Freedom* (Lincoln, Neb., 1999), 93.

<sup>7</sup> Palmerston to Russell, September 14, 1861, Russell to Palmerston, September 17, 1862, Lord Russell Papers, Public Record Office, London, quoted in James V. Murfin, *The Gleam of Bayonets: The Battle of Antietam and the Maryland Campaign of 1862* (Baton Rouge, La., 1965), 394, 396–97; Palmerston to Gladstone, September 24, 1862, in *Gladstone and Palmerston, Being the Correspondence of Lord Palmerston with Mr. Gladstone, 1861–1865*, Phillip Guedalla, ed. (Covent Garden, 1928), 232–33.

tune. As Palmerston put it: "If the Federals sustain a great defeat . . . [their] Cause will be manifestly hopeless . . . and the iron should be struck while it is hot."<sup>8</sup>

As matters turned out, however, the Federals did not sustain a great defeat. Quite the contrary, they turned back the Confederate invasions at the Battle of Antietam on September 17 and the Battle of Perryville in Kentucky on October 8. These events, especially Antietam, caused Palmerston to back away from the idea of mediation. The necessary condition for such an endeavor, he said, would have been "the great success of the South against the North. That state of things seemed ten days ago to be approaching," but at the Battle of Antietam "its advance has been lately checked." Thus "the whole matter is full of difficulty," and nothing could be done until the situation became more clear. By October 22, it was clear to Palmerston that Confederate defeats had ended any chance for successful mediation. "I am therefore inclined," Palmerston wrote Lord Russell, "to change the opinion I wrote you when the Confederates seemed to be carrying all before them . . . We must continue to be lookers-on till the war shall have taken a more decided turn."<sup>9</sup>

Russell and Gladstone, along with Louis Napoleon, did not give up so easily. The French asked the British government to join in a proposal for a six months' armistice in the American war during which the blockade would be lifted, cotton exports would be renewed, and peace negotiations could begin. France also approached Russia, which refused to take part in such an obviously pro-Confederate scheme. On November 12, the British Cabinet also rejected it.<sup>10</sup>

Even then, Napoleon did not give up. Unrest among unemployed French textile workers inspired a new effort in January 1863 to bring the belligerents together for talks. There was no proposal this time for an armistice and no French offer of mediation. Rather, France's foreign minister sent a note to the U.S. State Department urging negotiations with the Confederates even as the fighting continued. Good precedents existed for such a procedure. The Americans and British had negotiated during the revolution and the War of 1812; the United States and Mexico had done the same during the war of 1846–1848. Horace Greeley, quixotic editor of the powerful *New York Tribune*, who fancied himself a peace-maker, threw his support to this effort and met personally with the French minister to the United States.

An angry Seward urged Henry Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, to stomp hard on Greeley for practicing diplomacy without a license. Raymond was a political ally of Seward, and the *Times* was a quasi-official spokesman for the Lincoln administration. Having no love for Greeley, Raymond was happy to oblige. In an editorial on January 29, he condemned Greeley as a fool and declared that no peace was possible except on the basis of the Confederacy's unconditional surrender. "*The war must go on until the Rebellion is conquered*," he wrote. "There

<sup>8</sup> Palmerston to Russell, September 23, 1862, Russell Papers, quoted in Murfin, *Gleam of Bayonets*, 399–400.

<sup>9</sup> Palmerston to Russell, October 2, 22, 1862, Russell Papers, quoted in Ephraim Douglass Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 2 vols. (New York, 1925), 2: 43–44, 54–55.

<sup>10</sup> Howard Jones, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 210–23. See also Frank Merli and Theodore A. Wilson, "The British Cabinet and the Confederacy: Autumn 1862," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65 (1970): 239–62.

is no alternative . . . Our people will . . . never sell or betray their national birthright, and above all they will never consent, under any circumstances, that any foreign Power shall dictate the destiny or decide the fate of this Republic.”<sup>11</sup> For his part, Seward told a colleague that he would consent to hold discussions with Confederate representatives “when Louis Napoleon was prepared to consider the dismemberment of France, but not till then!” Seward made the same point in more diplomatic language to the French foreign minister.<sup>12</sup>

That ended the matter. Meanwhile, the British developed alternative sources of raw cotton from Egypt and India. A growing trickle of cotton from the South also made it through the blockade. Never again did the Confederacy come so close to foreign intervention and recognition as in the fall of 1862. Thereafter, the burden of peacemaking efforts shifted to the protagonists themselves. However, so long as the Lincoln administration insisted on the unconditional surrender of the Confederacy and Jefferson Davis’s administration insisted on unconditional recognition of Confederate independence, the chances for a negotiated peace appeared nil. And Abraham Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, raised the stakes of victory or defeat for both antagonists. Nevertheless, Union military triumphs at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, and in Arkansas during the second half of 1863 encouraged a belief in the North that war-weary Southerners might be ready to throw in the towel and return to the Union. In December 1863, Lincoln issued a Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, offering pardons to most Confederates who would take an oath of allegiance to the United States and agree to obey all laws and proclamations concerning emancipation.<sup>13</sup> In effect, this was a retail policy of unconditional surrender.

Because only a small percentage of Confederates took advantage of Lincoln’s offer, however, it did not promise to bring this cruel war to an end anytime soon. More promising were the military campaigns planned for 1864. With Ulysses S. Grant now in Virginia as general in chief of Union armies and his principal subordinate William T. Sherman in command of an army group in Georgia, the Northern people expected these heavy hitters to crush the rebellion by the Fourth of July. The initial over-optimistic reports from the front seemed to confirm this confidence. “GLORIOUS NEWS . . . IMMENSE REBEL LOSSES,” blazoned the headlines in the usually restrained *New York Times*. “The Virginia Campaign approaches a Glorious consummation,” added the *New York Herald*. “Our long night of doubt and suspense is past.” Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune* proclaimed that “Lee’s Army as an effective force has practically ceased to exist” and “LIBERTY—UNION—PEACE” were nigh.<sup>14</sup> At the end of May 1864, Greeley remained confident that this “mortal” contest between “Truth and Error,

<sup>11</sup> *New York Times*, January 29, 1863. See also *New York Tribune*, January 9, 14, 22, 1863.

<sup>12</sup> Seward quoted in *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, Vol. 3: *The Civil War 1860–1865*, Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds. (New York, 1952), 293, entry of February 1, 1863. This affair is analyzed at length in Lynn M. Case and Warren F. Spencer, *The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy* (Philadelphia, 1970), 384–97; and in Daniel B. Carroll, *Henri Mercier and the American Civil War* (Princeton, N.J., 1971), 251–69.

<sup>13</sup> Roy C. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1952–55), 7: 53–56.

<sup>14</sup> *New York Times*, May 9, 1864; *New York Herald*, May 14, 1864; *New York Tribune*, May 14, 1864.

between Absolute Right and Absolute Wrong," would soon end with "the unconditional surrender of the 'Confederacy.'" <sup>15</sup>

Within six weeks, however, the mood of the mercurial Greeley had swung by 180 degrees. And Greeley's growing despair reflected that of the Northern people. Instead of winning the war by the Fourth of July, the two principal Union armies were bogged down in front of Richmond and Atlanta after suffering a combined 95,000 casualties in the most concentrated carnage of the war. In the Army of the Potomac, the number of casualties during the two months from May 5 to July 4 were nearly two-thirds of their total in *the previous three years*.

Northern despondency was all the greater because of the euphoric expectations at the beginning of these campaigns. "Who shall revive the withered hopes that bloomed at the opening of General Grant's campaign?" asked an editorial in the *New York World* on July 12. The stalemate had become "a national humiliation," declared the *World*. "This war, as now conducted, is a failure without hope of other issue than the success of the rebellion." <sup>16</sup> With unhappy timing, Lincoln on July 18 issued a call for 500,000 more volunteers, with the deficiencies in meeting quotas to be met by a new draft. This call was "a cry of distress," lamented the *World*. "Who is responsible for the terrible and unavailing waste of life which renders five hundred thousand new men necessary so soon after the opening of a campaign that promised to be triumphant?" <sup>17</sup>

The *World* was a Democratic newspaper, and with the presidential election approaching it left readers with no doubt that Lincoln was responsible for this humiliating failure. But many Republicans were equally despondent. "The immense slaughter of our brave men chills and sickens us all," wrote Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles. "It is impossible for the country to bear up under these monstrous errors and wrongs." A State Department translator visited Philadelphia in early August. "What a difference between now and last year!" he wrote in his diary. "No signs of any enthusiasm, no flags; most of the best men gloomy and almost despairing." <sup>18</sup> The staunch New York Republican George Templeton Strong could "see no bright spot anywhere." Even Sarah Butler, wife of General Benjamin Butler, a favorite of radical Republicans, wondered "what is all this struggling and fighting for? This ruin and death to thousands of families? . . . What advancement of mankind to compensate for the present horrible calamities?" <sup>19</sup>

Sarah Butler's plaintive question has been asked in all wars. But it had special force in the terrible summer of 1864. As before in this war, the peace wing of the Democratic Party—the so-called Copperheads who opposed war as a means to restore the Union—came to the fore when events on the battlefield did not go well for Union arms. The plunge in Northern morale augured well for a Democratic victory on a peace platform in the presidential election. "Stop the War!" demanded

<sup>15</sup> *New York Tribune*, May 31, 1864.

<sup>16</sup> *New York World*, July 12, 30, August 6, 1864.

<sup>17</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7: 448–49; *New York World*, July 19, 1864.

<sup>18</sup> *Diary of Gideon Welles*, 3 vols., Howard K. Beale, ed. (New York, 1960), 2: 44, 73, entries of June 2 and July 11, 1864; Adam Gurowski, *Diary*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1862–66), 3: 254, entry of August 19, 1864.

<sup>19</sup> *Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 474, entry of August 19, 1864; Sarah Butler to Benjamin Butler, June 19, 1864, in *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War*, 5 vols., Jesse A. Marshall, ed. (Norwood, Mass., 1917), 4: 418.

editorials in Copperhead newspapers. "If nothing else would impress upon the people the absolute necessity of stopping this war, its utter failure to accomplish any results . . . would be sufficient." A Boston Peace Democrat believed Northerners were becoming convinced that "the Confederacy perhaps can never really be beaten, that the attempts to win might after all be too heavy a load to carry, and that perhaps it is time to agree to a peace without victory."<sup>20</sup>

Several Democratic district conventions passed resolutions calling for a cease-fire and peace negotiations. Confederate agents in Canada, who were subsidizing several Democratic newspapers and politicians across the border, encouraged the belief that such negotiations might pave the way for eventual reunion. First might come "a treaty of amity and commerce," suggested one of the Confederate agents, Clement C. Clay, followed "possibly" by "an alliance defensive, or even, for some purposes, both defensive and offensive." If Peace Democrats were taken in by such doubletalk, wrote Clay to Confederate Secretary of State Judah Benjamin, who oversaw these Canadian operations, he was careful not to dispel their "fond delusion."<sup>21</sup>

By July 1864, the peace contagion had spread well beyond the Copperheads. The observation by the *Richmond Dispatch*, the Confederacy's largest newspaper, that a majority of Northern voters would support peace even at the price of Confederate independence may not have been far wrong. "They are sick at heart of the senseless waste of blood and treasure," declared the *Dispatch*. In New York, George Templeton Strong was "most seriously perturbed" by the "increasing prevalence" of "aspirations for 'peace at any price.'" The astute Republican politico Thurlow Weed wrote to Seward in August that Lincoln's reelection was "an impossibility" because "the people are wild for peace."<sup>22</sup>

Horace Greeley agreed with this assessment. In early July, he launched a bizarre, failed peace initiative that nevertheless had large consequences. From a self-styled "intermediary," Greeley received word that two of the Confederate agents in Canada were accredited by Jefferson Davis to negotiate a peace settlement. The credulous editor enclosed this information in a letter to Lincoln on July 7. "Our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country," Greeley declaimed, "longs for peace—shudders at the prospect of fresh conscriptions, of further wholesale devastations, and of new rivers of human blood." Therefore, "I entreat you to submit overtures for pacification to the Southern insurgents."<sup>23</sup>

Lincoln did not believe for a moment that the Confederate agents had genuine negotiating powers. And even if they did, the Union president knew that his Southern counterpart's inflexible condition for peace was Confederate indepen-

<sup>20</sup> *Columbus Crisis*, August 24, 1864, quoted in Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads* (New York, 1942), 174; *Boston Pilot*, quoted in Thomas H. O'Connor, *Civil War Boston: Home Front and Battlefield* (Boston, 1997), 202.

<sup>21</sup> Clement C. Clay to Judah P. Benjamin, August 11, 1864, in *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880–1901), Series IV, vol. 3, p. 585 (hereafter, *OR*). For the activities of Confederate agents in Canada, see Oscar A. Kinchen, *Confederate Operations in Canada and the North* (North Quincy, Mass., 1970), esp. 35–103.

<sup>22</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, July 23, 1864; *Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 470, entry of August 6, 1864; Weed to Seward, August 22, 1864, in Abraham Lincoln Papers (Robert Todd Lincoln Collection), Library of Congress.

<sup>23</sup> Greeley to Lincoln, July 7, 1864, Lincoln Papers.



dence. Yet, given the despondent Northern mood, Lincoln could not appear to rebuff any peace overture, however spurious. He also thought he saw a chance to rally Northern opinion by demonstrating that an acceptable peace was possible only through military victory. So Lincoln immediately sent Greeley a telegram authorizing him to bring to Washington under safe conduct "any person anywhere professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery."<sup>24</sup>

This put Greeley on the spot by making him a guarantor of the agents' credentials and a witness to Lincoln's good-faith willingness to negotiate. Greeley balked, but Lincoln prodded him into action by sending his private secretary John Hay to join Greeley at Niagara Falls, Canada, to meet with the Confederates. The president was willing to compromise his principle of refusing to acknowledge officially the existence of the Confederate government by insisting on restoration of the Union as a prerequisite for negotiations. Hay carried to Niagara Falls a letter from Lincoln addressed "To Whom It May Concern," stating that "Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war with the United States will be received and considered by the Executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points."<sup>25</sup>

This was an immensely important document that framed all discussions of peace for the rest of the war. Lincoln intended it not only to lay out his own conditions but also to elicit and publicize the Confederacy's unacceptable counteroffer. But on this occasion, the rebel agents outmaneuvered Lincoln. They admitted to Greeley and Hay that they had no authority to negotiate peace but then released to the press a letter to Greeley accusing Lincoln of sabotaging the negotiations by prescribing conditions he knew to be unacceptable to the Confederacy. Shedding crocodile tears, they expressed "profound regret" that the Confederacy's genuine desire for a peace "mutually just, honorable, and advantageous to the North and South" had not been met with equal "moderation and equity" by President Lincoln. Instead, his "To Whom It May Concern" letter meant "no bargaining, no negotiations, no truces with rebels except to bury their dead . . . If there be any citizen of the Confederate States who has clung to the hope that peace is possible," Lincoln's terms "will strip from their eyes the last film of such delusion." The Confederate agents urged those "patriots and Christians" in the North "who shrink appalled from the illimitable vistas of private misery and public calamity" presented by Lincoln's policy of perpetual war to "recall the abused authority and vindicate the outraged civilization of their country" by voting Lincoln out of office in November.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Lincoln to Greeley, July 9, 1864, in Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7: 435.

<sup>25</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7: 440–42, 451; *Inside Lincoln's White House: The Complete Civil War Diary of John Hay*, Michael Burlingame and John R. Turner Ettlinger, eds. (Carbondale, Ill., 1997), 224–29, two memoranda written by Hay circa July 21 and after July 22, 1864; John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, 10 vols. (New York, 1890), 9: 184–92.

<sup>26</sup> Clement C. Clay and James Holcombe to Greeley, July 21, 1864, in *New York Times*, July 22. This letter was published in many Northern newspapers on July 22 or 23 and appeared in Southern newspapers soon after, with extensive editorial commentary. In a letter to Jefferson Davis on July 25, Clay and Holcombe explained that their purpose in this affair had been to "throw upon the Federal

This letter was, as the *New York Times* noted editorially, “an electioneering dodge on a great scale” to damage Lincoln “by making him figure as an obstacle to peace.” It worked. As Clement C. Clay reported with satisfaction to Judah Benjamin, Northern Democratic newspapers “denounce Mr. Lincoln’s manifesto in strong terms, and many Republican presses (among them the *New York Tribune*) admit it was a blunder . . . From all that I can see or hear, I am satisfied that this correspondence has tended strongly toward consolidating the Democracy and dividing the Republicans.”<sup>27</sup>

Greeley did indeed criticize Lincoln both publicly and privately. The president, he wrote in an editorial, made “a very grave mistake” by announcing his own terms instead of asking the rebels to state *their* terms first.<sup>28</sup> In a remarkable letter to Lincoln on August 9, Greeley chastised the president for giving the impression that his policy was “No truce! No armistice! No negotiation! No mediation! Nothing but [Confederate] surrender at discretion! I never heard of such fatuity before.” Greeley probably had in mind an editorial in the *New York Times* that clearly spoke for the administration. “Peace is a consummation devoutly to be wished,” declared the *Times*, but not peace at the price of Union. “War alone can save the Republic . . . If the Southern people will not give us peace as their fellow-countrymen, we shall secure it as their conquerors. We know this is not gracious language. But it is native fact.” Greeley deplored such language, he told Lincoln, because “to the general eye, it now seems the rebels are anxious to negotiate and that we repulse their advances . . . If this impression be not removed we shall be beaten out of sight next November.”<sup>29</sup>

Greeley was right about the potential political consequences of this affair. The Confederates had scored a propaganda triumph and given the Copperheads a boost. Lincoln sought to neutralize the setback by sanctioning publication of the results of another and almost simultaneous peace contact. On July 17, two Northerners met under flag of truce with Jefferson Davis and Judah Benjamin in Richmond. They were James R. Gilmore, a journalist, and Colonel James Jaquess of the Seventy-third Illinois, on furlough and temporarily resuming his peacetime vocation as a Methodist clergyman who wished to stop fellow Christians from slaughtering each other. Lincoln had given them a pass through Union lines in Virginia with the understanding that their mission was strictly unofficial—although they were well acquainted with Lincoln’s preconditions for peace. Davis decided to meet with them because, like Lincoln, he had to consider the desire for peace among his own people and could not appear to spurn any opportunity for negotiations.

Gilmore and Jaquess informally repeated the terms Lincoln had offered in his amnesty proclamation the previous December: reunion, emancipation, and am-

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Government the odium of putting an end to all negotiations.” Clement C. Clay Papers, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C., quoted in Larry E. Nelson, *Bullets, Ballots, and Rhetoric: Confederate Policy for the United States Presidential Contest of 1864* (University, Ala., 1980), 67.

<sup>27</sup> *New York Times*, July 23, 1864; Clay to Benjamin, August 11, 1864, in *OR*, Series IV, vol. 3, pp. 585–86.

<sup>28</sup> *Independent*, July 26, 1864; *New York Tribune*, August 5, 1864.

<sup>29</sup> Greeley to Lincoln, August 9, 1864, Lincoln Papers; *New York Times*, July 25, 1864.

nesty. According to Gilmore's account, Davis responded angrily: "Amnesty, Sir, applies to criminals. We have committed no crime. At your door lies all the misery and crime of this war . . . We are fighting for Independence—and that, or extermination, we *will* have . . . You may emancipate every negro in the Confederacy, but *we will be free*. We will govern ourselves . . . if we have to see every Southern plantation sacked, and every Southern city in flames."<sup>30</sup>

Upon his return north, Gilmore published a brief account of the meeting in a Boston newspaper and a subsequent detailed narrative in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Lincoln approved these publications because they shifted part of the burden of refusing to negotiate from Lincoln's shoulders to Davis's.<sup>31</sup> The *New York Times* immediately grasped this point. The Gilmore-Jaquess mission, declared the *Times*, "proved of extreme service . . . because it established that Jeff. Davis will listen to no proposals of peace that do not embrace disunion . . . In view of the efforts now being made by the Peace Party of the North to delude our people into a belief that peace is now practicable without disunion," Davis's words were "peculiarly timely and valuable."<sup>32</sup>

The *Richmond Enquirer* also recognized that Gilmore and Jaquess had "provoked" Davis into "expressions of hostility which might be represented as a refusal on our part to treat of peace" in order to "rally the war party" in the North. The *Enquirer* then proceeded to use this incident to fire up the Southern war party. To the Northern demand for unconditional surrender, declared this newspaper, the Southern people responded with the "sole and simple condition" of "unconditional recognition" of Confederate independence . . . They will die with arms in their hands before they disgrace this demand by any qualification of their rights."<sup>33</sup>

The publicity surrounding these peace overtures should have put to rest the Copperhead argument that the North could have peace and reunion without military victory. But it did not. At the rock-bottom point of Northern morale in August 1864—when, as Thurlow Weed observed, "the people are wild for peace"—Democrats were able to slide around the awkward problem of Davis's conditions by pointing to Lincoln's second condition—"abandonment of slavery"—as the real stumbling block to peace. Across the spectrum from Copperheads to War Democrats, and even beyond to conservative Republicans, came denunciations of the president for his "prostitution of the war for the Union into an abolition crusade."<sup>34</sup> Democratic newspapers proclaimed that "tens of thousands of white men must bite the dust to allay the negro mania of the President." For that purpose, "our soil is drenched in blood . . . the widows wail and the children hunger." Emancipation was

<sup>30</sup> No official record of this meeting was kept. This account and the quotation are taken from Gilmore's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* 8 (September 1864): 372–83. Gilmore wrote a briefer version describing the meeting for the *Boston Transcript* of July 22, 1864, and a longer one in his memoirs many years later. These versions vary slightly in detail but agree in substance, as does Judah Benjamin's account in a circular sent to Confederate envoys abroad after Gilmore's article was published in the *Atlantic*. Benjamin to James M. Mason, August 25, 1864, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894–1922), Series II, vol. 3, pp. 1190–94.

<sup>31</sup> James R. Gilmore, "A Suppressed Chapter of History," *Atlantic Monthly* 59 (April 1887): 435–36; Gilmore, *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War* (Boston, 1898), 289.

<sup>32</sup> *New York Times*, August 20, 1864.

<sup>33</sup> *Semi-Weekly Richmond Enquirer*, August 26, 30, 1864.

<sup>34</sup> *New York World*, August 15, 1864.

now Lincoln's sole purpose; "the idea of restoring the Union no longer troubles the Executive brain."<sup>35</sup>

The most powerful Democratic newspaper was the *New York World*, which was closely affiliated with General George B. McClellan, whom the party was about to nominate for president. The *World* claimed that Lincoln "prefers to tear a half million more white men from their homes . . . to continue a war for the abolition of slavery rather than entertain a proposition for the return of the seceded states with their old rights." Never mind that no such proposition existed; Democratic newspapers convinced thousands of Northern voters that the South would have accepted such a proposition if Lincoln had not made abolition a condition of peace. The *New York Herald*, an independent but Democratic-leaning paper with the country's largest circulation, opined that Lincoln had signed his political death warrant by making abandonment of slavery "a *ne plus ultra* in the terms of peace."<sup>36</sup>

Even some Republican editors expressed "painful and perplexing surprise" that Lincoln had made "the abolition of slavery the principal object of prosecuting the war."<sup>37</sup> Horace Greeley, who two years earlier had criticized Lincoln's slowness to act against slavery, now condemned him for insisting on what Greeley had then demanded. "We do not contend," wrote Greeley in a widely reprinted *Tribune* editorial, "that reunion is possible or endurable only on the basis of Universal Freedom . . . War has its exigencies which cannot be foreseen . . . and Peace is often desirable on other terms than those of our own choice." George Templeton Strong sadly concluded that Lincoln's emancipation condition was a "blunder" that "may cost him his election . . . [It has] given the disaffected and discontented a weapon that doubles their power of mischief."<sup>38</sup>

Henry J. Raymond of the *New York Times*, who doubled as Republican national chairman for this election campaign, thought he saw a way out of the dilemma. Lincoln "*did* say that he *would* receive and consider propositions for peace . . . *if* they embraced the integrity of the Union *and* the abandonment of Slavery," wrote Raymond in an important editorial, "but he did *not* say he would not embrace them unless they embraced both conditions." If Jefferson Davis were suddenly to offer peace and reunion, wrote Raymond, "we believe that President Lincoln would thereupon stop the war. We do not believe he would continue it for an hour longer, for the abolition of Slavery or for any other purpose."<sup>39</sup>

As a lawyer, Lincoln was no stranger to such hairsplitting. And the enormous pressure on him from all sides to drop his abandonment of the slavery condition almost caused him to succumb. On August 17, Lincoln drafted a letter to a Wisconsin newspaper editor who had previously supported the administration but could no longer do so if the president intended the war to continue until slavery was abolished. "To me," Lincoln began his letter, "it seems plain that saying re-union and abandonment of slavery would be considered, if offered, is not saying that

<sup>35</sup> *Columbus Crisis*, August 3, 1864; *New York News*, quoted in *Washington Daily Intelligencer*, July 25, 1864.

<sup>36</sup> *New York World*, July 25, 1864; *New York Herald*, August 7, 1864.

<sup>37</sup> *Newark Daily Advertiser* and *Ann Arbor Journal*, quoted in *Washington Daily Intelligencer*, August 8, 1864.

<sup>38</sup> *New York Tribune*, July 28, 1864; *Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 474, entry of August 19, 1864.

<sup>39</sup> *New York Times*, August 18, 24, 1864.

nothing *else* or *less* would be considered.” Lincoln concluded the letter with these words: “If Jefferson Davis wishes . . . to know what I would do if he were to offer peace and re-union, saying nothing about slavery, let him try me.”<sup>40</sup>

In the same draft, however, and in an interview two days later with a pair of Wisconsin Republicans, Lincoln explained forcefully and eloquently why he included abandonment of slavery as a precondition for peace. “No human power can subdue this rebellion without using the Emancipation lever as I have done,” he insisted. Lincoln pointed out that 100,000 or more black soldiers and sailors were fighting for the Union. “If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive—even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept.” To abandon emancipation would “ruin the Union cause itself,” Lincoln continued. “All recruiting of colored men would instantly cease, and all colored men in our service would instantly desert us. And rightfully too. Why should they give their lives for us, with full notice of our purpose to betray them? . . . I should be damned in time and eternity for so doing. The world shall know that I will keep my faith to friends and enemies, come what will.”<sup>41</sup>

Recognizing the inconsistency of these sentiments with his “let Jefferson Davis try me” challenge, Lincoln filed that letter away unsent. When he did so, he and everyone else believed that he would be defeated for reelection on the peace issue. “I am going to be beaten,” he told a visitor, “and unless some great change takes place *badly* beaten.” On August 23, Lincoln wrote his famous “blind memorandum” and asked Cabinet members to endorse it sight unseen: “This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he can not possibly save it afterwards.”<sup>42</sup>

This memorandum may have been prompted by a letter Lincoln received that day from Henry Raymond. “The tide is setting strongly against us,” wrote the editor. “Two special causes are assigned to this great reaction in public sentiment,—the want of military success, and the impression . . . that we *can* have peace with Union if we would . . . [but] that we are not to have peace *in any event* under this administration until Slavery is abandoned.” To allay this impression, Raymond urged Lincoln to appoint a commissioner to “*make distinct proffers of peace to Davis . . . on the sole condition*” of reunion, leaving “all the other questions to be settled in a convention of all the people of all the States.” Of course, Raymond added, Davis would reject such a proffer, and this rejection would “dispel all the delusions about peace that prevail in the North . . . [and] reconcile public sentiment to the War, the draft, & the tax as inevitable necessities.”<sup>43</sup>

Once again, Lincoln seemed to yield to such pressure. On August 24, he drafted instructions for Raymond himself to go to Richmond and “propose, on behalf [of] this government, that upon the restoration of the Union and national authority, the

<sup>40</sup> Lincoln to Charles D. Robinson, dated August 17, 1864, in Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7: 499–501.

<sup>41</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7: 500, 506–07.

<sup>42</sup> William Frank Zornow, *Lincoln and the Party Divided* (Norman, Okla., 1954), 112; Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7: 514.

<sup>43</sup> Raymond to Lincoln, August 22, 1864, Lincoln Papers.



war shall cease at once, all remaining questions to be left for adjustment by peaceful modes." Lincoln's private secretaries and later biographers, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, maintain that Lincoln had no intention of sending Raymond to Richmond. His purpose in drafting this document, they assert, was to make the editor a "witness of its absurdity."<sup>44</sup>

In any event, Raymond and the rest of the Republican National Committee met with Lincoln and three Cabinet members on August 25. The committeemen, according to Nicolay, were "laboring under a severe fit of despondency and discouragement . . . almost the condition of a disastrous panic." Lincoln convinced them that the proposed commission to Richmond "would be utter ruination . . . worse than losing the Presidential contest—it would be ignominiously surrendering it in advance."<sup>45</sup> To back away from emancipation would not only betray a promise, it would also give the impression of an administration floundering in panic and would alienate the radical wing of the Republican Party.<sup>46</sup> After all, Lincoln had been renominated on a platform pledging a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery and calling for the "unconditional surrender" of the rebels. For weal or woe, Lincoln intended to stand on that platform.<sup>47</sup>

For a week after that fateful meeting at the White House, woe seemed to be the fate of Lincoln's reelection prospects. On August 31, the Democrats nominated McClellan for president and a Peace Democrat for vice-president on a platform that declared, "After four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . [we] demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union."<sup>48</sup> This last phrase was little more than window dressing; almost everyone recognized that an appeal by the U.S. government for an armistice would be tantamount to confessing defeat.<sup>49</sup> McClellan himself recognized this, and his letter accepting the nomination made peace negotiations contingent on prior agreement to reunion as a basis for such negotiations.<sup>50</sup>

Whether these internal Democratic contradictions would be put to the test suddenly became moot. On September 3, a telegram from General Sherman arrived in Washington: "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." This news turned morale around 180 degrees in both North and South. "Glorious news this morning," wrote George

<sup>44</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 7: 517; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, 9: 220.

<sup>45</sup> Nicolay to Hay, August 25, 1864, Nicolay to Theresa Bates, August 28, 1864, in *With Lincoln in the White House: Letters, Memoranda, and Other Writings of John G. Nicolay, 1860–1865*, Michael Burlingame, ed. (Carbondale, Ill., 2000), 152–53.

<sup>46</sup> On this matter, see Burlingame, ed., *Inside Lincoln's White House*, 238, Hay's diary entry of October 11, 1864; and Charles A. Dana to Henry J. Raymond, date not specified, in Francis Brown, *Raymond of the Times* (New York, 1951), 260n.

<sup>47</sup> For the platform, see Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States during the Great Rebellion*, 2d edn. (Washington, D.C., 1865), 406–07.

<sup>48</sup> E. McPherson, *Political History of the United States*, 419–20.

<sup>49</sup> *Harper's Weekly* 8 (August 30, 1864): 530; *New York Times*, August 17, 1864; *New York Tribune*, September 2, 1864.

<sup>50</sup> McClellan struggled to strike a balance between the platform and his own commitment to reunion as a prerequisite for negotiations. For an analysis of the successive drafts of McClellan's acceptance letter, see Charles R. Wilson, "McClellan's Changing View on the Peace Plank of 1864," *AHR* 38 (1933): 498–505. Drafts of McClellan's letter are in the McClellan Papers, Library of Congress, and in the Samuel L. M. Barlow Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

Templeton Strong in his diary. "Atlanta taken at last!!! . . . It is (coming at this political crisis) the greatest event of the war."<sup>51</sup> The *Richmond Examiner* reflected with despair that "the disaster at Atlanta" came "in the very nick of time" to "save the party of Lincoln from irretrievable ruin . . . [It] obscures the prospect of peace, late so bright. It will diffuse gloom over the South." One of the North's foremost clergymen, Joseph P. Thompson, delivered a widely published sermon whose title summed up the meaning of Atlanta: "Peace through Victory."<sup>52</sup>

Few in the North urged this policy with more determination than Union soldiers themselves. Although many of them had a lingering affection for McClellan, most denounced the war-failure plank of the Democratic platform, and a remarkable 78 percent of them voted for Lincoln. "To elect McClellan would be to undo all that we have don in the past four years," wrote a Michigan corporal. "Old Abe is slow but sure, he will accept nothing but an unconditional surrender." A New York lieutenant, a former Democrat, repudiated his party. "I had rather stay out here a lifetime (much as I dislike it)," he wrote, "than consent to a division of our country . . . We all want peace, but none *any* but an *honorable one*."<sup>53</sup>

Prospects for that honorable peace—a peace through victory—continued to brighten through the fall and winter. General Philip Sheridan's Army of the Shenandoah won several important victories in September and October. Lincoln was triumphantly reelected in November. General George Thomas's Union Army of the Cumberland virtually destroyed the Confederate Army of Tennessee at the battle of Nashville in mid-December. A month later, a combined assault by Union naval and army forces captured Fort Fisher in North Carolina, closing the port of Wilmington, which had been the principal remaining terminus for blockade runners. In his annual message to Congress in December, Lincoln promised no let-up in the war. Northern determination to see the matter through "was never more firm, nor more nearly unanimous, than now," said the president. But this consummation could not be achieved by negotiations with "the insurgent leader," Jefferson Davis, who "does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He cannot voluntarily reaccept the Union; we cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war, and decided by victory."<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, one more bid to end the war by mutual agreement took place. This one was launched by Francis Preston Blair, the old Jacksonian Democrat whose powerful family had become Republicans in the mid-1850s. Blair had maintained his ties across party lines, however, and even across the bloody chasm of war. With Lincoln's tacit consent, Blair traveled to Richmond under flag of truce in January 1865 to visit his former friend and political associate Jefferson Davis. Although the content of their conversations remained secret, Blair's presence in Richmond gave rise to endless speculation in the press both North and South. Blair's purpose was

<sup>51</sup> Sherman to Henry W. Halleck, September 3, 1864, in *OR*, Series I, vol. 38, part 5, p. 777; *Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 480–81, entry of September 3, 1864.

<sup>52</sup> *Richmond Examiner*, September 5, 1864; *New York Times*, September 19, 1864, published the sermon.

<sup>53</sup> Delos Lake to his mother, July 12, November 1, 1864, Lake Papers, Huntington Library; John Berry to Samuel L. M. Barlow, August 24, 1864, Barlow Papers.

<sup>54</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 8: 149, 151.

to see whether there might be some way to reunite Union and Confederacy in order to put an end to the internecine bloodletting.

Signs abounded that the Southern people, if not President Davis, were prepared to give up. Desertions from Confederate armies soared. The previously indefatigable chief of Confederate ordnance, Josiah Gorgas, made despairing entries in his diary during January: "Where is this to end? No money in the Treasury, no food to feed Gen. Lee's Army, no troops to oppose Gen. Sherman . . . There is a strong disposition among members of congress to come to terms with the enemy, feeling that we cannot carry on the war any longer with hope of success. Wife & I sit talking of going to Mexico to live out the remnant of our days."<sup>55</sup>

Mexico was also on Blair's mind. That country experienced its own civil war in the 1860s, prompting Louis Napoleon to send 35,000 French troops and to install Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian as emperor of Mexico in 1864. Blair seemed obsessed with the idea that a joint campaign of Union and Confederate armies to throw the French out of Mexico would pave the way to reunion. Hints of Blair's suggestion to Davis of such a project leaked out and elicited cautious approval by Richmond newspapers and more enthusiastic endorsement by the jingo press in the North.<sup>56</sup> Davis returned a cool response to this Mexican scheme, but he did give Blair a letter for Lincoln's eyes offering to appoint commissioners to "enter into conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries."<sup>57</sup>

Lincoln wanted nothing to do with Blair's proposed Mexican adventure. But the president thought he saw an opportunity to end the war on his own terms without compromising his refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the Confederacy. He authorized Blair to return to Richmond with an offer to receive any commissioner that Davis "may *informally* send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our *one common country*."<sup>58</sup>

Davis overlooked the discrepancy between "two countries" and "one common country." He appointed a commission composed of Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens, President *pro tem* of the Senate Robert M. T. Hunter, and Assistant Secretary of War John A. Campbell, a former U.S. Supreme Court justice. Davis expected their efforts to fail because he knew Lincoln would stick to his terms of Union and freedom. This was the outcome Davis wanted, for it would enable him to rally flagging Southern spirits to keep up the fight as the only alternative to degrading submission.<sup>59</sup>

This peace effort almost foundered before it was launched. Lincoln sent word to military commanders in Virginia that the Confederate commissioners should not be allowed through the lines for an "informal conference" with Secretary of State Seward, whom he had sent to Virginia, unless they agreed in advance to Lincoln's "one common country" phrase as a basis for talks. The commissioners instead

<sup>55</sup> *The Journals of Josiah Gorgas, 1857–1878*, Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, ed. (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1995), 147–49, entries of January 6, 18, 1865.

<sup>56</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, January 19, 1865; *Richmond Sentinel*, rpt. in *New York Herald*, January 24, 1865; *New York Herald*, January 25, 1865; *New York World*, January 23, 1865; John B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, Earl Schenck Miers, ed. (New York, 1958), 489–90, entry of January 30, 1865.

<sup>57</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 8: 275.

<sup>58</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 8: 275–76. Italics added.

<sup>59</sup> William J. Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York, 2000), 510–11.

showed to the army major Lincoln dispatched to meet them their "two countries" instructions from Davis. The major therefore barred them from crossing Union lines.

That would seem to have ended the matter. But this affair had generated huge coverage in the press—more even than the peace flurries of the previous summer—and had raised hopes that this cruel war might soon be over. On the morning of February 2, Lincoln read a telegram from General Grant: "I am convinced, upon conversation with Messrs Stevens & Hunter that their intentions are good and their desire sincere to restore peace and union . . . I am sorry however that Mr. Lincoln cannot have an interview with [them] . . . I fear now their going back without any expression from anyone in authority will have a bad influence."<sup>60</sup>

Grant's intervention was decisive. On the spur of the moment, Lincoln decided to go to Virginia to join Seward for a personal meeting with the commissioners. This extraordinary, "informal" four-hour meeting of the five men took place February 3 on the Union steamer *River Queen* anchored in Hampton Roads. No aides were present and no formal record was kept, although Seward and Campbell wrote brief summaries and Stephens later penned a lengthy account, which must be used with care.<sup>61</sup> Despite an underlying tension, the mood was relaxed. Lincoln and Stephens had been friends and fellow Whigs in Congress nearly two decades earlier, providing a basis for a cordial atmosphere.

Lincoln nevertheless stuck to the terms he had written out for Seward before the president had decided to join him: "1 The restoration of the National authority throughout all the States. 2 No receding by the Executive of the United States, on the Slavery question . . . 3 No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government."<sup>62</sup> Stephens tried to change the subject by alluding to Blair's Mexican project; Lincoln promptly disavowed it. What about an armistice while peace negotiations took place? asked the Confederates. No armistice, replied Lincoln, reiterating his third condition. Well, then, said Hunter, would it be possible to hold official negotiations while the war went on? After all, he noted, even King Charles I had entered into agreements with rebels in arms during the English civil war. "I do not profess to be posted in history," replied Lincoln—probably with a twinkle in his eye. "All I distinctly recollect about the case of Charles I, is, that he lost his head."<sup>63</sup>

On questions of punishing Confederate leaders and confiscating Southern property, Lincoln promised generous treatment based on his power of pardon. With respect to slavery, Lincoln even suggested that if Confederate states abolished it themselves as part of a peace settlement, he would ask Congress for partial compensation. In any event, the Union Congress had passed the Thirteenth

<sup>60</sup> Grant to Edwin M. Stanton, February 2, 1865, in Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 8: 282.

<sup>61</sup> "Memorandum of the Conversation at the Conference in Hampton Roads," in John A. Campbell, *Reminiscences and Documents Relating to the Civil War during the Year 1865* (Baltimore, 1877), 11–17; Seward to Charles Francis Adams, February 7, 1865, in *OR*, Series I, vol. 46, part 2, pp. 471–73; Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1870), 2: 598–619. The best study of the Hampton Roads Conference is William C. Harris, "The Hampton Roads Peace Conference: A Final Test of Lincoln's Presidential Leadership," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 21 (2000): 31–61.

<sup>62</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 8: 279.

<sup>63</sup> Stephens, *Constitutional View*, 2: 613.



Amendment three days earlier, and several states, including Lincoln's Illinois as the first, had already ratified it.<sup>64</sup> Slavery was dead, implied Lincoln, and to avoid further bloodshed the Confederate leaders should recognize that the Confederacy itself would soon be in the same condition.

Whatever their personal convictions, the commissioners had no authority to concede the death of their nation. They returned sadly to Richmond and admitted their failure to President Davis—who was neither surprised nor disappointed. Davis reported to the Confederate Congress that Lincoln's terms required "degrading submission" and "humiliating surrender." Richmond newspapers echoed the president's angry words. The *Examiner* paraphrased Lincoln in this fashion: "Down upon your knees, Confederates! . . . your mouths in the dust; kiss the rod, confess your sins." Davis addressed a rally in Richmond. He predicted that Seward and "His Majesty Abraham the First" would find "they had been speaking to their masters," for Southern armies would yet "compel the Yankees, in less than twelve months, to petition us for peace on our own terms."<sup>65</sup>

War fever in Richmond rose higher than at any time since April 1861. "Every one thinks the Confederacy will at once gather up its military strength and strike such blows as will astonish the world," wrote the War Department clerk John Jones. One of the more moderate Richmond newspapers declared that "to talk now of any other arbitrament than that of the sword is to betray cowardice and treachery." We must "conquer or die," declared another. "There is no alternative. We must make good our independence, defend our institutions . . . or give up the . . . lands we have tilled, the slaves we have owned . . . all indeed that makes existence valuable."<sup>66</sup>

So be it, responded the Northern press. Davis had made it clear, conceded the one-time peace negotiator Horace Greeley, that we could only have "Peace through War." The *New York Times* pointed out that "we have always demanded 'unconditional surrender' . . . We must fight it out."<sup>67</sup> Fight it out they did, for two more months, during which several thousand more young men died. In his second inaugural address, Lincoln acknowledged that in 1861 "neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained" or "a result [so] fundamental and astounding." The same can be said of many wars. None of the nations that opened fire with the Guns of August 1914 foresaw the magnitude or duration of that war. The Germans who invaded Poland in 1939 and the Japanese who bombed Pearl Harbor two years later surely did not expect such a fundamental

<sup>64</sup> In his account, Stephens maintained that Lincoln had urged him to go home to Georgia and persuade the legislature to take the state out of the war and to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment prospectively, to take effect in five years. This claim cannot be accepted; Lincoln was too good a lawyer to suggest any such absurdity as a "prospective" ratification of a constitutional amendment. The president had just played a leading part in getting Congress to pass the Thirteenth Amendment, and he was using his influence to get every Republican state legislature as well as those of Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee to ratify it. Stephens, *Constitutional View*, 2: 611–12. See also Harris, "Hampton Roads Peace Conference," 51.

<sup>65</sup> *Richmond Examiner*, February 6, 1865; *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers, and Speeches*, 10 vols., Dunbar Rowland, ed. (Jackson, Miss., 1923), 6: 465–67.

<sup>66</sup> Jones, *War Clerk's Diary*, 493, entry of February 6, 1865; *Richmond Dispatch*, February 7, 1865; *Richmond Whig*, February 6, 1865.

<sup>67</sup> *New York Tribune*, February 7, 1865; *New York Times*, January 18, February 13, 1865. See also *Harper's Weekly* 9 (February 4, 1865): 66: "The government does insist on an unconditional surrender. That was the exact issue before the people in the late election. There was to be no compromising, no compounding, no convention, no waving of olive boughs."



and astounding result of their actions. Nor, presumably, did the U.S. government when it sent American troops to South Vietnam in the 1960s. As historians, we cannot know—though we can certainly speculate—that the leaders of these nations would have acted differently if they could have foreseen the consequences. It is also quite possible that Americans in 1861 would have chosen a different course if they knew that the war into which they plunged would last four years and cost 620,000 lives. In any event, when Lincoln was inaugurated for a second term on March 4, 1865, he remained committed to the fundamental and astounding results of a Union victory, no matter what it cost and how long it took. He served notice that, if necessary, the war would continue “until all the wealth piled by the bond-man’s two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword.”<sup>68</sup>

Mercifully, it did not take that long. Three months after Jefferson Davis had breathed defiance to “His Majesty Abraham the First,” the ex-Confederate Ordnance Chief Josiah Gorgas pronounced his nation’s epitaph: “The calamity which has fallen upon us in the total destruction of our government is of a character so overwhelming that I am as yet unable to comprehend it . . . It is marvelous that a people that a month ago had money, armies, and the attributes of a nation should to-day be no more . . . Will it be so when the Soul leaves the body behind it?”<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 8: 332–33.

<sup>69</sup> *Journals of Josiah Gorgas*, 167, entry of May 4, 1865.

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# Sensibility and the American War for Independence

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SARAH KNOTT

“MANY THINGS HAVE BEEN LONG OPERATING towards a gradual change in our principles. But this American war has done more in a few years than all the other causes could have effected in a century.” Thus wrote Edmund Burke, politician and philosopher, a scant two years after the first shots of the American war rang out at Lexington. In recent years, British historians have been paying close attention to such comments by Burke and his contemporaries. Where once the French Revolution, and its ricochets, was the fin-de-siècle story of transformation, now the years of the American war are the location for all manner of historical change. Approved or disapproved by the future conservative, the changes effected by this war encompassed notions of liberty and authority, patriotism and the nation, representation and the role of the “people” in politics. Most provocatively, and beyond the lofty vision even of Burke, it is argued that the war’s disturbing effects extended to the very category of identity itself.<sup>1</sup>

This should be music to the ears of American historians concerned that the new paradigm of the “Atlantic world” should play out on both sides of the ocean. After all, in recent years, they too have been putting together a brilliantly expansive political history that goes beyond the “high” to print culture, to political ritual, and to the public sphere. We now know a great deal about the “parlor politics” of government-building, the dynamic tension between burgeoning democracy and elite values, and the “perpetual fetes” and festive parades of political culture.<sup>2</sup> Yet here is an odd note or perhaps rather a missing movement in the score. The American new political history has attended more to the contested rituals and practices of the

I am grateful to David A. Bell, John Bodnar, Philip Carter, Andrew Cayton, Norma Clarke, Kate Davies, Suzanne Desan, Konstantin Dierks, John Murrin, Alexandra Shepard, Fredrika Teute, Peter Thompson, Dror Wahrman, and the anonymous readers for comments on earlier versions.

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Burke, quoted in Dror Wahrman, “The English Problem of Identity in the American Revolution,” *AHR* 106 (October 2001): 1257; Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the American War for Independence* (Oxford, 2000); Elijah H. Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

<sup>2</sup> See especially Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 2002); Susan Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames: Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2001); Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government* (Charlottesville, Va., 2000); David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997); Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, 1997); Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst, Mass., 1997).

young republican nation than to the experience of the war that made that nation possible. (We could almost be forgiven for supposing that armed conflict and bloody battle took place on British not American soil.) Strange omission: this was a long and blood-soaked war—the longest war in American national history until Vietnam. For its duration, it dominated and transformed public life and print culture. It saw the injury or death of many thousands of combatants and civilians, generated conflicts within families and communities, demanded often impossible decisions and loyalties, and made many refugees. As one recent commentator succinctly put it, “For all manner of late eighteenth-century Americans . . . the war itself was the most traumatic and perhaps most significant event of their lives.”<sup>3</sup> So to paraphrase Georges Clemenceau, we might conclude that the war for independence is a matter too important to be left to the military historians. Taking its cue from the execution of British officer John André, and with sustained glances to Britain and to France, this essay investigates the peculiar and powerful place of transatlantic “sensibility” in the American war for independence. It is a military history that explains, in turn, some of the distinctive features of American, French, and British political cultures immediately after that revolutionary war.

TO LISTEN TO THE POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE of the war in America, one can do no better than begin with a story that generated almost singular attention in 1780: the treason of Benedict Arnold. On the heels of British successes in the South, the disaffected American general conspired to betray and surrender West Point with Henry Clinton’s closest aide, Major John André. Returning from a visit to Arnold, André was waylaid and captured by three American militiamen. The ambitious scheme to hand over the key garrison—likely ending the war and bringing glory on both conspirators—was foiled. Arnold fled the American camp and, safe behind British lines, was made brigadier-general. André was left a prisoner of his horrified American enemy.<sup>4</sup> As one young Bostonian major wrote home, the story of Arnold

<sup>3</sup> Simon P. Newman, “Writing the History of the American Revolution,” in Melvyn Stokes, ed., *The State of U.S. History* (London, 2002), 30–31; and see E. Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775–1783* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984), xi. The still outstanding historian of the war, on whose work this article builds, is Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and the American Character, 1775–1783* (Chapel Hill, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> Accounts of events and their interpretation include Michael Meranze, “Major André’s Exhumation,” in Nancy Isenberg and Andrew Burstein, eds., *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2003), 123–35; Linda Colley, *Captives* (London, 2002), 203–08; Judith Van Buskirk, *Generous Enemies: Patriots and Loyalists in Revolutionary New York* (Philadelphia, 2002), 90–105; Caleb Crain, *American Sympathy: Men, Friendship, and Literature in the New Nation* (New Haven, Conn., 2001), 1–15; Andy Trees, “Benedict Arnold, John André, and His Three Yeoman Captors: A Sentimental Journey of American Virtue Defined,” *Early American Literature* 35 (2000): 246–73; Robert E. Cray, Jr., “Major John André and the Three Captors: Class Dynamics and Revolutionary Memory Wars in the Early Republic, 1780–1831,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (1997): 371–97; Clare Brandt, *The Man in the Mirror: A Life of Benedict Arnold* (New York, 1994); Larry J. Reynolds, “Patriots and Criminals, Criminals and Patriots: Representations of the Case of Major André,” *South Central Review* 9 (1992): 57–84; Robert McConnell Hatch, *Major John André: A Gallant in Spy’s Clothing* (Boston, 1986); Charles Royster, “The Nature of Treason: Revolutionary Virtue and American Reactions to Benedict Arnold,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 36 (1979): 163–93; Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1976), 377–82; Robert D. Arner, “The Death of Major André: Some Eighteenth Century Views,” *Early American Literature* 11 (1976): 52–67; J. E.

and André made the “ears to tingle.” Perhaps the hint was broader than strictly necessary: in addition to military orders, letters, and poetry about the treason, his account was immediately given a hearing in the local newspaper.<sup>5</sup>

André had not been traveling under a flag of truce. Given the admission that he had “quitted” his British uniform behind American lines—and was hence in disguise and a spy—he was hanged at Camp Tappan on October 2, 1780. The execution fulfilled the expectation of the American rank and file as well as the dictates of military policy. British reactions to his exploits and execution were predictable: they barely fell short of canonizing the dead officer. (Indeed, in an oddly telling slip, many newspapers and their readers continued to refer to him as “Major *St. André*,” even as corrections abounded.)<sup>6</sup> Within three days of the news arriving in London, there was a call for a House of Commons motion for a suitable monument in Westminster Abbey. London debating societies asked whether Clinton had been right not to hand over Arnold in exchange; a play performed at Westminster School celebrated their newly famous alumnus in a prologue. British commentators saw in him a “match for classical examples”; his “dauntless fortitude” made him like a “Greek.” The Westminster Abbey monument appropriately showed him, following the inscription, “with that fortitude and resolution which had always marked his character . . . going, with unshaken spirit, to meet his doom.” André entered the history books as what he was widely and relievedly perceived to be: the first British hero of the war.<sup>7</sup>

American reactions were predictable, too. Excoriations of Arnold were quick, bitter, and intense. This was “treason of the blackest dye,” “Treason! black as hell!” A militiaman noted: “in the Evening [of September 30] a very curious thing representing Arnold, Lucifer, the Spy &c was taken through the Town by a vast Number of respectable Inhabitants.” The town was Philadelphia, where Arnold had once been an unpopular governor, and the “very curious thing” was an effigy contrived by local artist Charles Willson Peale. The Devil presided over the treasonous general with a bag of gold in one hand and a pitchfork prodding him into Hell in the other. A long inscription on the front of the cart detailed Arnold’s wrongs, but close scrutiny was not required. Peale made large and satirical the

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Morpurgo, *Treason at West Point: The Arnold-André Conspiracy* (New York, 1975); James Thomas Flexner, *The Traitor and the Spy: Benedict Arnold and John André* (New York, 1953).

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Shaw to John Eliot, September 27, 1780, in Josiah Quincy, ed., *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton, with a Life of the Author* (Boston, 1847), 77; *Continental Journal*, October 12, 1780. See also October 5, October 19, October 26, November 30, and December 8, 1780.

<sup>6</sup> Emphasis added. See, for example, Thomas Digges to Benjamin Franklin, November 13, 1780, in Leonard W. Labaree, et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, Conn., 1959–), 33: 528; *London Chronicle*, November 11–14, 1780; *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, November 14, 1780, and November 18, 1780; *British Mercury and Evening Advertiser*, November 17, 1780, and November 23, 1780; journal entry, November 13, 1780, A. Francis Stuart, ed., *The Last Journals of Horace Walpole during the Reign of George III*, 2 vols. (London, 1910), 2: 334–35.

<sup>7</sup> *British Mercury and Evening Advertiser*, November 17, 1780; Donna T. Andrew, comp., *London Debating Societies, 1776–1799* (London, 1994), 116; *Public Advertiser*, December 15, 1780; *Morning Herald*, December 15, 1780; *Public Advertiser*, December 25, 1780; *Scots Magazine* 42 (1780): 608; *Morning Herald*, November 18, 1780; *Gentleman’s Magazine* 52 (1782): 514; Charles Henry Arnold, *The New and Impartial Universal History of North and South America* (London, [1782]), 248–53; Edward Barnard, *The New, Comprehensive and Complete History of England* (London, [1783]), 694.

visual point: as Quaker diarist Elizabeth Drinker reported, Arnold cut a “ridiculous” figure with “two faces.” For many months, at least in the memory of the *New Jersey Journal*, “the streets of every city and village in the United States . . . rung with the crimes of General Arnold.”<sup>8</sup>

Thus far, thus predictable. André’s marble monument endures in its corner of Westminster Abbey; Benedict Arnold’s name is still learned with contempt by American schoolchildren. On the paraded cart observed by Philadelphian George Nelson, the “Spy” had been simply a dark and diminutive figure, hanging still, small, and unelaborated. Drinker did not even mention it. But—and here, matters become less predictable and more interesting—American accounts from Camp Tappan did elaborate the figure of André. Indeed, in celebrations of his bravery, British commentators were taking their cue not just from André’s risky actions but from his American spectators. André’s guard, the twenty-six-year-old New Englander Benjamin Tallmadge, reported: “He met death with a smile, chearfully marching to the place of execution . . . I cannot say enough of his fortitude.” So they went on: he had “the appearance of Philosophy & Heroism,” no “person [met] his fate with more fortitude and equal conduct,” “he received his fate with greater fortitude than others saw it”—thus from his Continental army officer witnesses—and then at second hand, he “met death with the courage of a Hero,” he “died like a Roman.” The admiration was emphatic and empathetic; Henry Lee, scion to a southern family with a distinguished military heritage, wrote to his uncle: “I would rather be Andre than be alike to nine-tenths of the sentimental world.” Perhaps the southerner had been standing close by André’s guard. For Tallmadge confessed to a Connecticut colonel that he was obliged to leave the field “in a flood of tears” before André died. A second letter added that there was “a tear from almost every spectator.”<sup>9</sup>

The “compassion of every man of feeling and sentiment.” This is how Richard

<sup>8</sup> “General Greene’s Orders,” September 26, 1780, in R. K. Showman, ed., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1976– ), 6: 314; Alexander Scammell to Nathaniel Peabody, October 3, 1780, in Henry B. Dawson, ed., *Papers Concerning the Capture and Detention of Major John André* (Yonkers, N.Y., 1866), 66. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Diary of George Nelson, September 30, 1780; diary entry, October 4, 1780, in Elaine Forman Crane, ed., *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1991), 1: 376. On the Philadelphian parades, also see *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 3, 1780; *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 4, 1780; Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams, October 10, 1780, in Harry Alonzo Cushing, ed., *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, 4 vols. (New York, 1904–08), 4: 209; *A Representation of the Figures Exhibited and Paraded through the Streets of Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 30th September 1780* (Philadelphia, 1780); *Americanischer Haus- und Wirtschafts-Calendar Auf das 1781ste Jahr Christi* (Philadelphia, 1780), woodcut rpt. in Lillian B. Miller, ed., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, 5 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1983– ) 1: 354; *Continental Almanac . . . for 1781* (Philadelphia, 1780). *New Jersey Journal*, November 21, 1781, quoted in Royster, *Revolutionary People at War*, 292.

<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Tallmadge to Colonel Wadsworth, October 4, 1780, in Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb*, 2 vols. (New York, 1969), 2: 293; Joel Barlow to Ruth Baldwin, October 2, 1780, quoted in Silverman, *Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 380; anonymous account, October 2, 1780, in *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 10, 1780, also printed in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 11, 1780, *New Jersey Gazette*, October 18, 1780, and *Continental Journal*, October 26, 1780; William B. Weeden, ed., “Diary of Enos Hitchcock, D.D., a Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army [1777–1780],” *Rhode Island Historical Society Publications* 7 (1899): 227–28; “Extracts from the Letter-Books of Lieutenant Enos Reeves,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 29 (1896): 314; Thomas Paine to Nathanael Greene, October 17, 1780, in Showman, *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 6: 404; Henry Lee, Jr., to Thomas Sim Lee, October 4, 1780, in Major Henry Lee, “Capture of Major Andre,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 4 (1880): 65;



Meade, another youthful officer of higher rank than Tallmadge, articulated the collective weeping to a Virginian congressional delegate. André's execution did not happen "without a tear" on his part, although he "would not have saved him for the world." In correspondence with Nathanael Greene, who had headed the board of officers that condemned André, New Jersey lawyer and public official Charles Pettit deliberated: "The Character, firmness and manly behaviour of [André], lead us for a moment to lose sight of the enemy and the spy, in the tender feelings of humanity and sympathy for a fellow creature."<sup>10</sup> A French officer, the marquis de Lafayette, observed the most moving of all the campground letters on André, written by George Washington's ambitious aide Alexander Hamilton, to be "a masterpiece of literary talents and amiable sensibility." With faint disapproval, radical Thomas Paine agreed: Hamilton was "all elegance and sentiment." In her turn, an army sutler, one Sarah Warren, found his words sympathetically "pathetic."<sup>11</sup> A typical British writer—for small wonder that Hamilton's letter was reproduced in loyalist and British as well in patriot newsprint—described it as "rather the elegant eulogium of a warm friend, than the narrative of an enemy."<sup>12</sup>

Making friends of declared enemies, displaying Roman courage, stirring American tears: André was indeed a "disruptive and appealing figure."<sup>13</sup> At least nine other British officers were executed for espionage by the American army during the war, and none other cut such a dash. Indeed, we can remind ourselves that to be hanged should have been ignoble and ignominious as well as final; this was a civilian punishment typically used against the poor and the marginalized, and a military punishment meted out to the rank and file (twenty-five such cases in 1780 within the ranks of the American army alone).<sup>14</sup> In John André's disruptive appeal—in the singular and unpredictable set of reactions articulated at Camp Tappan and then

Tallmadge to Wadsworth, October 4, 1780, in Ford, *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb*, 2: 294; Tallmadge to William Heath, October 10, 1780, in Dawson, *Papers Concerning André*, 195.

<sup>10</sup> Richard K. Meade to Theodorick Bland, Jr., October 3, 1780, in Dawson, *Papers Concerning André*, 108; Charles Pettit to Nathanael Greene, October 10, 1780, in Showman, *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 6: 366.

<sup>11</sup> Lafayette, quoted in Winthrop Sargent, *The Life and Career of Major John André* (Boston, 1861), 348; Thomas Paine to Nathanael Greene, October 17, 1780, in Showman, *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 6: 404; *Providence Gazette*, November 29, 1780 (extracting *New Jersey Journal*). For the letter itself, see Alexander Hamilton to John Laurens, October 11, 1780, in Harold C. Syrett, et al., eds., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 27 vols. (New York, 1961–87), 2: 460–70. Syrett suggests that the numbers on the manuscript copy were for publication in 1802, but they in fact refer to how the letter was reordered in preparation for immediate newspaper printing. Patriot papers printed the letter anonymously: *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 14, 1780; *Pennsylvania Post*, October 14, 1780, and October 20, 1780; *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 18, 1780; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 25, 1780; *Providence Gazette and Monthly Journal*, November 29, 1780, and December 6, 1780. See also the response of Philadelphian loyalist Anna Rawle: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Shoemaker Papers, Rawle to Rebecca Shoemaker, October 28, 1780.

<sup>12</sup> In loyalist New York, *Rivington's Royal Gazette*, November 8, 1780, extracted the published letter and attributed it to Hamilton. In British print culture, see *Annual Register* 24 (1781): 37–50, quotation on 40; *Political Magazine and Parliamentary Naval, Military, and Literary Journal* 2 (1782): 172–73.

<sup>13</sup> Crain, *American Sympathy*, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Holly A. Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 1996), 38–39; Sargent, *Life and Career of John André*, 355; Louis P. Masur, *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776–1865* (New York, 1989); V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People 1770–1868* (Oxford, 1994), esp. 6–8; Charles Patrick Neimeyer, *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army* (New York, 1996), esp. 144.

widely produced and reproduced in print culture—are tantalizing clues to one powerful effect of the war in America. They lead us directly to our theme: sensibility.

WHY WAS JOHN ANDRÉ so undoubtedly appealing to the wrong side? He was certainly a compelling counter-image to the traitorous Arnold, who, as Linda Colley observes, seemed “repulsive and renegade, the Judas Iscariot of a great revolution.” The sheer bravery he performed on the scaffold is one obvious answer. It was courage he insisted on: his officer witnesses recorded the last words, “you will all bear witness that I met my fate like a brave man,” “he hoped they would all bear witness that he died a brave man.” Another answer is André’s conduct during the ten-day confinement between capture and that courageous death. He had disastrously failed to allay the suspicions of his three militia captors, but with his candid disclosure of identity, slight and handsome person, “elevated sentiments,” and confiding elocution in confined adversity—“he has unbosomed his heart to me” wrote Tallmadge—he seems thoroughly to have charmed their Continental army superiors.<sup>15</sup>

That beguiling charm could sparkle because of a transatlantic ideal of masculine politeness: propriety, elegance of manners, social easiness. In his carefully controlled conduct during imprisonment, André’s American witnesses found him the irresistible epitome of polite gentility, even—recalling the well-known aristocratic advocate of polite manners—the “Chesterfield of the day.” Tallmadge again: “had he been tried by a Court of ladies,” those judges of male mores, “he is so *genteel*, *handsome*, *polite* a young gentleman, that I am confident they would have acquitted him.” The night before his death, a pen-and-ink sketch doubly immortalized André’s politeness: its subject (a self-portrait) with careful yet easy posture, upright back and half-bent elbow, casually elegant clothes and tied hair, the drawing proof of his mastery of a notably polite accomplishment.<sup>16</sup>

André’s polite charms and insistently heroic end go a long way toward explaining his appeal to enemy officers. But the cool imperatives of politeness and

<sup>15</sup> Colley, *Captives*, 205; and see Trees, “Benedict Arnold, John André and the Three Captors.” Diary entry, October 2, 1780, in Weeden, “Diary of Enos Hitchcock,” 227–28; Enos Reeves to anonymous, October 20, 1780, in “Extracts from the Letter-Books of Lieutenant Enos Reeves,” 314. Similar statements about André’s last words are echoed in almost all reports. Benjamin Tallmadge to Samuel Blachley Webb, September 30, 1780, in Ford, *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb*, 2: 293.

<sup>16</sup> Anonymous account published in 1780, in Charles J. Biddle, “The Case of Major André: With a Review of the Statement of It in Lord Mahon’s History of England,” *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 6 (1858): 372; Tallmadge to Webb, September 30, 1780, in Ford, *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb*, 2: 293–94. British accounts concurred, adding good birth to these polite merits: *British Mercury*, December 2, 1780; *Political Magazine* 1 (1780): 688; *Public Advertiser*, January 9, 1781; *Political Magazine* 2 (1781): 171. André’s sketch is reproduced in Stanley J. Idzerda, ed., *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers, 1776–1790*, 5 vols. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977–83), 3: 183. On politeness as a masculine ideal in Britain, see Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800* (London, 2001). In America, see David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997); Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840* (Chapel Hill, 1996), esp. 34–35, 66; Richard Bushman, *Refinement in America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1993), esp. chaps. 2–3.

heroism in no way illuminate the particular and peculiar way in which American admiration gave vent: half-hidden, half-declared tears (Tallmadge), “amiable sensibility” (Lafayette on Hamilton), the “compassion of every man of feeling and sentiment” (Meade on the throng). As the military surgeon James Thacher later recalled, “The heart of sensibility mourns when a life of so much worth is sacrificed on a gibbet.”<sup>17</sup>

“The heart of sensibility”: given that Philip Carter has told us that by the 1770s the “man of sensibility” embodied the latest modes of gentlemanly refinement in Britain, we might well ask if André himself modeled this “sensibility” to his American audience. Hamilton for one had seen in him something beyond politeness: a “becoming sensibility” manifest in his behavior toward the officers of the military trial and, surely, in the touching tears for his commanding officer, Henry Clinton. What a contrast with Arnold, who, as George Washington observed, “wants feeling.” Contemporary British commentators, at least, read André’s communications with the American leader—letters that stood out among the published trial proceedings’ otherwise terse details of the crossing of lines and the donning of clothes—as “pathetic,” “affecting,” and “fraught with all the feelings of a man of sentiment.”<sup>18</sup> All this suggests that André may indeed have served as a kind of wartime pedagogy of male sensibility to his American audience, that he bewitchingly exemplified that sensibility they should emulate and mourn.

But is this explanation enough? Nearly a year after André’s death, one tart American critic was suspicious of his supposed merits: a “distinguished American soldier”—undoubtedly Hamilton—had attributed to him virtues “that existed nowhere but in the sympathetic breast of the writer.”<sup>19</sup> So perhaps to hand André explanatory power for the declarations of “sensibility” of American officers is to hand him too much. Whether—as Hamilton or later antiquarian admirers fervently believed—André was the epitome of youth cut off in bloom, or—as our 1781 critic and one of his most recent and indignant commentators retort—a wily and manipulative upstart who duped unwitting Americans, to pursue the clues of the André affair we must lift our eyes from the events of Autumn 1780.<sup>20</sup> Making fuller sense of American sensibility in the revolutionary war, of Hamilton’s *already* “sympathetic breast,” requires a turn to the late colonial cultural context: if the

<sup>17</sup> Diary entry, October 2, 1780 (published much later), James Thacher, *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783, Describing Interesting Events and Transactions of This Period, with Numerous Historical Facts and Anecdotes, from the Original Manuscript* (Boston, 1823), 275.

<sup>18</sup> Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 89; Alexander Hamilton to John Laurens, October 11, 1780, in Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 2: 466–67. Also see diary entry, October 2, 1780, in Thacher, *Military Journal*, 272. George Washington to John Laurens, October 13, 1780, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1931–44), 20: 173. For the trial proceedings, see *Proceedings of a Board of General Officers, Held by Order of His Excellency Gen. Washington . . . Respecting Major John André, Adjutant General of the British Army, September 29, 1780* (Philadelphia, 1780), which was cheaply reprinted in New York, Fish-Kill, Hartford, Norwich, and Providence. The letters were extracted also in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, October 24, 1780, and October 28, 1780; the loyalist *New York Gazette*, November 6, 1780; and the English *Gentleman’s Magazine* 50 (1780): 610–16. For explicit British reaction, see *Reading Mercury*, November 20, 1780; *Annual Register* 24 (1781): 45.

<sup>19</sup> *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 6, 1781.

<sup>20</sup> For antiquarian admiration, see Sargent, *Life and Career of Major John André*; William Abbatt, *The Crisis of the Revolution, Being the Story of Arnold and André* (New York, 1899). For recent skepticism, see John Evangelist Walsh, *The Execution of Major André* (New York, 2001).

vocabulary and ideals of sensibility had advocates and practitioners in Britain, so, too, did they in the American colonies.

"HAST THOU NO FEELINGS for the miseries of thy fellow-creatures? And art thy incapable of the soft pangs of sympathetic sorrow?" These were the rhetorical questions of an ambitious but impoverished merchant's clerk, perhaps not yet sixteen, addressed to his father and to the readers of the *Royal Danish American Gazette* in the wake of a Caribbean hurricane. On August 31, 1772, the storm had killed thirty people and swept some ships a hundred yards inland onto St. Croix. The writer's "self-discourse" dwelled over the "sights of woe": "fellow-creatures pale and lifeless," "unhappy mothers," "distress unspeakable." "The scenes of horror exhibited around us, naturally awakened such ideas in every thinking breast . . . It were a lamentable insensibility indeed, not to have had such feelings, and I think inconsistent with human nature." Soon after the publication of such precious precociousness, some wealthy island residents clubbed together to send the youth to be educated. Thus Alexander Hamilton found himself on the North American mainland.<sup>21</sup>

In these early effusions of a "sympathetic breast," Hamilton caught a gentler wind blowing in transatlantic print culture. Here, as in so many examples of British sentimental writing imported or reprinted in the Colonies, "sensitive men" wept "over 'interesting' objects, ranging from blasted trees to crippled dogs." "Soft pangs," "such feelings": this seems at first a language of pure emotion. The sensibility whose absence should be lamented captures a phenomenon more complex and peculiarly late eighteenth-century, however—and truly strange to the early twenty-first-century reader. It was strange, or at least elusive, in its own time also: Hannah More's poem on the subject warned, "The subtle essence still eludes the chains/Of Definition, and defeats her pains."<sup>22</sup>

Samuel Johnson's mid-century dictionary did define sensibility: it was "quickness of sensation" and "quickness of perception." Implied here was a spectrum of meaning from the simple sensations of feeling to the sensory perception from which thought derived. Despite her own warning, More found it "reason's radiant morn." Hamilton observed the "feelings" in "every thinking breast." The terminology extended to "sentiments," which were similarly associated with reasonable refinement. ("Sentimental" had none of the derogatory connotations it carries today.) Sensibility's strangeness was in breaking down—not breaking apart—reason and feeling, mind and body, by means of sensation and perception. In the slippery terminology of the moment, Hamilton was a "sensible" man: one who attended and refined the powerful sensory perceptions served him by the world. His sensibility was a mark of personal distinction.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Royal Danish American Gazette*, October 3, 1772, in Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 1: 35–37; Mary-Jo Kline, ed., *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography in His Own Words* (New York, 1973), 23.

<sup>22</sup> Claudia Johnson, *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender and Sentimentality in the 1790s* (Chicago, 1995), 5; Hannah More, "Sensibility," in Caroline Franklin, ed., *Hannah More: Poems* (London, 1996), 179.

<sup>23</sup> "Sensibility," "sensible," Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (London, 1755); More, "Sensibility," 180. For a more detailed word history of these complex terms, see especially



In the American colonies, a “culture of sensibility” became the touchstone for a generation of readers before the war for independence, just as it had in Britain. An intellectual genealogy of sensibility finds an older history tied in with theological debates, moral philosophy, scientific and medical discourses, the novel, and even the captivity narrative, but it was this generation that saw sensibility put on the cultural map.<sup>24</sup> By the late 1760s, the colonial “Reader of Sensibility” and “the sentimental reader” were addressed in American newspapers and magazines as well as by libraries that circulated European books. A Scottish immigrant bookseller, Robert Bell, boldly called on “sentimentalists” to purchase the books he peddled up and down the urban seaboard. His target? Members of the “middle walk” of life as well as those who occupied “a higher sphere.” The culture of “sentimental-mongers” (the apposite term of a poetic tribute to Bell and his clients) reached its edge with the lower-sort: sensibility was absent in the almanacs sold at the bottom of the social scale.<sup>25</sup>

“Sensibility is the cause either of the greatest happiness or misery attending the female sex,” wrote “Adelaide” in the London-based *Lady’s Magazine* of 1773. In this literary culture, sensibility could be a particularly female trait. Scholars have associated it especially with women readers and writers, and in the American colonies David Shields has shown it expressed at the tea tables of poets Elizabeth Graeme and Annis Boudinot. The female readers of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* were offered a homily to sensibility—“one of the most shining virtues,” it “expands the mind,” it “arouses every tender and humane feeling.” Lacking it, “Maria” told them, one “scarcely deserves the name of Woman.”<sup>26</sup> But as Hamilton knew, it was a quality of “human nature” more than gender, and hence also available to men. Robert Bell knew so, too: the bookplate to his circulating library advertised it to be

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Eric Erametsa, *A Study of the Word “Sentimental” and of Other Linguistic Characteristics of the Eighteenth-Century Sentimentalism in English Literature* (Helsinki, 1951). The analysis of sensibility here is thus more historically specific than the historiographical association with emotion heralded by Lucien Febvre, “Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past,” in Peter Burke, ed., *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, K. Folca, trans. (London, 1973), 12–26.

<sup>24</sup> The term “culture of sensibility” is from G. J. Baker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992). Other important accounts of sensibility in Britain include Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989), chap. 10; John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1988); John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1987); Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (New York, 1986). An elegant synopsis of the multifold histories in which sensibility plays a part is Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge, 1996), 9–48.

<sup>25</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 17, 1762; *Pennsylvania Packet*, November 11, 1771. Also see Robert Mein’s advertisement in *Massachusetts Gazette*, October 31, 1765. For Bell, see, for example, *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 26–May 3, 1773; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 3, 1773; *Jewels and Diamonds for Sentimentalists* (Philadelphia, 1778); *Proposals, Addressed to Those Who Possess a Public Spirit* (Philadelphia, 1771). The anonymous poetic tribute features in *The Philadelphiad; or, New Pictures of the City*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1784), 1: 40. For further analysis of the late colonial transatlantic culture of sensibility, see Sarah Knott, “A Cultural History of Sensibility in the Era of the American Revolution” (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1999), chaps. 1–2.

<sup>26</sup> *Lady’s Magazine* quoted in Ellis, *Politics of Sensibility*, 23; Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters*, 126–40. Also see Carla Mulford, ed., *Only for the Eye of a Friend: The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton* (Charlottesville, Va., 1995). *Pennsylvania Magazine* 2 (1776): 176–77.



“where sentimentalists, whether ladies or gentlemen, may become readers.”<sup>27</sup> For sensibility had a shared physiological basis: novelists like physicians explored how it “connoted the operation of the nervous system, the material basis of consciousness.” It was *perceptual*. When the anatomist at the colonies’ first medical school lectured on how sensibility animated man’s nervous system, one student was reminded of the descriptions in a best-selling novel, scrawling at the foot of his notes: “Vide Tristram Shandy.”<sup>28</sup>

*Tristram Shandy*’s author, Laurence Sterne, was celebrated for having “nerves too fine, that wound e’en while they bless.” The literary man of genius was one prototype of the man of sensibility in late eighteenth-century transatlantic culture. A less pathologized prototype was the romantic partner. For if sensibility was a quality of human nature, located in the nervous system that conjoined body and mind, it was—and should be—articulated and refined in marriage. Conjugal intimacy honed sensibility through what James Fordyce, another British writer popular in the Colonies, called the workings of “honorable love.” When Hamilton was courting the daughter of the New Jersey governor some five years after arriving in the Middle Colonies, he drew on the popular prescriptions of such sentimental writers with characteristic assurance. Matrimony, he told Catherine Livingston, was “a state, which, with a kind of magnetic force, attracts every breast to it, in which sensibility has a place.”<sup>29</sup>

YET SURELY SENSIBILITY HAD ITS LIMITS? In the details of clothing and camps, arms and attacks, discipline and defense, sensibility was conspicuously absent in the military guides for officers briskly churned out by American presses. Nor, for that matter, were the niceties of nervous theory prevalent in medical tracts, concerned rather with gunshot wounds and drunkenness, gangrene and frostbite, typhus and dysentery, and the building of field hospitals and latrines.<sup>30</sup> Given its literary and

<sup>27</sup> Library bookplate, Noel Antoine Pluche, *Spectacle de nature; or, Nature Displayed*, 7th edn. (London, 1750), copy held at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

<sup>28</sup> Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, xvii; James Rodgers, “Sensibility, Sympathy, Benevolence: Physiology and Moral Philosophy in *Tristram Shandy*,” in L. J. Jordanova, ed., *Languages of Nature: Critical Essays on Science and Literature* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986), 117–58; College of Physicians of Philadelphia, William McWilliam, “Anatomical Lectures of William Shippen,” 1777; University of Pennsylvania Archives, Curricula Collection, anonymous, “Notes Taken from a Course of Lectures by William Shippen MD Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania,” 1786, 57. Like Laurence Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey*, his *Tristram Shandy* was a colonial bestseller: James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of American Literary Taste* (New York, 1950); Frank Luther Mott, *The Golden Multitudes: The Story of Bestsellers in the United States* (New York, 1947).

<sup>29</sup> *The Sentimental Magazine* quoted in Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*, 151; James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, quoted in Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 99; Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, chap. 4. Alexander Hamilton to Catherine Livingston, April 11, 1777, in Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 1: 226–27. Also see, for example, “Reflections on Gallantry; and on the Education of Women,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 11, 1772; “Thoughts on Matrimony,” *Royal American Magazine* (1774): 9.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Lewis Nicola, *A Treatise of Military Exercise, Calculated for the Use of Americans* (Philadelphia, 1776); Thomas Simes, *The Military Guide for Young Officers*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1776); *The Art of War* (Philadelphia, 1776); J. Ranby, *Nature and Treatment of Gunshot Wounds* (Philadelphia, 1776); Baron von Swieten, *Diseases of the Army* (Philadelphia, 1776); Benjamin Rush, “Directions for Preserving the Health of Soldiers: Recommended to the Consideration of the Officers of the Army of the United States,” *Pennsylvania Packet*, April 22, 1777.

heterosocial milieu, sensibility seems out of place in the more urgent and ugly homosocial world of a fighting army. As André's execution made only too clear, its refinements did not square easily with the violences of war. Army chaplain Abraham Baldwin spelled this out. The night before André died, the Yale graduate penned an execution sermon that was never read—why, we do not know—which insisted that the “tenderest feelings of the most lively sensibility” must be subservient to the needs of military principle in the defense of the “inalienable rights of man.”<sup>31</sup> But as they confronted harsh new dilemmas and exigencies, Continental officers embraced rather than eschewed their generational culture. Before and quite apart from the strained peculiarities of André's prompting, they took up the vocabulary of sensibility and the ideal of the man of feeling and pressed them into military service. Sensibility was made part of the experience of war.

“This was a Thunder Bolt . . . an Electricity that vibrated through every nerve.” Thus remarked John Lacey, a Pennsylvanian captain, on receiving a letter from his commanding officer. The news of June 1776? Not a distant victory or defeat, or indeed a treason, but the loss of his company to another officer. “His sensibility was . . . deeply wounded by reflecting on the person preferred to him,” said the secretary to Congress of the captured and paroled general William Thompson, who had exchanged high words with a delegate in a Philadelphian coffeehouse and insulted Congress, all in fury at the exchange of Governor Franklin for himself. “Though I approve of the Manly Sensibility which governed you on the late Occasion, yet I am sorry that any Accident should have given you this particular Occasion of shewing yourself a man of Spirited Honor.” Thus wrote a congressman to John Trumball, a northern deputy adjutant-general who had refused a newly offered commission he believed had been properly made two years before. In all these exchanges, “manly” sensibility was bound to personal rank and honor.<sup>32</sup>

The cases of Trumball, Thompson, and Lacey all exemplify moments when rank and honor were under threat. (Thompson's obituary later read: “His sensibility, generous and keen, was chiefly wounded by the reflection, that he was precluded from signaling himself in the defence of his country.”<sup>33</sup>) The recourse to sensibility was made precisely because of its immediate recognition and resonance; it might be a means of negotiation. Early modern armies, including those that had fought the imperial wars of mid-century, had of course long depended on cultures of male honor and hierarchies of merit, and military rank was a subject especially touchy in the Continental army, where it often bestowed social status (unlike in the British army, where status, rather, bestowed rank). Anthony Wayne understood how new ideals were reworking old ends. The general lent support to the field officers of the Pennsylvania Line who were furious at the conferring of equal rank on men with unequal military experience. “It is not the *pay* . . . attending their

<sup>31</sup> Patrick J. Furlong, ed., “An Execution Sermon for Major John André,” *New York History* 51 (1970): 68–69.

<sup>32</sup> John Lacey, “Memoirs of Brigadier-General John Lacey, of Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 25 (1901): 197; Charles Thomson, “Notes on the Proceedings in Congress,” November 23, 1778, in Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, 25 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1976–98), 11: 242–50; James Lovell to John Trumball, March 16, 1777, in Smith, *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, 6: 540.

<sup>33</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 12, 1781.

Commissions that can Induce Gen'ls of Sentiment and nice feelings of Honor" to serve, Wayne explained to the new president of the Pennsylvania House of Assembly, but "the Letter & Rank alone that can retain them." With an eye to the British and to civilian patriots, he added: "whenever Injured in these tender points we must expect to lose Gen'ls of Spirit & Sensibility—who are the very men we want to render our arms formidable to our Enemy & Respectable to our friends."<sup>34</sup>

Given the late colonial validation of sensibility, male rank and reputation—the bedrock of an army—might now be naturalized and defended in its terms. As Anthony Wayne sought to spell out, the man of merit *was* the man of sensibility. In response to his careful diplomacy, the Pennsylvania Line field officers unhesitatingly thanked him for the "manly and pathetic address" and "delicate mode of proceeding." That not only generals could make such arguments was shown that same year, when, weighed down with accolades after the storming of Stony Point, Wayne himself became an object of criticism. His recommendation of a number of men to Congress for distinction smacked of "State partiality"—the preferment of Pennsylvanians—to some Connecticut Line officers. Return Meigs wrote: "Our feelings in these matters are exquisite, & are absolutely necessary to us as soldiers." His fellow officer Isaac Sherman rhetorically asked if it was to be "supposed that the officers of the New England line are totally void of sentiment, that those fine and delicate feelings which ever distinguish the generous and manly soul are incapable of making any impression on them"? Perhaps as much as bravery itself, these men made sensibility proof of merit and military distinction.<sup>35</sup>

Such fierce claims to sensibility were not shared by rank-and-file soldiers. They were markedly absent in the petitions of the Pennsylvania Line mutiny of January 1781, for example. They were absent, too, in soldiers' few terse reports of André's execution. (Here, he was the spy "flouncing on a rope.")<sup>36</sup> We might have expected this: sensibility would enter almanacs only in the 1790s, well after the war was over. Though sharing with officers a rhetoric of bravery, privates had their own vocabularies for contesting reputation and right action among themselves and toward their officers. Nor was sensibility part of officers' assertion of authority over these soldiers. As a generation of social historians have shown, violent discipline fulfilled that role. That soldiers were, indeed, ideally "insensible" was made unusually explicit by Alexander Hamilton: "Let the officers be men of sense and sentiment, and the nearer the soldiers approach to machines perhaps the better." Rather than an imperious show to social inferiors, sensibility was an elitist tool of competition and peer display.<sup>37</sup> And if the primary audience for this vocabulary was each other, officers were concerned as well with "the enemy" and "friends" invoked

<sup>34</sup> Anthony Wayne to Joseph Reed, January 24, 1779, in C. J. Stillé, *Major-General Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army* (Philadelphia, 1893), 177–79. Also see Royster, *Revolutionary People at War*, 88–95, 207–11.

<sup>35</sup> Field officers to Anthony Wayne, March 27, 1779, in Stillé, *Major-General Wayne*, 177–79; Wayne to the President of Congress, August 10, 1779, *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 26, 1779; Return Meigs to Wayne, August 22, 1779, and Isaac Sherman to Wayne, August 22, 1779, in Stillé, *Major-General Wayne*, 407–11.

<sup>36</sup> Judith Van Buskirk, "Generous Enemies: Civility and Conflict in Revolutionary New York" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1997), 294–95.

<sup>37</sup> Royster, *Revolutionary People at War*, 86; Neimeyer, *America Goes to War*; Alexander Hamilton to John Jay, March 14, 1779, in Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 2: 17–18.

by Wayne, and with the judge of posterity in the public sphere. What, New England officer Isaac Sherman asked rhetorically, could be a greater inducement to military glory for a “man of feeling” than “the happiness of his country, a desire for the grateful applause of his fellow citizens, and of transmitting his name in an amiable point of view to the world”? We might add, did these not seem the motivations of the tragic André?<sup>38</sup>

Far from being in tension with militarism, then, it seems sensibility could facilitate it. Before and after 1780, American officers used sensibility as a means of proving personal distinction in social competition. But what of cohesion? This was, of course, a social group only called into existence by the beginnings of the war effort. This novelty lent a rawness to officers’ need for fraternalism that was perhaps unfelt in the traditional professional ranks of British officers. It was a need unfulfilled by existing forms of clubbability such as the polite rituals of Freemasonry or the wine and company of the tavern, and uncatered for by army chaplains, who focused mainly on the soldiery.<sup>39</sup>

Even as officers articulated sensibility in the defense of personal honor, rank, and reputation, the same vocabulary proved a—not always easy—means of expressing brotherly friendship. Where men had been encouraged to articulate sensibility in marriage, here they articulated it in homosocial relations. Nathanael Greene, for one, wrote to his wife of the “secret relief” and “mutual sympathy” he enjoyed with a fellow officer from Connecticut on sharing some bad family news. The younger officer Ephraim Douglas opened a letter to the general James Irvine: “To assert that I feel as sensibly whatever affects your health as you do were too extravagant to gain belief.” But he continued: “that I feel whatever the sympathetic heart of a sincere friend can suffer from the distresses of one to whom it is powerfully attached I will not hesitate to assert, and much blush to own.” In intimate male relations, the expression of sensibility and a distancing discomfort—Greene’s gesture to secrecy and Douglas’s blush—required revelation together. Their hesitancy and ambivalence underscore the novelty of making sensibility, rather than the play of wit or wine bottle, a form of homosocial bond. Missing his good friend John Laurens (the archetypal man of feeling, according to his latest biographer Gregory Massey), Hamilton was half-teasing when he upbraided: “You should not have taken advantage of my sensibility to steal into my affections without my consent.” André had done so, too.<sup>40</sup>

As Gregory Massey aptly notes, such fraternal sentimental attachments tended to marginalize women, restricting them to a spectatorial role of urging men on to

<sup>38</sup> Sherman to Wayne, August 22, 1779, in Stillé, *Major-General Wayne*, 407–11.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1999); Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters*, esp. chaps. 3 and 6; Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood*, esp. 121–32. Masonic lodges developed within the army camps during the war. Bullock describes the ritualized use of sensibility (here equated with romanticism) as occurring only after 1790.

<sup>40</sup> Nathanael Greene to Catherine Greene, August 16, 1779, in Showman, *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 4: 323; Ephraim Douglas to James Irvine, July 26, 1782, in “Pittsburgh and Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in 1782–83, Letters from Ephraim Douglas to Gen. James Irvine,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 1 (1877), 44; Gregory D. Massey, *John Laurens and the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 2000); Hamilton quoted in Richard Brookhiser, *Alexander Hamilton, American* (New York, 1999), 41.



greater public accomplishment. A young Quaker woman, Elizabeth Coleman, was left reassuring her less than pacifist lover that military service “shewd the high of sensibility,” for who could sit by and “veiw their country invad’d every thing near & dear to them, claimed”? To rework Hamilton’s courting words, we might say that fraternal military service was now the state that attracted “every breast to it, in which sensibility had a place”; Catherine Livingston’s role was to be an audience to male virtue exercised elsewhere.<sup>41</sup>

Most powerful of all the wartime uses of sensibility was in envisaging the officer corps, and by abstracted extension the army, as a fraternal social body. The Continentals’ most senior officers drew on sensibility to imagine the army’s unity, effacing and replacing some of its competitive elitism with a more cohesive rhetoric. Robert Howe’s final address to his troops pictured an army bound together by sensibility. The North Carolinian general discoursed that, while the moment of separation was welcome to him as a patriot, “yet to his feelings as a man, it is an awful point of time.” In the army, he elaborated, “sympathies have been excited, affections impressed, and friendships established in his mind which time, absence, or accident shall never wipe away.” The closing sentence of the speech called on “those of similar feelings to imagine” his anxiety, his “sensibility upon this occasion” being “too big for utterance.” Such “sensible” fraternalism was the pattern for Washington’s widely reprinted leave-taking of the principal officers of the army at the very end of the war. Washington’s words “produced extreme sensibility on both sides,” held one typical newspaper report; “they were answered by warm expressions, and fervent wishes, from the gentlemen of the army.” With literary convention but perhaps some disingenuousness, the writer added that the officers’ “truly pathetic feelings [are] not in our power to convey to the reader.” By the time these men were dispersing to their home states after a long war, readers as much as officers were surely well versed in such declarations of military sensibility.<sup>42</sup>

IN THE 1760s AND EARLY 1770s, Britons and British Americans of a certain social status had shared a literary and heterosocial culture of sensibility. We have seen that, when non-importation temporarily stilled the transatlantic conduits of sensibility, and just as Americans were making the transition from a British to an American, from a colonial to a national context, the military experience of the war for independence generated highly visible uses of sensibility that were militarized and profoundly homosocial. With almost singular and painful paradox, these were uses that, for American officers assembled together on an early October day, might make John André exquisitely like themselves.

The war effected changes in the American culture of sensibility; it also bifurcated British and American trajectories. Returning, for the final time, to

<sup>41</sup> Massey, *John Laurens*, 4; American Philosophical Society, Sellers Family Papers, Peale-Sellers Papers, Elizabeth Coleman to Nathan Sellers, [late 1770s].

<sup>42</sup> For Howe, see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 23, 1783. For Washington, see *Rivington’s New York Gazette*, December 6, 1783; *Pennsylvania Packet*, December 12, 1783; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 17, 1783.



André reveals a suggestive contrast. For on the British side, the figure of André the man of feeling was strikingly demilitarized; commentators were most interested in the *literary* André revealed by his “inimitable” but much reprinted letters. Such was the fulsome response of “Philanthropist” to their publication in one London daily: “With a sympathetic Pang we behold in these Letters a truly sentimental and honorable Soul, that will live in the Hearts of Men of Feeling and Spirit as long as Time exists.” The *Monody on Major André* by Anna Seward, whiggish poet and his one-time friend, shrewdly appended a series of his pre-war letters. (One reviewer dedicated as much column space to them as to the poetic work itself.) André’s status as a sentimental man of letters quickly became such that the reviewer of his poem “The Cow-Chace,” which had passed muster in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* a few years earlier as a satire, was dismissed as lacking his “elegance of mind” and “liberality of sentiment.” It was unattributable to him.<sup>43</sup>

If restrained to the literary, so, too, the British representation of André situated his sensibility in distinctly heterosocial company. When Seward made André—to use the words of her most recent critic—“the perfect sentimental hero,” she drew him fleeing to war from a cruelly thwarted romantic engagement with Honora Sneyd, a member of her Lichfield literary circle. Upon capture, André hid the miniature of this beloved in his mouth. (The biographical detail that the putative romance had in fact been long over, and Sneyd married elsewhere, seemingly mattered little.) A London newspaper printed an alternative story of romance between André and a newly widowed New York loyalist who “had too much affection for the deceased to encourage his attachment, and yet too much sensibility to disdain or disregard [André’s] perfections.”<sup>44</sup>

What are we to make of this? A few years earlier, General John Burgoyne had returned to London in disgrace after surrendering at Saratoga, and was hauled before Parliament. In speeches and in his desperate publication of the parliamentary committee’s work, he seized not on traditional modes of representing military calamity but on the language of sensibility. He dwelled, for example, on the funeral of Simon Fraser, brigadier-general and his close friend, whose battlefield burial was held under American artillery fire, with “mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance.” This attempt to restore a much-pilloried reputation was helped by a generous and convenient letter from George Washington, which he was also careful to publish: “abstracted from considerations of national advantage,” the American leader sympathized with his “painful sensibility for a reputation exposed where he most values it to the assaults of malice and detraction.” But Burgoyne’s efforts fell on noticeably deaf ears. Calumnied and despondent, he felt forced to resign all his appointments, an utter humiliation.<sup>45</sup> We

<sup>43</sup> *Public Advertiser*, December 6, 1780; Anna Seward, *Monody on Major André*, by Miss Seward (Author of the *Elegy on Capt. Cook*) to Which Are Added Letters Addressed to Her by Major André, in the Year 1769 (Lichfield, 1781); *Gentleman’s Magazine* 51 (1781): 178–79; *Monthly Review* 64 (1781): 371–76; *Monthly Review* 66 (1782): 72.

<sup>44</sup> Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750–1810* (Chicago, 2000), 260; and see Reynolds, “Patriots and Criminals, Criminals and Patriots,” 64; *British Mercury*, November 20, 1780. The widow was identified as named Livingston in *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, December 26, 1780.

<sup>45</sup> John Burgoyne, *A State of the Expedition from Canada* (London, 1782), quoted in Robert Jones, “Masculinity and Defeat: The Case of General John Burgoyne,” in Jones, *The Politics of Defeat: British*

know that there was some precedent for such British militarization of sensibility: for many conduct writers, James Wolfe, martyred hero of the successful Seven Years' War, exemplified courage together with sentimental refinement.<sup>46</sup> But in the context of impending, then realized, imperial defeat at least, it seems from the failed attempts of Burgoyne to be exonerated as a man of feeling and from the demilitarization of the man of feeling John André that the link of fraternity, militarism, and sensibility so forcefully forged on the American side could not be countenanced in Britain.

These bifurcations did not end with the close of hostilities. Though positing no relationship to the war, critics agree that in Britain the culture of sensibility was facing unprecedented criticism, even entering crisis later that same decade. Sentimental fiction, we are told, was "bombarded with criticism and ridicule," a spate of criticism that "crested in the late 1780s." Henry Mackenzie's 1785 essay on the novel was singularly censorious of "that species called the *Sentimental*." Symptoms of the conflict and controversy can be traced in new fiction titles that minced no words: *The Curse of Sentiment* (1787), *Excessive Sensibility* (1787), *The Illusions of Sentiment* (1788). From all sides, sensibility was shadowed with delusion and degeneracy, effeminacy and excess.<sup>47</sup> By the 1790s, John Brewer summarizes, the criticism of sensibility had "become a vociferous challenge to the very idea itself . . . as effeminate, vicious and foreign." Edmund Burke was perhaps not as attuned to all the changes following the war as he believed: allies' criticism of the chivalric male "sensibility" of his paean to Marie-Antoinette, queen of France, as "pure foppery" left him stunned and stung.<sup>48</sup>

What a contrast to the uses of sensibility on the other side of the Atlantic. For as elite colonial Britons became American nationals, they deployed sensibility with confidence and national purpose. A poetic contribution to one of the first nationalist magazines, the *Columbian Magazine*, lauded "sweet sensibility" as the "moral polish of the feeling heart." "The best dispositions usually have the most sensibility," affirmed an article in the *American Museum*. In the making of their new imagined community, as David Waldstreicher has deftly shown, "members of the upper classes staged impressive displays of patriotic sensibility" on the street and in taverns and salons, banquet halls and pleasure gardens. In the 1780s, respectable

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*Culture and the Loss of America* (forthcoming); Washington to Burgoyne, March 11, 1778, rpt. in Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, *Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century Derived from the Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne* (London, 1876), 329–30; Richard J. Hargrove, Jr., *General John Burgoyne* (Newark, N.J., 1983), 221–37; Solomon Lutnick, *The American Revolution and the British Press 1775–1783* (Columbia, Mo., 1967), 108–13. I am grateful to Robert Jones for permission to draw on his new research.

<sup>46</sup> Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 110–11. Analyses of "newer" male virtues among late eighteenth-century British military leaders have focused on humanity, not sensibility: Gerald Gordon and Nicholas Rogers, "Admirals as Heroes: Patriotism and Liberty in Hanoverian England," *Journal of British Studies* 28 (1989): 201–24.

<sup>47</sup> Todd, *Sensibility*, 144, quotation on 141; Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 360; Albert J. Kuhn, "Introduction," in Kuhn, ed., *Three Sentimental Novels* (New York, 1970), xx. Mackenzie's "On Novel Reading" and Harriet Thompson's *Excessive Sensibility* are analyzed closely in Ellis, *Politics of Sensibility*, 204–06 (quotation on 206), 212–13.

<sup>48</sup> John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), 121; Burke's *Reflections* (1790) and his response to criticism quoted in C. Johnson, *Equivocal Beings*, 4.

Americans drew on sensibility as the basis for “a new style of virtue” and “the cult of the nation.” Thus it forms part of the new political history of the early republic.<sup>49</sup> That American moral and national imaginings took this particular form among the elite, and that they did so despite the British heritage of sensibility, and in striking contrast to its discrediting in Britain—effeminate, excessive, vicious—is best explained in terms of the recent war: the importance of military history. Elite militarism had facilitated notions of sensibility so powerful and culturally successful, and so widely visible in wartime print culture, that they became part of the very core of American nation-building. Sensibility had created the Continental band of brothers, its means of cohesion, its modes of distinction, and now it was used in the elite attempt to make a new nation of republican citizens: harmonious but far from democratic. The process was only aided by the centrality of the war in American self-fashioning and public memory of the revolution. (For the first generation at least, it was officers—not the soldiery, not even John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams, distinguished for capturing André—who represented that memory.) By 1787, when the confederation debates began, the social and political merits of the “man of sensibility” could serve as argument for the “sentimental political union” of United States federalism.<sup>50</sup> No slur of effeminacy or the foreign here.

The cultural and political uses of sensibility in the early republic warrant fuller study. It bears observing here, however, that the use of sensibility by elite cultural nationalists fell especially on men. In the new magazines that are one of our best guides to their nationalist agenda, marriage certainly remained the heterosocial site for sensibility’s cultivation; the “insensible” bachelor (if less his counterpart, the spinster) became a figure of intentional, and politicized, fun. But the prescription fell as squarely on respectable men acting in homosocial institutions: to take a singular example, Benjamin Rush, physician and one-time surgeon in the Continental army, told members of the American Philosophical Society that they should “keep sensibility alive, by a familiarity with scenes of distress from poverty and disease” in benevolent organizations; sensibility was “the avenue to the moral faculty.” To the Society for Promoting Political Enquiries and the readers of the *American Museum*, he repeated that sensibility was the “centinel to the moral faculty.”<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Columbian Magazine, or Monthly Miscellany* 1 (1786): 200, and later rpt. in *Weekly Magazine of Original Essays, Fugitive Pieces and Interesting Intelligence* 1 (1798): 126; *The American Museum, or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces* 3 (1788): 150; Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 12, 73–80; and, on sentimental nationalism in literature, Elizabeth Barnes, *States of Sympathy: Seduction and Democracy in the American Novel* (New York, 1997), esp. chap. 2. For a general history of the “emotional sources of America’s self-image,” see Andrew Burstein, *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America’s Romantic Self-Image* (New York, 1999).

<sup>50</sup> On memory of the war, see Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America* (Philadelphia, 2002); John Phillips Resch, *Suffering Soldiers: Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment and Political Culture in the Early Republic* (Amherst, Mass., 1999); Cray, “Major John André and the Three Captors”; Charles Royster, “Founding a Nation in Blood: Military Conflict and American Nationality,” in Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Arms and Independence: The Military Character of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville, Va., 1984), 25–49. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 26, 1787.

<sup>51</sup> On the sentimental novel of the early republic, see especially Bruce Burgett, *Sentimental Bodies: Sex, Gender and Citizenship in the Early Republic* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); Julia A. Stern, *The Plight of Feeling: Sympathy and Dissent in the Early American Novel* (Chicago, 1997); Barnes, *States of Sympathy*; Shirley Samuels, ed., *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century*

If, in the wake of the war, men like Rush and the editors and contributors of nationalist magazines sought to make manly sensibility a basis for citizenship, moral virtue, and the American nation, it is no surprise that very quickly in turn sensibility would become one of the main terrains on which the dispossessed and excluded—especially women but also the enslaved—made their claims for better status and fuller participation in society and nation. It was contestable terrain: sensibility was, as the youthful Hamilton had written, a sign of human nature. (Rush's response, as he developed a medical theory tailored to "the present state of society and manners," would be to essentialize female sensibility as originally distinct and inferior and necessarily limited in reach.)<sup>52</sup> The elitist and homosocial legacy of sensibility in a war both traumatic and life-defining for its participants would be powerful. As sensibility transmuted into sentimentalism—the term was coined only in the nineteenth century—the struggle would play out in feminism, abolition, and elsewhere.<sup>53</sup>

William Hill Brown's book *The Power of Sympathy*, judged the first American sentimental novel, was published in 1789 to coincide with the inauguration of Washington as president. This is the late moment at which literary scholarship of American sensibility has traditionally begun, hence June Howard's call for critics to take the "long, broad view of American sentimentality."<sup>54</sup> The disruptive appeal of John André; the uses to which American officers, inheritors of a transatlantic British culture of sensibility, pressed it under military exigency; the taking of the army as a model for the nation; and the deployment of sensibility to distinctively American nation-building ends; these histories make the new political history more consequent on the war, and they suggest a length and breadth that makes sensibility part of military history as much as and inseparable from that of the new domestic literature.

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*American Culture* (New York, 1992). *American Museum* 1 (1787): 42–43; 5 (1790): 83–85; *Columbian Magazine* 4 (1790): 178, but contrast *Columbian Magazine* 1 (1787): 343–44. Benjamin Rush, "An Inquiry into the Influence of the Physical Causes on the Moral Faculty, Delivered before the American Philosophical Society . . . on the 27th of February, 1786," in Rush, *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1786), 44–45; *An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishment upon Criminals, and upon Society: Read in the Society for Promoting Political Enquiries . . . March 9, 1787* (Philadelphia, 1787), rpt. in *American Museum* 2 (1787): 142–53, quotation on 144.

<sup>52</sup> On sensibility, sex, and dissent, see Burgett, *Sentimental Bodies*; Stern, *Plight of Feeling*; Sarah Knott, "Benjamin Rush's Ferment: Enlightenment Medicine and Female Citizenship," in Knott and Barbara Taylor, eds., *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, England, forthcoming).

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1997); Elizabeth Clark, "'The Sacred Rights of the Weak': Pain, Sympathy, and the Culture of Individual Rights in Antebellum America," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 481–93; Karen Sanchez-Eppler, *Touching Liberty: Abolition, Feminism, and the Politics of the Body* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Ann Cvetkovich, *Mixed Feelings: Feminism, Mass Culture and Sentimentalism* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992); Samuels, *Culture of Sentiment*.

<sup>54</sup> For example, see Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York, 1986); Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (New York, 1985); Herbert Ross Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America 1789–1860* (Durham, N.C., 1940). June Howard, "What Is Sentimentality?" *American Literary History* 11 (1999): 63–81, quotation on 72.



IN THE LATE SUMMER AND AUTUMN OF 1782, another young British officer sat in an American jail awaiting execution. He had been chosen by lot to stand in for the murderer of a Continental officer, hidden behind British lines. This was Charles Asgill, again well-born, again “quite a Youth,” with his fate in Washington’s hands. The parallels to André were only too apparent; according to one indignant British officer, he might even be executed “on the same Spot where Major Andre suffered.”<sup>55</sup> Alexander Hamilton knew his own mind: the “death of André could not be dispensed with,” but this late sacrifice to retaliation would be “derogatory to the national character.” Where, in 1780, Washington had handed a board of officers the decision to execute the British officer, in 1782 he handed the decision to the Continental Congress. The telling moment for our purposes and for resolution of the case came with letters from the comte de Vergennes (the French foreign affairs minister), the French crown, and Asgill’s mother. Read aloud before the assembled delegates in Philadelphia, Vergennes’ letter appealed for Asgill’s release: “as a man of sensibility,” he offered his “earnest solicitations in favor of a mother and a family in Tears” and on behalf of the French monarchy.<sup>56</sup>

How was such a call to sensibility heard? Given their administration of the army, these wartime delegates were more than accustomed to claims of sensibility. In public office, they rarely claimed it for themselves. Typically working via consensus, members of Congress had far less fraught or frequent competition over honor than army officers. Distanced from the physical demands of war, subject to high turnover and irregular attendance, moreover, members of Congress similarly showed little impulse to “sensible” fraternalism. But Vergennes had chosen his words with all the canny art of a diplomat. With nerve-laden vocabulary, the New Jersey delegate recalled their effect as instant. The letters “operated like an electrical Shock.” The request of the French court combined with two powerful factors: caution at memory of the disruptive appeal of André and a beckoning imperative to national sensibility. On the cusp of the ending of the war and the securing of American nationhood, Congress’s decision was almost inexorable and certainly convenient: Asgill was freed.<sup>57</sup>

The echoes of the Asgill case, and of the wartime story told here, were also

<sup>55</sup> Turbutt Wright to John Hall, June 4, 1782, in Smith, *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, 18: 561; *Diary of Samuel Richards, Captain of the Connecticut Line, War of the Revolution, 1775–1781* (Philadelphia, 1909), 81; diary entry, July 1782, Thacher, *Military Journal*, 377; William Feilding to Lord Amherst, June 13, 1782, in Marion Balderston and David Syrett, eds., *The Lost War: Letters from British Officers during the American Revolution* (New York, 1975), 216. On the Asgill affair, see Larry Bowman, “The Court-Martial of Captain Richard Lippincott,” *New Jersey History* 89 (1971): 23–36; Arthur D. Pierce, *Smuggler’s Woods: Jaunts and Journeys in Colonial and Revolutionary New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1960), 252–77; Katherine Mayo, *George Washington’s Dilemma* (New York, 1938).

<sup>56</sup> Alexander Hamilton to Henry Knox, June 7, 1782, in Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 3: 92. The letter by Vergennes, with that enclosed by Asgill’s mother, was widely reprinted in loyalist and patriot America: *Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, December 26, 1782; *Salem Gazette*, December 26, 1782; *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, December 28, 1782; *New Jersey Gazette*, January 1, 1783; *Rivington’s Royal Gazette*, December 25, 1782; *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, December 30, 1782. It was also printed in a British press largely tired of the failed American war and preoccupied rather with events in the East: *London Chronicle*, February 8–11, 1783; *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, February 15, 1783; *Reading Mercury*, February 17, 1783; *Gentleman’s Magazine* 53 (1783): 177–78; *Scots Magazine* 44 (1782): 695–97. I thank Troy Bickham for some of these English references.

<sup>57</sup> Elias Boudinot, *Journal of Historical Recollections of American Events during the Revolutionary War* (Philadelphia, 1894), 63. The classic account of Congress remains Jack N. Rakove, *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress* (New York, 1979).



heard in France. Baron de Grimm wrote to Denis Diderot that Asgill had become of “general interest.” In Paris, John Adams caught the prevailing mood well: his release was “an exquisite relief to my feelings.” The British officer became the subject of a sentimental novel, poems, and at least two plays. The drama *Asgill* had Washington thanking the comte de Rochambeau for his country’s aid toward British defeat; in their newfound “unclouded felicity,” American inhabitants would not think of it “without shedding tears of *sensibility*.” Edme Billardon de Sauvigny’s dramatization of the Asgill affair, thinly reset as *Abdir*, was of similar tone. The radical philosophe Condorcet wryly wondered why the right to the city of New Haven, given to several French friends of the United States in the same year as its publication, had not also been extended to this cavalry officer turned playwright.<sup>58</sup>

The vocabulary of Vergennes and the Asgill dramas would have been familiar to French audiences. France, too, had its late eighteenth-century culture of sensibility. It was somewhat distinctive from the Anglo version: longer rooted in literature but perhaps more shallowly rooted in society, more secular and materialist, associated with the philosophes and *salonnières* and especially with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his cult at Ermenonville.<sup>59</sup> (Of course, Rousseau was known in Britain and its colonies, too; James Rivington’s advertisement for *The New Eloisa* promised readers in late colonial New York and Philadelphia that the expressions of Julie and St. Preux were such as only “men of no sensibility” could despise, while leisured British literary types flocked to Ermenonville in droves.) It might even be found in the barracks: after a second lieutenant named Napoleon Bonaparte received his commission from the French army in 1785, he used his free time to sketch out a sentimental novel.<sup>60</sup>

Scholars are now exploring what in 1930 André Monglond identified as a “universelle explosion de sensibilité” in the early years of the French Revolution.

<sup>58</sup> Baron de Grimm to Denis Diderot, quoted in Thacher, *Military Journal*, 381–82; John Adams quoted in Mayo, *George Washington’s Dilemma*, 249; *Asgill* (1785) attributed to J. L. Le Barbier and quoted in Lewis Rosenthal, *America and France: The Influence of the United States on France in the XVIII Century* (New York, 1882), 136; Gilbert Chinard, ed., *Vashington; ou, La liberté du nouveau monde*, by Billardon de Sauvigny (Princeton, N.J., 1941), xxii. Also see Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York, 1989), 30–31; Bernard Fay, *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America*, Ramon Guthrie, trans. (New York, 1966), 188–89.

<sup>59</sup> French scholarship, which has focused largely on literature and language, includes Anne C. Vila, *Enlightenment and Pathology: Sensibility in the Literature and Medicine of Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore, 1998); David Denby, *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760–1820* (Cambridge, 1994); Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, “L’innocence persécutée et ses avocats: Rhétorique et impact public du discours ‘sensible’ dans la France du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 40 (1993): 86–101; Anne Vincent-Buffault, *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France*, Teresa Bridgeman, trans. (London, 1991); Robert Darnton, “Readers Respond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity,” in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London, 1985), 209–49; J. S. Spinks, “‘Sentiment,’ ‘Sensible,’ ‘Sensibilité’: Les Mots, les Idées d’après les ‘Moralistes’ Français et Britanniques du Debut du Dix-Huitième Siècle,” *Zagadnienia Rodzajow Literackich* 20 (1977): 33–48; Geoffrey Atkinson, *The Sentimental Revolution: French Writers of 1690–1740* (Seattle, 1965). On the difference between Anglo and French modes, see Vila, *Enlightenment and Pathology*, 3; R. F. Brissenden, *Virtue in Distress: Studies in the Novel of Sentiment from Richardson to Sade* (London, 1974), 18–20.

<sup>60</sup> James Rivington, *A Catalogue of Books Sold by Rivington and Brown at Their Stores in New York and Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1762), 71–82; Paul M. Spurlin, *Rousseau in America, 1760–1809* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1940), esp. chap. 5; Claire Brock, “Rousseauvian Remains,” *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003): 136–53; Andy Martin, *Napoleon the Novelist* (Oxford, 2000), and see the review by David A. Bell: *London Review of Books* (September 6, 2001): 26–27.

Sensibility was “an available language [that] became part of the play of the revolutionaries,” at least, commentators agree, to 1794 and the Terror. As Suzanne Desan most recently argues, sensibility “tied the individual citizen to the social and the *bien public*,” distancing him from the artifice and corruption of the Old Regime. This claim, part of an argument about the revolution’s reconstitution of the family and politics, bases male sensibility in intimate relations with women. One clerical proponent of marriage appealed: “The hardening of the heart is an almost inevitable effect of celibacy, and the supernatural graces of religion . . . cannot replace this active and profound sensibilité, that is poured in our hearts by natural means.” Desan suggestively adds that fraternity, the least studied of the French tripartite slogan of revolution, found roots, too, in this sensibility.<sup>61</sup>

“I date the French Revolution from the moment when M. de la Fayette in heroic flight rushed forth from our ports,” declared the French publicist Cerutti in an open letter of 1789. A similar opinion was voiced in the United States: “foremost” in French opposition to despotism and in defense of rights was “a *Fayette*.” The latest analyst of the “sister revolutions” of America and France writes into a long tradition in opening her narrative with Lafayette and his French Continental army confreres returning across the Atlantic.<sup>62</sup> These liberal noblemen had witnessed and participated in the uses of sensibility in the American war (Lafayette’s celebration of Hamilton’s “amiable sensibility” being the obvious example. He, too, had found André a “charming” and disruptive figure: “I had the foolishness to let myself acquire a true affection for him.”) They made, as Simon Schama has identified, a “sentimental personality cult” around George Washington, wrote celebratory and widely popular accounts of the American war and the new nation, and were celebrated in turn. In the extraordinary contestation of the French Revolution—a revolution that was also a war—they had a heady early influence.<sup>63</sup>

The transnational history of sensibility and the American war for independence can, then, be triangulated. The Rousseauist idea that moral sensibility made man into a political citizen capable of reading the general will seems distinctive to the French case. So, too, does the extraordinary extent to which sensibility permeated formal political discourse: in the National Assembly, in the Convention debates

<sup>61</sup> André Monglond, *Le préromantisme français*, 2 vols. (Grenoble, 1930), 2: 342; Vincent-Buffault, *History of Tears*, 77–96, quotation on 91. And see William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), 173–211; Denby, *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order*, 139–65; Pierre Trahard, *La sensibilité révolutionnaire (1789–1794)* (Paris, 1936). Suzanne Desan, “The Politics of Intimacy: Marriage and Citizenship in the French Revolution,” in Knott and Taylor, *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*; Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004). I am grateful to Suzanne Desan for generously sharing her book with me before publication.

<sup>62</sup> Cerutti (Paris, 1789), quoted in Rosenthal, *America and France*, 181; *The Independent Gazetteer*; or, *The Chronicle of Freedom*, November 8, 1788; Susan Dunn, *Sister Revolutions: French Lightning, American Light* (New York, 1999), 3–19. And see Louis Gottschalk, “The Place of the American Revolution in the Causal Pattern of the French Revolution,” in Herman Ausubel, ed., *The Making of Modern Europe* (New York, 1951), 504, 507.

<sup>63</sup> Marquis de Lafayette to Adrienne de Noailles de Lafayette, October 7, 1780, in Idzerda, *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution*, 3: 195. Also see the memoirs of the chevalier de Pontgibaud: *A French Volunteer of the War of Independence*, Robert B. Douglas, trans. (Paris, 1898), 62. Schama, *Citizens*, 24–31. On the revolution as war, see Samuel F. Scott, *From Yorktown to Valmy: The Transformation of the French Army in an Age of Revolution* (Niwot, Colo., 1998); T. C. W. Blanning, *The French Revolutionary Wars 1787–1802* (London, 1996); Jean-Paul Bertaud, *The Army of the French Revolution: From Citizen-Soldiers to Instrument of Power*, R. R. Palmer, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1988).

during the trial of the king, in the speeches of Maximilien Robespierre. The joining of sensibility and fraternalism and their use in nation-building is less distinctive; the French revolutionaries were responding to similar dilemmas with similar ends. The fascination with figures such as Asgill and Washington, the American example, and the brief influence of Lafayette and his military brothers in the early years of the revolution, suggest that the American war may have spun trajectories of sensibility in French revolutionary political culture just as new modes of fraternity, citizenship, and nation were in formation.

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## The *Flâneur*, the *Badaud*, and the Making of a Mass Public in France, circa 1860–1910

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GREGORY SHAYA

There are in fact no masses; there are only ways of seeing people as masses.

Raymond Williams<sup>1</sup>

MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS AGO, American historians first analyzed late nineteenth-century crowd theory in France. They saw this fledgling social science in the light of the memories of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the contentious politics of the 1880s and 1890s. The crowd of these accounts—Gustave LeBon's *Psychology of the Crowd* (1895) being the most evocative and the most often cited example—was fickle, impressionable, easily led, prone to violence. It was construed as proletarian and feminine, an embodiment of pressing bourgeois worries: fears of workers and socialists, dissatisfaction with mass democracy, concern for the debilitating effects of alcohol, anxieties about the public roles of women, a conviction that French vitality was slipping away in low birth rates.<sup>2</sup> The mass press of the turn of the twentieth century, as one would imagine, broadcast the same fears and the same crowds, evident in stories and images of violent strikers, riotous students, and panicked theater crowds. But beside these, there was another crowd that captured the attention of the popular press, a crowd that was far more important to its vision of the world: the crowd of observers brought together in the street by crimes and disasters.

What should we make of these countless crowds preserved in the pages of the Parisian press of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—crowds at the

I would like to thank Raymond Grew, Laura Lee Downs, Dror Wahrman, Ross Chambers, Dominick LaCapra, Neil Hertz, Geoff Eley, Josephine Shaya, Katharine Norris, Jeff Roche, as well as the editors and anonymous readers of the *American Historical Review* for their invaluable suggestions. I am also grateful to Michael Wilson, Vanessa Schwartz, Lisa Tiersten, Joshua Cole, and audiences at the Centre for Social History at the University of Warwick and the 1998 and 2001 annual conferences of the Society for French Historical Studies for their insightful comments on early versions of this work. I owe a special thanks to Jean-Yves Mollier and Dominique Kalifa for their advice and their assistance in Paris. For their generous support of this research and writing, I am indebted to the Society for the Humanities at Cornell University, the College of Wooster (and the Ralston Endowment for Faculty Development in particular), and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

<sup>1</sup> Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (New York, 1958), 300.

<sup>2</sup> Robert A. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology: Gustave LeBon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1975); Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven, Conn., 1981); and Serge Moscovici, *L'âge des foules: Un traité historique de psychologie des masses* (Paris, 1981). See also Jaap van Ginneken, *Crowds, Psychology, and Politics, 1871–1899* (Cambridge, 1992); and Naomi Schor, *Zola's Crowds* (Baltimore, 1978).

crime, crowds at the disaster, crowds at the Paris Morgue, crowds at the funeral of the victims, crowds outside the courtroom? There were dense, uncountable crowds, curious crowds, noisy and raucous crowds, silent and dignified crowds. They ran to the site of an explosion, gathered on the boulevard to hear the latest news of a disaster, milled about outside the Palais de Justice, or flocked to the scene of a crime. In the columns of the popular dailies and in the illustrations of the weekend papers, these crowds were a commonplace. Their images reflected a sociological reality, no doubt. People *do* gather at extraordinary sights, in 2004 as in 1904. But we should not take these press visions of the crowd as incidental or as mere reporting.

I will suggest that the crowd of observers was more than an image in the press. In the formative period of the French mass press, from the early 1860s to 1910, I argue, this crowd—construed as sympathetic, emotional, and generous—was a powerful and emblematic figure that served important functions. It legitimated the attention to grisly sights and causes célèbres, to that prominent and profitable category of news designated in French as *faits divers*, “this daily bulletin of human miseries, where suicide lies side by side with murder, where traffic accidents fraternize with blazing fires.”<sup>3</sup> But more than this, in the mass press of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the crowd that gathered at a crime or a catastrophe served as a model for the public itself. It was no less than a means of constructing a new understanding of a public that came together outside the spell of class and politics. In contrast to the reasonable, abstract public of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century “public opinion,” the mass press nurtured and exploited a new, mass public, one that was defined by sensations, passions, and curiosity: a public as street crowd.

We have already heard tell of this new public in classic critiques of mass culture. Jürgen Habermas cast the rise of the commercial mass press of the late nineteenth century as the decline of the public sphere, where a “culture-debating public” gave way to a “culture-consuming public,” where the rational-critical debate of the bourgeois public sphere gave way to “staged ‘public opinion.’”<sup>4</sup> Habermas followed the interpretive lines of Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno’s diatribe against the “culture industry” in *Dialectic of the Enlightenment* (1944). The Frankfurt School theorists lamented the commercial concentration of radio and cinema and highlighted the web of ideological interests that lay behind the uniformity of mass-produced, mass-consumed culture. They saw it as a mechanism of social control.<sup>5</sup> In his picture of the late nineteenth-century fall of the bourgeois public sphere, Habermas argued that the new public of the late nineteenth century was no

<sup>3</sup> *Le petit journal*, October 13, 1866. “Faits divers” has both the particular meaning, rooted in nineteenth-century journalism, of “news items” (evident in a literal translation of the term) and a more general meaning, readily apparent in the late nineteenth century and today, denoting curious, violent, or shocking news. For my purposes here, I speak simply of news of crime and catastrophe.

<sup>4</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Bourgeois Public Sphere*, Thomas Burger, trans. (1962; Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 159–75, 181–201, esp. 194–95. He described it as the “refeudalization” of the public sphere. “The world fashioned by the mass media is a public sphere in appearance only” (171).

<sup>5</sup> Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, “The Culture Industry,” *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, John Cumming, trans. (1944; New York, 1972), 120–67.



public at all—that is, it had no space for rational-critical discussion. The public of the mass press, for Habermas, was a passive audience, a spectator at a “staged display”—a false public.<sup>6</sup>

Habermas’s picture of the decline of the public sphere has been interrogated and criticized on several fronts, of course.<sup>7</sup> For my purposes here, the analysis of Vanessa Schwartz in *Spectacular Realities* is especially relevant.<sup>8</sup> The early mass culture of late nineteenth-century Paris, Schwartz argues, was built on the “visual representation of reality as spectacle” expressed in the culture of the Parisian boulevard after Baron Haussmann’s renovations, in the sensational reporting of the mass press of Paris, and in the display of bodies at the Paris Morgue.<sup>9</sup> In the wax displays at the Musée Grévin, in panoramas and in early cinema, this “spectacularized reality” was offered up as visual pleasure for an eager public. And what was this public? Here, Schwartz offers an explanation that is the reverse image of Habermas’s false public. Her crowd is the audience at a spectacle, but it is no passive audience. For Schwartz, the crowd assembled before “the spectacular and sensational urban life promoted on the boulevards and in the mass press” was not a compact of alienated consumers. “[T]he urban mob happily assembled as a new collective in front of the spectacle of the real.”<sup>10</sup> It was a “new crowd,” to be juxtaposed to the dangerous, revolutionary crowds so familiar to French history, a new crowd composed of all classes, of men and women, a new crowd formed by a democratizing commercial culture.<sup>11</sup> Its solidarity—across lines of class and gender—was a real community of interest.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Bourgeois Public Sphere*, 206.

<sup>7</sup> Habermas has been more influential for his celebration of the rise of an idealized public sphere of rational-political debate in the eighteenth century than for his lamentation of its late nineteenth-century demise. But his interpretation of the fall of the public recapitulates and resonates with a long and continuing tradition of reading mass culture as an instrument of domination. I present it here as a point of orientation, although, as will be clear, I do not dismiss this critical view out of hand. Craig Calhoun, in the introduction to the volume he edited on *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), succinctly explains a central difficulty of Habermas’s historical portrait: “Habermas tends to judge the eighteenth century by Locke and Kant . . . and the twentieth century by the typical suburban television viewer . . . his treatment of the earlier period doesn’t look at ‘penny dreadfuls,’ lurid crime and scandal sheets, and other less than altogether rational-critical branches of the press or at the demagoguery of traveling orators, and glances only in passing at the relationship of crowds to political discourse. The result is perhaps an overestimation of the degeneration of the public sphere” (33). For critical views on the decline of the public sphere, see the essays in the same volume by Nancy Fraser, Michael Schudson, Geoff Eley, and Michael Warner. See also Bruce Robbins, ed., *The Phantom Public Sphere* (Minneapolis, 1993); Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience* (Minneapolis, 1993); and Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York, 2002).

<sup>8</sup> Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

<sup>9</sup> Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 16, 44.

<sup>11</sup> Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 202.

<sup>12</sup> Schwartz strikingly conveys the fin-de-siècle commercialization of the real. But her explanation for the meanings of this new form of spectatorship is less than satisfying. It is not at all clear in what sense the consumers of this new culture were “able to be part of the spectacle and yet command it at the same time” (*Spectacular Realities*, 10). Nor is it clear whether this “new crowd” was a new form of sociability or the figurative construction of mass culture itself. The diversity of crowds seems a matter of ideology, not simple reporting. What is refreshing in Schwartz’s account is the rejection of the bad old view of mass culture. Not satisfied with the long-running dump on mass culture as the worst that’s been thought and said (to invert Matthew Arnold) and a distraction from more pressing political concerns, Schwartz invites historians to a thoughtful examination of the forms of commodified spectatorship that flourished in France at the end of the nineteenth century. But we might ponder the

This insistence on authentic communities rising out of the consumption of mass culture has been a common theme in the recent and burgeoning literature on French mass culture more generally.<sup>13</sup> In a wide-ranging study of crime representations in Belle Epoque France, *L'encre et le sang*, Dominique Kalifa returns often to the idea that press tales of crime served as a mechanism of solidarity in an era of social conflict and fractured identities. Crime representations—and the *faits divers* more generally—“could . . . bind together the broken strands of the social fabric.”<sup>14</sup> In a similar vein, Jean-Yves Mollier presents the “media culture that would triumph between 1880 and 1910” as an “antidote to anomie.”<sup>15</sup> Christian Delporte explains the French mass press of the turn of the century in similar terms. The new press of the late nineteenth century addressed the masses, and “the masses recognized themselves in the very production that had been constructed for them.”<sup>16</sup>

Taken together, these studies present us with two visions of the audience of mass culture: the first, a crowd of duped readers, the second, an authentic community rising out of mass culture. The juxtaposition will call to mind fifty years of debates over the repressive or liberatory potential of mass culture.<sup>17</sup> My aim is

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meanings of her portrait of the audience of mass culture. It is here, I will suggest, that understanding the associations of the *badaud* will help us.

<sup>13</sup> French historians have been somewhat slow to approach mass culture as such. Whereas they have supplied many of the methods and concepts for the study of early modern popular culture, they have come only recently to serious engagement with the history of mass culture. But they have come to it with determination. One sign of this has been the growing number of works on media history. For an orientation to these issues, see Christophe Prochasson, “De la culture des foules à la culture des masses,” in André Burguière and Jacques Revel, eds., *Histoire de la France: Choix culturels et mémoire* (1991; Paris, 2000), 181–232. See also Pascal Griset, *Les révolutions de la communication, XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1991); Jean-Noël Jeanneney, *Une histoire des médias, des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1996); Frédéric Barbier and Catherine Bertho-Lavenir, *Histoire des médias de Diderot à Internet* (Paris, 1996); Marc Martin, *Médias et journalistes de la République* (Paris, 1997); Christian Delporte, “Presse et culture de masse en France (1880–1914),” *Revue historique*, no. 605 (January/March 1998): 93–121; Jean-Yves Mollier, *La lecture et ses publics à l'époque contemporaine: Essais d'histoire culturelle* (Paris, 2001); Dominique Kalifa, *La culture de masse en France*, Vol. 1: 1860–1930 (Paris, 2001); Jean-Pierre Rioux and Jean-François Sirinelli, eds., *La culture de masse en France de la Belle Epoque à aujourd'hui* (Paris, 2002); Christian Delporte, *Histoire des médias en France de la Grande Guerre à nos jours* (Paris, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Dominique Kalifa, *L'encre et le sang: Récits de crimes et société à la Belle Epoque* (Paris, 1995), 283. Kalifa quickly puts aside the notion that this mass culture of crime created a mass of duped readers. On the contrary: these tales of crime—in the press, in popular literature, in early cinema—formed a “common discourse” (283); “recalling readers to their community, to its norms and values,” tales of crime built “real . . . cohesion” (284). Emile Durkheim is a more important reference here than Habermas. Kalifa, it must be said, is also attuned to the ways in which the turn-of-the-twentieth-century culture of crime could be taken up by the mass press to exploit public insecurities—broadcasting fears of an urban criminal class or mobilizing opinion in favor of the death penalty.

<sup>15</sup> Jean-Yves Mollier, “Le parfum de la Belle Epoque,” in Rioux and Sirinelli, *La culture de masse en France*, 73, 114. Driven by the commercialization of everyday life, with millions of readers reading the same reports of a new mass press, this new culture, Mollier argues, served to integrate the isolated individual into French society and the French nation (114). It was no less than “a silent cultural revolution.” This new mass culture was a “steamroller” crushing and smoothing the particularities of French culture (112 and following).

<sup>16</sup> Christian Delporte, “Presse et culture de masse en France (1880–1914),” *Revue historique*, no. 605 (January/March 1998): 120. Delporte presents the French press in the years between 1880 and World War I—that is, after the press law of 1881, which eliminated restrictions on the freedom of the press—as the vanguard of an emergent mass culture in France. He points to the *faits divers* as one of the pillars of a new formula of news.

<sup>17</sup> I go on to suggest that this debate is as old as mass culture itself. For some markers of the

not to reenact these familiar debates but to view the question through a new optic: to investigate *the idea of the public* produced in the mass press of the late Second Empire and the early Third Republic in France. I take as my starting point the notion that the “public” is not a simple sociological reality—so many readers picking up a newspaper—but a cultural production. In this, I follow John Hartley’s suggestion that journalism “produces its own consuming subjects—the public, the consumer”<sup>18</sup> and Michael Warner’s insistence that the very idea of a public is “a cultural form, a kind of practical fiction.”<sup>19</sup>

In the analysis that follows, I center my attention on the pictures of the crowd and the public offered up by the mass press in France from the 1860s to about 1910.<sup>20</sup> I ask: How did journalists and illustrators picture the crowd of observers

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scholarly debate, see Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America* (Glencoe, Ill., 1956); Frederic Jameson, “Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture,” *Social Text* 1 (1979): 94–190; Stuart Hall, “Notes on Deconstructing the ‘Popular,’” in Raphael Samuel, ed., *People’s History and Socialist Theory* (London, 1981); Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson, eds., *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); James Naremore and Patrick Brantlinger, eds., *Modernity and Mass Culture* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991); Lawrence W. Levine, “The Folklore of Industrial Society: Popular Culture and Its Audiences,” *AHR* 97 (December 1992): 1369–99; and the responses in the same issue of Robin D. G. Kelley, Natalie Zemon Davis, and T. J. Jackson Lears; and John Hartley, *Popular Reality: Journalism, Modernity, Popular Culture* (New York, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> Hartley, *Popular Reality*, 47. Hartley’s study is idiosyncratic, exuberant, and thought-provoking. With forays into the pamphlet literature of the French Revolution, late twentieth-century tabloids, war photojournalism, and much more, Hartley explains popular media as a sense-making system that has little in common with an idealized rational-critical public sphere. See also John Hartley, *The Politics of Pictures: The Creation of the Public in the Age of Popular Media* (New York, 1992).

<sup>19</sup> Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York, 2002), 8. He adds, and I follow him here as well, “a kind of fiction that has taken on life, and very potent life at that.” Warner is also helpful in explaining the appeal of disaster. “Disaster is popular,” he argues, speaking of American mass media in the 1970s and 1980s, “because it is a way of making mass subjectivity available, and it tells us something about the desirability of that mass subject” (177).

<sup>20</sup> This has commonly been described as the golden age of the press in French, from the founding of *Le petit journal*, the pioneer of a new popular press, in 1863, to the 1881 press law that removed most legal restrictions on newspapers, to the development of weekly illustrated supplements like the *Supplément illustré du petit journal* and the *Supplément illustré du petit parisien*, in 1890, and through the expansion of circulations at the turn of the century. In 1860, all French dailies combined sold 150,000 papers in a day. By 1870, the circulation of the Paris daily press alone would reach 1 million; by 1880, 2 million; by 1910, 5 million. By 1914, the French press had a total circulation of 9,500,000. In 1887, *Le petit journal* claimed a circulation of 950,000 newspapers, “the highest circulation of all the newspapers of the world.” In 1914, *Le petit parisien* sold 1.5 million copies a day. It advertised “the highest newspaper circulation in the world.” The illustrated supplements of the two papers had circulations around 1 million through the 1890s. See Pierre Albert and Pierre Guiral in Claude Bellanger, ed., *Histoire générale de la presse française*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1969–76), vol. 2: 258–60, 311, vol. 3: 682; and Michael Palmer, *Des petits journaux aux grandes agences* (Paris, 1983), 320–42.

For the history of the French press in this period, see Bellanger, *Histoire générale de la presse française*; Palmer, *Des petits journaux*; Thomas Ferenczi, *L’invention du journalisme en France: Naissance de la presse moderne à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1993); Christian Delporte, *Histoire du journalisme et des journalistes en France* (Paris, 1995); Martin, *Médias et journalistes de la République*; Dean de la Motte and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, *Making the News: Modernity and the Mass Press in Nineteenth-Century France* (Amherst, Mass., 1999); and Patrick Eveno, *L’argent de la presse française des années 1820 à nos jours* (Paris, 2003).

For crime and disaster in the French press, see the very wide-ranging literature on crime and the *faits divers*. In addition to the works of Kalifa and Schwartz mentioned above, see Roland Barthes, “Structure du fait divers,” in *Essais critiques* (Paris, 1964); Georges Auclair, *Le mana quotidien: Structures et fonctions de la chronique des faits divers* (1970; Paris, 1982); *Le fait divers: Musée national des arts et traditions populaires, 19 novembre 1982–18 avril 1983* (Paris, 1982); Michelle Perrot, “Faits divers et histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Annales: E.S.C.* 38 (1983): 911–19; Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness,*

that gathered at a remarkable sight? How did newspapers write their readers? I begin with a close look at two emblematic figures of the individual in the street: the *flâneur*—the stroller—and the *badaud*—the curious observer, the rubberneck, the gawker. The *flâneur* has had a brilliant career in recent historical and literary scholarship. I argue that the *badaud* and the crowd that he or she formed a part of were more important to the new mass press of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Mass culture in France was made, I argue, not through *flânerie* “for and by the masses”<sup>21</sup> but through the image of the *badaud*.

What follows is a close reading of literature and press in the French Second Empire and early Third Republic, but the issues in play—the power of news, the making of a mass public—extend far beyond the Hexagon and far beyond this period. In his American Historical Association presidential address of 1999, Robert Darnton called for a “general attack on the problem of how societies made sense of events and transmitted information about them.”<sup>22</sup> Such investigations, in fact, have been going on for some time now. They reveal an understanding of news as not just a realm of political debate but a cultural practice that forms communities and shapes identities.<sup>23</sup> The point is simple but essential. The news report—of child prostitution in 1880s London, of pro-war rallies in Berlin in July of 1914, of mugging in 1970s Britain, to take a few examples—is more than a report, it is an important site for the production, the maintenance, and the revision of a social imaginary.<sup>24</sup> We should not suppose that there is one recipe for the making of a mass public, but crime, catastrophe, and crowds figure largely among the ingredients. Such scenes—centered on the broken bodies of victims or on the collective body of observers—are more than the occasion for cheap thrills, they are the opportunity for conversations about the social body.

HAVE WE SEEN ENOUGH OF THE *flâneur*, the Parisian idler who sampled the sights and sounds of the city as he strolled with no destination in mind? He was a common

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and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline (Princeton, N.J., 1984); Jean-Claude Baillon, ed., *Faits divers: Annales des passions excessives* (1988; Paris, 1993); Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), esp. chap. 6; Marie-Christine Leps, *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Discourse* (Durham, N.C., 1992): 578–603; David H. Walker, *Outrage and Insight: Modern French Writers and the “Faits Divers”* (Oxford, 1995); Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), esp. chap. 1; Thomas Cragin, “Cultural Continuity in Modern France: The Representation of Crime in the Popular Press of Nineteenth-Century Paris” (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1996); Anne-Claude Ambroise-Rendu, “Les faits divers dans la presse française de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle” (thèse, Université de Paris I, 1997); Annick Dubied and Marc Lits, *Le fait divers* (Paris, 1999); Robin Walz, *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Paris* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000); and Marine M’Sili, *Le fait divers en République: Histoire sociale de 1870 à nos jours* (Paris, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Darnton, “An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris,” *AHR* 105 (February 2000): 1.

<sup>23</sup> See Michael Schudson, “News, Public, Nation,” *AHR* 107 (April 2002): 481–95.

<sup>24</sup> Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992); Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth and Mobilization in Germany* (New York, 2000); Stuart Hall, et al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (New York, 1978).



figure of the nineteenth century, essential to any picture of the streets of Paris. The *flâneur* was the man of leisure who went into the street in search of some satisfaction for his overdeveloped sensibilities. He was, by various accounts, a gastronome, a connoisseur, an idler, an artist, and “the one, the true sovereign of Paris.”<sup>25</sup> If the *flâneur* was a familiar character in the nineteenth century, it was Walter Benjamin who made him the object of scholarly interest in the twentieth. For Benjamin, in his critical explorations of Charles Baudelaire’s Paris—explorations that opened up on an analysis of modernity—the *flâneur* was a powerful symbol. He was a figure of the modern artist-poet, a figure keenly aware of the bustle of modern life, an amateur detective and investigator of the city, but also a sign of the alienation of the city and of capitalism. For Benjamin, the *flâneur* met his destiny in the triumph of consumer capitalism. The shop windows of the new department stores of Paris distracted his vision, turned strolling to window shopping.<sup>26</sup>

The last twenty years have seen a flood of scholarship centered on the *flâneur*. Drawing on Benjamin, historians, urban sociologists, and literary critics have used the *flâneur* to explain the tumult of metropolitan life, to trace the class tensions and gender divisions of the nineteenth-century city, to represent alienation and the detached relationship between individuals characteristic of modernity.<sup>27</sup> The *flâneur* has served as “the emblematic figure of modernity”<sup>28</sup> and as the symbol of the postmodern spectatorial gaze.<sup>29</sup> The *flâneur*, it should be clear, does a lot of explanatory work.<sup>30</sup> One scholar who has mined the vein of *flâneur* studies recently noted, “*Flânerie* has become so common a term to describe urban spectatorship that it has begun to seem hollow.”<sup>31</sup> We would do best to recall the nineteenth-century

<sup>25</sup> Bazin, quoted in *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, s.v. “flâneur” (1872).

<sup>26</sup> Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, Harry Zohn, trans. (London, 1983), 54.

<sup>27</sup> Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 185–87, 304–07, devotes close attention to Benjamin’s *flâneur*; Janet Wolff, “The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity,” in *Theory, Culture and Society* 2 (1985): 37–48, argued that the *flâneur* was male and, by necessity, that this kind of idling was unavailable to women; the essays in Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, eds., *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), return to the *flâneur* as to a touchstone. See also the essays in Keith Tester, ed., *The Flâneur* (London, 1994); Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, “The Flâneur: The City and Its Discontents,” in *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-Century City* (Berkeley, 1994); Christopher Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1992); Susan Buck-Morss, “The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering,” *New German Critique* 39 (1986): 99–140; Richard D. E. Burton, “The Unseen Seer or Proteus in the City,” *French Studies* 42 (1988); and Mike Featherstone, “The Flâneur, the City and Virtual Public Life,” *Urban Studies* 35 (1998): 909–25.

<sup>28</sup> Charney and Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, 5. Priscilla Ferguson describes the *flâneur* as “an emblematic representative of modernity and personification of contemporary urbanity”; “The Flâneur on and off the Streets of Paris,” in Tester, *The Flâneur*, 22.

<sup>29</sup> Anne Friedberg, *Windowshopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

<sup>30</sup> All of these interpretations are made possible (and to some degree, too, they are undermined) by the multiplication of meanings inherent in the word. Indeed, the nineteenth century itself clung to no strict definitions of the term. For Benjamin, the department store was the death of the *flâneur*. Anne Friedberg, by contrast, *Windowshopping*, sees it as the transcendence of *flânerie*. By some accounts the *flâneur* is passionate and sensitive, by others he is distracted and insensitive. Baudelaire presented the *flâneur* as the “man of the crowd,” an equation Benjamin would reject. All these possibilities are evident in the multiple ways in which nineteenth-century writers used the term. For the historical specificity of the *flâneur*, see Ferguson, “Flâneur on and off the Streets of Paris.”

<sup>31</sup> Vanessa R. Schwartz, “Walter Benjamin for Historians,” *AHR* 106 (December 2001): 1732. She goes on to argue for the continuing relevance of the term to describe “a historically specific mode of



uses of the *flâneur* in order to gain some leverage on its current meanings. We can begin with the example of Baudelaire, an essential stop for *flâneur* scholarship since Benjamin.

In "The Painter of Modern Life" (written 1859–1860), Baudelaire described the newspaper illustrator Constantin Guys as the "perfect *flâneur*," one who moved through the crowd like a fish through water. For this *flâneur*, it was "an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite." "Rejoicing" in his anonymity, the *flâneur* was "an 'I' with an insatiable appetite for the 'non-I.'" His passion was "to become one with the crowd."<sup>32</sup> This picture of the *flâneur*-artist is echoed in the *flâneur*-poet of "The Crowds" (first published 1861), the prose poem from *Paris Spleen*. "The poet enjoys the incomparable privilege of being, as he pleases, himself and others." In the crowd, he took part in "this universal communion," "this ineffable orgy," "this holy prostitution" with pleasures "more vast and more refined" than "the happy of the world" would ever know.<sup>33</sup>

But this vision of communion/sexual union with the "non-I" was no more than a dream, and Baudelaire showed himself waking from his dreams to a mundane, sullied reality. In "Parisian Dream" (1860, a poem dedicated to Guys), the poet recalls his dream of a marvelous city of marble, water, steel, and slate, a "Babel of stairways and arcades/An infinite palace." But the dream would be broken.

I woke; my mind was bright with flame;  
I saw the cheap and sordid hole  
I live in, and my cares all came  
Burrowing back into my soul.<sup>34</sup>

If "The Crowds" described the *flâneur* as triumphal hero, Baudelaire's poetry was more likely to present him as overstrained by the experience of the city. "The Seven Old Men" (1859) opens with a picture of the city and the *flâneur*. "Ant-seething city, city full of dreams,/Where ghosts by daylight tug the passer's sleeve." Here the poet-*flâneur* wanders in "the sad street," "steeling my nerves to play a hero's part." He encounters an old man, "not bent, but broken," a frightening apparition made more frightening by the fact that he is followed by seven copies of himself. The poet

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experiencing the spectacle of the city in which the viewer assumes the position of being able to observe, command, and participate in this spectacle all at the same time" (1733).

<sup>32</sup> Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, Jonathan Mayne, ed. and trans. (New York, 1986), 9. The essay was written in 1859–1860 and published in *Le figaro*, November 26, 28, and December 3, 1863. Baudelaire's *flâneur* was not so self-assured. It is hard, in fact, not to read the essay as ironic, or as the work of fantasy. The modernity of "The Painter of Modern Life" was no more than a fashion show, a military parade, a convoy of fine carriages and proud horses. It seems to fly in the face of the jarring urban experience fathomed in Baudelaire's poetry. Why would Baudelaire choose to champion Guys and his watercolors of bourgeois life? There is no evidence here of the Baudelaire that Benjamin described as a "secret agent—an agent of the secret discontent of his class with its own rule" (*Charles Baudelaire*, 104n).

<sup>33</sup> "Les foudres," *Petits poèmes en prose*, Jacques Crépet, ed. (Paris, 1926), 33 and following.

<sup>34</sup> "Rêve parisien," *Les fleurs du mal*, Jacques Crépet, ed. (Paris, 1930), 176–78. The translation of this stanza is by Edna St. Vincent Millay, in *Flowers of Evil*, Marthiel and Jackson Mathews, eds. (New York, 1955), 7. "En rouvrant mes yeux pleins de flamme/J'ai vu l'horreur de mon taudis,/Et senti, rentrant dans mon âme,/La pointe des soucis maudits . . ."

turns his back on this “hellish cortege,” returns home, and shuts his door.<sup>35</sup> In “To a Passerby” (1860), the *flâneur* reads “intoxicating sweetness and murderous pleasure” in the eye of a female passerby. It is a street encounter with “fugitive beauty,” but it is momentary and unrequited. There will be no communion here. The “I” will return to his garret with nothing but longing.<sup>36</sup>

Baudelaire threw the *flâneur* into stark relief against a picture of the urban crowd. In moments of ecstasy, the poet could glimpse individuals, but these were always distanced from him. For all of his talk of the pleasure of crowds, Baudelaire expressed an extreme individualism verging on solipsism. “The true hero,” he wrote in one of the aphorisms from *Mon coeur mis à nu*, “finds his pleasure in solitude.”<sup>37</sup> Or as Jean-Paul Sartre put it, “The lover of crowds was he who had the greatest fear of crowds.”<sup>38</sup> Baudelaire’s poet-*flâneur* was distinctly separate from the crowd he stepped into.

There is no end of testimonials from the *flâneur*. But how shall we come to understand the experience of the urban crowd, that faceless mass that the *flâneur* defined himself against? Here, the figure of the *flâneur* is not so useful. Rather, we should look to another nineteenth-century urban type, the *badaud*. The word can be translated as gawker; it carried the connotation of idle curiosity, gullibility, simpleminded foolishness and gaping ignorance. The *Grand dictionnaire universel* (1867) defined him in this way: “The *badaud* is curious; he is astonished by everything he sees; he believes everything he hears, and he shows his contentment or his surprise by his open, gaping mouth.”<sup>39</sup> If the *flâneur* was the model for the Baudelairean poet, the *badaud* offers a model for the crowd he passed through.<sup>40</sup>

Benjamin himself contrasted the two figures: “In the *flâneur*, the joy of watching is triumphant. It can concentrate on observation; the result is the amateur detective. Or it can stagnate in the gaper; then the *flâneur* has turned into the *badaud*.”<sup>41</sup> The *flâneur*, then, is a man *in* the crowd but not *of* the crowd, and this is true despite Baudelaire’s moments of enthusiasm; indeed, it is especially true of the *flâneur* of Baudelaire’s poetry. The *flâneur* was a man of leisure; he demanded his elbow room. The *badaud* was the pedestrian who wedged him or herself (for the *badaud*’s gender was distinctly less determinate) into the crowd.<sup>42</sup> The *flâneur* was the gourmet of the street; the *badaud* was the gourmand. The *flâneur* observed the city with intelligence and distinction; he turned his overdeveloped sensibilities to dwell on mysteries and telling details. The *badaud* gawked; she sought out a story that

<sup>35</sup> “Les sept vieillards,” *Les fleurs du mal*, 153–55, trans. by Roy Campbell, in *Flowers of Evil*, 83, 85.

<sup>36</sup> “À une passante,” *Les fleurs du mal*, 161.

<sup>37</sup> “Mon coeur mis à nu,” *Juvenilia, oeuvres posthumes, reliquiae*, vol. 2, Jacques Crépet and Claude Pichois, eds. (Paris, 1952), 92.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century*, 142.

<sup>39</sup> *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, s.v. “badaud” (1867).

<sup>40</sup> The line between them, however, could be blurry. “The *badaud*,” wrote Boitard, “is simply the caricature of the *flâneur*.” *Grand dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “badaud.” Victor Fournel compared the two, even as he would distinguish them two pages later. “Quelle bonne et douce chose que la flânerie, et comme le métier de badaud est plein de charmes et séductions.” Fournel, *Ce qu’on voit dans les rues de Paris* (1855; Paris, 1867), 261.

<sup>41</sup> Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, 62.

<sup>42</sup> Compare Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, 54.

would touch her. He was dominated by his curiosity. The 1867 Larousse encyclopedia entry shows the *badaud* at work.

One is constantly jostled by a crowd of individuals who leave their houses each morning to kill time in city squares, intersections and on the boulevards; they have ten hours to dispose of, and when they return home in the evening, they want to have something to recount: an accident, a poor devil who falls from a bus into the street or faints from hunger, an old dog drowned in the Seine, etc., etc.; and when one of these Tituses of the pavement has seen nothing, observed nothing, he cries: I have lost my day!

This misfortune, we are told, rarely happens. "For when the street has nothing to offer, the *badaud* can always rely on the Morgue, the Jardin des Plantes, the cemetery at Père Lachaise, and in a last resort, there are the street performers of the Place de la Bastille, or the puppeteers of the Champs-Élysées."<sup>43</sup> The *badaud*, like the *flâneur*, had a special connection to Paris, and this was an old inheritance. Louis-Sébastien Mercier (in 1782) noted that Parisians were often described as "perfect *badauds*," enraptured by any strange sight.<sup>44</sup> An early nineteenth-century observer of the city described *badauderie* as the one ineffable trait of the Parisian character. "In Paris, everything becomes an event: a train of wood being floated down the river, two coaches running into each other, a man dressed differently from others, an armored car, a dog fight, if they are noticed by two people, there will soon be a thousand, and the crowd will always grow, until some other circumstance, just as remarkable, pulls it away."<sup>45</sup>

The *badaud*, it should be clear, offers a much better symbol of the urban masses than the *flâneur*. Victor Fournel, in *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris* (1867), made the distinction perfectly clear.

The *flâneur* must not be confused with the *badaud*; a nuance should be observed here . . . The simple *flâneur* . . . is always in full possession of his individuality. By contrast, the individuality of the *badaud* disappears, absorbed by the outside world, which ravishes him, which moves him to drunkenness and ecstasy. Under the influence of the spectacle that presents itself to him, the *badaud* becomes an impersonal creature; he is no longer a man, he is the public, he is the crowd.<sup>46</sup>

It is no surprise, then, that the *flâneur* is usually pictured as the solitary wanderer, while the *badaud* is one of many. The words themselves reveal the distinction: *badaud* was much more likely to be used in the plural; the *flâneur* was more often a verb than a noun, but it was no more likely to be plural or singular.<sup>47</sup> The *badaud* came in a group, a gathering, a crowd of *badauds*.

<sup>43</sup> *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, s.v. "badaud" (1867).

<sup>44</sup> Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* (Amsterdam, 1782), vol. 1: 74 and following. Voltaire made the same point in the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (Amsterdam, 1764), s.v. "badaud."

<sup>45</sup> V.-J. Etienne de Jouy, *L'hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin, ou observations sur les moeurs et les usages parisiens au commencement du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 1 (1815; Paris, 1997), 140. The point was debatable. Boitard: "C'est fort injustement que l'on accuse le Parisien de badauderie, car personne n'est moins badaud que lui." Quoted in the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, s.v. "badaud" (1867). He blamed the reputation on the many foreigners in Paris.

<sup>46</sup> Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, 263. Benjamin quotes this passage in a footnote, *Charles Baudelaire*, 69n.

<sup>47</sup> A word frequency search of the main FRANTEXT database shows, for 1750–1980: "badaud": 48 occurrences; "badauds": 185; "flâneur": 42; "flâneurs": 53. FRANTEXT database at the ARTFL Project, <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/databases/TLF/> (February 16, 2003).

The *flâneur* led a lively existence in nineteenth-century Paris. But beside this figure was the *badaud*—the rubberneck who gathered in crowds upon the scene of some violence or commotion. *Badauderie* was understood as a popular practice of the Parisian street and contrasted to the more refined practice of *flânerie*. For the most part, writers called on *badauderie* to criticize the slack-jawed and impressionable crowd of the street, to distinguish gaping from intelligent observation. But the lowly *badaud* was to have a startlingly successful career in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

WHERE THE *flâneur* WAS ARISTOCRATIC, at least in spirit, the *badaud* was more likely to be associated with workers, artisans, shopkeepers, and sales clerks. Where the *flâneur* stood in to explain the alienation of the city, the leering male gaze, and the sexual underside of modern urban life, the *badaud* revealed a gaze of often morbid curiosity and a lowest-common-denominator culture of the street. Where the *flâneur* was detached and blasé, the *badaud* was emotional and easily riled. Where the *flâneur* was male, the *badaud* was feminized. In literature and in common usage, the *flâneur* was preferable to the *badaud*, preferable to the simpleminded, gullible crowd. But in the chronicles and reports of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Parisian press, the *badaud* and the crowd were elevated. In the newspaper, the coming together of people in the street was presented as a sign of empathy and insight and not as a sign of simplemindedness.

The chronicles and commentaries that filled the pages of the late nineteenth-century Parisian press—the *Chroniques*, *Causeries*, *Promenades*—were presented as strolls through the city of Paris or beyond. The early *Le petit journal* (avatar of the mass press in France, founded 1863) presented a chronicle under the heading “Promenade à Paris” that told human-interest stories through the metaphor of strolling. It was as if the search for news was simply a matter of *flânerie*. The chronicler, if ever at a loss for words, had only to walk into the street—through the *faubourgs*, the *quais*, the boulevards, by the Palais de Justice, the markets, or the Morgue—to find his day’s story. The “Promenade à Paris” was a “search for fresh news.”<sup>48</sup> One chronicler presented himself in these terms: “I am a *flâneur*, and even I am sometimes surprised at the strange sights that seem to rise out of the soil of this Paris that we think we’ve always known.”<sup>49</sup> He explained his logic: “Every street of Paris is a theater with its comedy or its drama.” Here was the lowbrow mirror of the Baudelaire who exclaimed, “What oddities you can find in a big city when you know how to stroll and look.”<sup>50</sup> Here, too, was the *flâneur* that Baudelaire presented in “The Crowds” seeking “universal communion,” but with a difference—here, the chronicler/*flâneur* realized Baudelaire’s longing to immerse himself in the crowd. In the mass press of the 1860s, as in the press of the turn of the century, the distant, observant *flâneur* mingled with the crowd at the scene of some commotion; indeed, he became one with the emotional, overawed *badauds* who stood on. This was especially clear in the reporting of crime and catastrophe.

<sup>48</sup> *Le petit journal*, March 13, 1863.

<sup>49</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 21, 1866.

<sup>50</sup> “Mademoiselle Bistouri,” *Petits poèmes en prose*, 163.

There was a reality to the crowds that gathered around scenes of violence and its resolution, a reality that was multiplied by the publicity that the press gave to such stories. The *Gazette des tribunaux* pondered the movement of people unleashed by the discovery of an entire family murdered in a field at Pantin (September 1869), just outside of Paris, a case that would be remembered as the Troppmann Affair, after Jean-Baptiste Troppmann, the murderer. "It would take a clever statistician to calculate the movements of capital that follow from the movements of the Parisian crowd in regard to an event like that of Pantin." It spoke of bakers and butchers complaining about the loss of business from the crowds who left the city to visit the crime site. On the other hand, the trains, coaches, and peddlers were doing better than expected.<sup>51</sup> The same sort of crowd, "a mass of curiosity-seekers," gathered at the area along the Seine in Clichy where the dismembered body of Marie le Manach had been discovered in 1876.<sup>52</sup> *Le petit parisien* reported some 3,000 visitors a day passed through the Paris Morgue to see her corpse in the days after its discovery.<sup>53</sup> Paul Nourrisson, an *avocat* at the Cour d'Appel, described the crowds that came together to watch the proceedings of justice for the murder of the young Pierre Grégoire in 1897 by his father. "Last month, the Cour d'Assises was surrounded with that animation that always accompanies a so-called sensational affair. On the Place Dauphine, a dense group stood by, waiting for the trial to let out, with the characteristic tenacity of the Parisian crowd."<sup>54</sup> The *commissaire divisionnaire* estimated that nearly 100,000 spectators gathered on the streets of Montmartre for the funeral and burial of Petit Pierre.<sup>55</sup> According to press reports, 50,000 lined the streets for the funeral cortege of "La Petite Marthe" Erbeling, another famous case of a "martyred" child.<sup>56</sup>

These movements of people are unimaginable without the press coverage that dramatized such tales. Nourrisson described the public who followed the case of Petit Pierre as "overexcited by the stories of the crime offered by the press in lavish details."<sup>57</sup> The crowds gathered at the sites described in newspapers, even when there was nothing there to see. The journalist for *Le petit journal* noted the gatherings around the Morgue in the days following the discovery of the victims of Troppmann at Pantin. "This morning, the crowd still waited outside the Morgue. I have already said it and I will say it again, the cadavers will not be on view." He

<sup>51</sup> *Gazette des tribunaux*, October 15, 1869. This was after Troppmann had been caught and imprisoned.

<sup>52</sup> *Le petit parisien*, November 22, 1876. It would come to be known as the Billoir Affair, after Marie le Manach's lover and murderer, Joseph Billoir. For more, see Allan Mitchell, "The Paris Morgue as a Social Institution in the Nineteenth Century," *Francia* 4 (1976): 581–96; and Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 72–76.

<sup>53</sup> *Le petit parisien*, November 13, 1876.

<sup>54</sup> Paul Nourrisson, "La question des enfants martyrs et la protection des femmes à Londres," *Le correspondant* 187 (June 25, 1897): 1021.

<sup>55</sup> *L'univers illustré*, January 23, 1897, 59 and following. See the illustration by G. Redon, "L'enfant martyr de la rue Vaneau: Les funérailles" (57), for a view of the crowd. *Le matin*, January 20, 1897, counted "more than 20,000 people."

<sup>56</sup> *Le matin*, February 15, 1907. See the front page for a photograph of the crowd in the streets.

<sup>57</sup> Nourrisson, "La question des enfants martyrs." The interplay of newspaper and crowd is also clear in the example of the visitors to the Morgue and to Clichy in the case of the "femme coupée en morceaux" (1876). At least one newspaper provided a map of the site of the discovery, with notations marking where different parts of her body had been found. *Le petit parisien*, November 16, 1876.



continued, "emotion, still overexcited to the highest degree, pushes the curiosity seekers to the site where the crime was committed, and to the place where the bodies were taken. The field in Pantin and the Morgue are the two endpoints of this sinister and gloomy affair."<sup>58</sup> But the paper did not lament these crowds or their curiosity. Indeed, it championed their cause.

In fact, the press promised to do the crowd one better, for the press could go where the crowd longed to go but could not enter. In its reporting of the trial of the Armand Affair, in a closed courtroom in Aix (1864), *Le petit journal* noted that "the curiosity is immense, the Palais de Justice is literally encircled by a dense and boisterous crowd that knows very well that it cannot enter into the chambers." Despite the fact that there was "nothing romantic nor mysterious" about the affair, the crowd persisted and waited. "To wait for what? For the few words which will be telegraphed more or less faithfully by the privileged few who enter and exit as part of their duties."<sup>59</sup> The implication was clear: the press would take the reader (wherever he or she might reside) where the crowd longed to go. An example from the 1869 explosion on the Place de la Sorbonne made this logic explicit. "All of Paris rushed to the Place de la Sorbonne. I will reveal the disaster better than the bystanders who gathered were able to see it, as the sidewalks were barred and entry was formally forbidden. I went to visit the site."<sup>60</sup> The same mechanism was clear with the Troppmann Affair. The crowd could not enter the Morgue to see the victims of Troppmann, for they had been quickly identified.<sup>61</sup> The *Gazette des tribunaux* would only describe the indescribability of the scene therein. "Those who could enter into this sad place felt a terrible impression. We should not try to describe such a horrible spectacle."<sup>62</sup> In the hands of the mass press and in popular culture more widely, this silence was only rhetorical. Popular illustrated magazines (and photographs sold in the street) displayed the dead, distorted faces of the victims for the public.<sup>63</sup> *Le petit journal* detailed the receipt from the Morgue for the bodies, the clothing that they wore, the name of the tailor on the young boys' jackets. It took the crowd to the field in Pantin and spied on the bodies before they had been discovered: "Cadavers, riddled by knife wounds, twisted by pain, bodies heaped together in a shallow grave covered by a few shovels of earth, an entire family disappeared under the knife of assassins."<sup>64</sup>

The mass press would go where the crowd longed to go. It would watch as the *badaud* wished to watch. The signs of this innovation were everywhere: the emphasis on the accounts of bystanders, the journalistic forays to the Morgue or the

<sup>58</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 24, 1869.

<sup>59</sup> *Le petit journal*, March 17, 1864.

<sup>60</sup> Xavier Brau, "La vérité sur la catastrophe de la place de la Sorbonne" [Paris, 1869], in Charles Simond, *La vie parisienne à travers le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1900), 693.

<sup>61</sup> The official function of the Morgue was the identification of the dead. Once identified, a body would no longer be displayed.

<sup>62</sup> *Gazette des tribunaux*, September 22, 1869. It added, "nous nous bornons à dire que jamais hécatombe ne fut faite d'une main plus terrible et plus assurée: Pas un coup qui n'ait porté."

<sup>63</sup> *Presse illustrée*, October 2, 1869, portrait of Madame Kinck and five of her children, "Photographie des 6 victimes de Pantin." On the other side was an illustration of the field in Pantin where the bodies were discovered. A later edition of the same photograph included M. Kinck, the father, who had been killed and buried elsewhere. Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, *Actualités* 152, Troppmann.

<sup>64</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 23, 24, 1869.

scene of the accident, the prominence given to the crowd of observers. The crowd milling about at the sensational event was a central figure of press reporting at the same time that it was a metaphor for the press and its audience. News stories were written from the point of view of the crowd. Look, for example, at the reporting of the “Triple Murder of the Impasse Ronsin,” better remembered as the Steinheil Affair (1908).<sup>65</sup> Having described the crime (as recounted by Mme. Steinheil) and the theories of the police, *Le petit parisien* went on to paint the scene outside the house of crime. By the logic of the mass press, it was a most reasonable progression. A “considerable crowd” of *curieux* stood by at the police lines. They commented on the comings and goings of magistrates and investigators and ardently debated the various circumstances of the crime. This crowd appeared in the pages of the press as the very image of the newspaper itself—for its discussions mirrored what *Le petit parisien* had to say about the crime. The crowd was not dumb or gaping. At its center, two workers from a nearby print shop described the movements of three men and a woman who had made an exact study of the neighborhood in the weeks before the murders. They were Benjamin’s amateur detectives, with this twist: they had little else in common with the image of the *flâneur* besides their intellectual work of studying details.

It would be easy to multiply examples: a journalist for *Le journal* described himself mixing into the crowd—a crowd of workers, artisans, clerks—that gathered on the street outside the smoldering ruins of the Bazar de la Charité (1897), listening in on its conversations.<sup>66</sup> In January of 1909, as the guillotine was making a dramatic reappearance (having been out of use by presidential pardon while the debate over capital punishment raged), *Le petit parisien* reported that the mechanism was being cleaned and tested; a new execution was imminent. A front-page photograph showed a group of *curieux* watching the *toilette* of the guillotine.<sup>67</sup> The onlookers and the photograph received no mention in the text, but they signaled the intense attention granted to capital punishment and the guillotine. In the 1900s, *Le matin* often featured reports of crime at the head of its second page. The photographs that accompanied these stories often told the tale of the crowd on the street. They showed the crowd that gathered outside of the door of the house of crime; they recapitulated the view of the crowd from across a police line; better yet, they went into the very room of crime to show the newspaper audience what the crowd on the street could only imagine.<sup>68</sup>

THE NEWSPAPER’S PROMISE TO GO WHERE THE CROWD LONGED TO GO expressed a “reality effect,” to be sure. Here was an unseemly reality, spectacularized, offered in close-up vision.<sup>69</sup> But there was more than this. To begin with, the emphasis on

<sup>65</sup> *Le petit parisien*, June 3, 1908.

<sup>66</sup> *Le journal*, May 9, 1897.

<sup>67</sup> *Le petit parisien*, January 16, 1909.

<sup>68</sup> For the crowd outside the house of crime, see “Un crime à Grenelle,” *Le matin*, January 7, 1906. The badaud’s view of the house of crime: “Une librairie assassinée,” *Le matin*, February 4, 1906. The view of the room of crime: “Cabaretière assassinée,” *Le matin*, January 6, 1906.

<sup>69</sup> How large was the place of such subjects in the press? Henri de Noussanne explored the question in 1902. On average, *faits divers* (crimes, accidents, and scandals) accounted for 8.80 percent of the total

the vision of the crowd of observers was a legitimization of the subject matter of the mass newspaper. By dwelling on the crowd at a trial, or an execution, or the site of some unfortunate event, the newspaper implied that it was simply giving the people what they wanted. "The crowd attracts a crowd," or "the crowd follows the crowd," *Le petit journal* liked to write, when it considered the public emotions—and by extension, the press reporting—raised by sensational events.<sup>70</sup>

These rhetorical uses of the crowd—we might think of it as the crowd-in-the-press—was a declaration of the newsworthiness of the *badaud*'s vision. Timothée Trimm, the star columnist of *Le petit journal* in the 1860s, wrote that he found his subject matter in curiosity and fear, in "the event in the street that makes you open your window, the drama of the night that makes you lock your door."<sup>71</sup> He reflected on the longings raised by remarkable events and promised to satisfy them.

When a serious event takes place in Paris, it is as if an electric current runs through the city; within a few minutes, this event is known, amplified, discussed.

An ardent, imperious curiosity acts upon the minds of the public; they want to know, they want to guess, they want to see, they want to touch if it is possible.

Groups form around anyone with news to give; newspapers are avidly read and discussed; public curiosity demands details, more details, always details.<sup>72</sup>

For *Le petit journal*, public curiosity was demanding, but it was natural. The newspaper would provide its proper satisfaction.

The sample issue that preceded *Le petit journal*'s debut described one part of the newspaper's mission as the "satisfaction" of curiosity.<sup>73</sup> But how to defend curiosity for the horrible? There was, of course, the danger that such curiosity could become morbid, idle, or cynical. This was a pressing problem that *Le petit journal* and its followers constantly battled. The paper quite regularly insisted that curiosity for horrible crimes was normal and legitimate. Granted certain provisos, it deserved to

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lines of Parisian newspapers. Together, they slightly exceeded the coverage granted to foreign news (8.35 percent) and domestic politics (7.15 percent), following advertisements (23.90 percent), domestic news (13.15 percent), and "frivolous" (*inutile*) literature (9.95 percent). Noussanne, "Que vaut la presse quotidienne française?" *Revue hebdomadaire* (1902): 1–26. The categories are those of Noussanne. The other entries from his Paris averages: *politique extérieure*: 1.80 percent; *oeuvres morales*: 2.65 percent; *sciences*: 1.80 percent; *voyages-explorations*: 0.80 percent; *littérature utile*: 3.90 percent; *arts*: 4.50 percent; *spectacles*: 6.45 percent; *sports*: 3.20 percent; *réclames et annonces déguisées*: 3.60 percent (4). These can only be a rough guide. It seems likely, for example, that Noussanne included the *Chronique judiciaire* under *informations intérieures*. How else does *Le temps* only have forty lines devoted to crime? There were, of course, large differences. The informational newspapers had a great deal more coverage of *faits divers* than the more respectable, political press. *Le petit parisien* devoted 23.99 percent of its space to *faits divers* vs. 2.45 percent in the staid *Le temps*. But this simple opposition overshadows a more uneven terrain. *La lanterne*, which gave 21.03 percent of its coverage to crime, accidents, and scandals, *Le gaulois* (16.63 percent), and *Le figaro* (14.10 percent) were all in the same range as *Le petit journal* (17.09 percent). And all of these vastly exceeded the attention to *faits divers* in *Le journal* (6.98 percent) and *Le matin* (7.11 percent). "What is the value of the French daily press?" Noussanne asked. These kinds of numbers led him straight to his answer: not great. "Subjects are treated and developed in such proportions that are not determined by care of national interests, nor the sentiment of the educational mission of the press, nor even the respect of simple good sense" (8).

<sup>70</sup> See, for one example, *Le petit journal*, August 26, 1866. In speaking of executions: "La foule accourt où va la foule."

<sup>71</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 9, 1864. He added anecdotes, stories of celebrities, and the recent work of artists.

<sup>72</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 23, 1869.

<sup>73</sup> Sample issue of *Le petit journal*, [February 23, 1863].

be satisfied. Trimm made it plain: "There is no arguing with public curiosity."<sup>74</sup> While elaborating the sad details of the victims of Troppmann, Thomas Grimm (the pseudonymous collective that took over from Trimm) insisted that the curiosity of his readers was "legitimate." This was not gawking. As Grimm put it, "It is not a vain curiosity that excites public opinion."<sup>75</sup> It was curiosity plain and simple, and it deserved to be satisfied.

But the danger of morbid curiosity could not be written off so simply as this. The mass press did more than suggest that it was giving people what they wanted. It figured its public as a street crowd. And it sought to show, time and again, that this crowd of observers was not dull and gawking but intelligent and emotional. Some examples from the illustrated press of the turn of the century make this especially clear.

Take, for example, this 1909 cover illustration from the *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, showing a train bearing down on an old man and a young woman, the barrier guard at the station. (See Figure 1.) She was another in a long series of heroic victims—victims of duty and victims of devotion—championed by the illustrated press. She ran to save a man who had wandered onto the tracks, but, as the explanation went, "her courage had no recompense." The two of them were run down and killed by the Côte d'Azur express. The image shows the scene just before the impact. The barrier guard's mouth and eyes are wide open with terror. The old man is oblivious to his fate. Both of their bodies are precariously off-balance, their legs intertwined as the woman pulls the man backward. They look as if they are about to fall of their own accord. In any case, there is no escape. Both appear frozen by a hypnotic force emanating from the locomotive shrouded in steam, a force delimited by the radial lines of the telegraph and the railway tracks and accentuated by the twin lanterns that look on.

The eyewitnesses to disaster played an important role. In the background of the picture, four observers stand by. (See Figure 2.) Their faces and their dispositions reveal a range of responses to the impending horror, from a gaping terror that mirrors the face of the barrier guard to a hesitant, immobilized fright. One figure has turned away from the sight altogether, to cover her face in her hands. Like a Greek chorus, they offered an interpretation of the horrible events depicted in the foreground. In case we needed to be told, they made it plain that we are faced with the sublime-of-terror. The figures are in the background, but they are not at all incidental, a fact heightened by the composition of the image. On the flat page, they stand directly behind the unfortunate victims in a line from the locomotive lanterns. In the moment recreated by the illustrator, they seem to restrain the central figures against the onrushing train. What should we make of these eyewitnesses? The *badaud*, as we have seen, was often defined by the open mouth that was a mark of gullible stupefaction. In the pages of the illustrated press, it was more likely to be a mark of horror. It would not be right to construe these bystanders as passive spectators. In the iconography of the illustrated press, they were emotionally

<sup>74</sup> Regarding an assassination attempt on the Russian emperor. *Le petit journal*, June 21, 1867.

<sup>75</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 23, 1869. Trimm had said the very same of the public attention to the Armand Affair. "This fascination . . . is not a vain or lazy curiosity. It is not the brutal desire to observe the moral agony of the defendant." *Le petit journal*, March 19, 1864.





FIGURE 1: A victim of duty. "Une garde-barrière victime de son dévouement." *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, February 14, 1909, Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.





FIGURE 2: The horrified *badauds*. *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, February 14, 1909, detail, Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

involved in the tragedies unfolding before them. They were moved to pity and to horror.

Such images of bystanders were an important motif in the illustrated press; there was a whole language to their responses. Their arms stretched out in self-protection, in a gesture of aid, or in a movement to shield themselves from the horror they attended. Their hands covered their faces in a movement of restraint. Their features revealed horror, concern, pity, disgust, stunned silence, or, in certain cases, curious indifference. A few more examples fill out the picture: A mother faints as her daughter is run down by runaway horses at the Bois de Boulogne; witnesses watch with horror. A theater audience shrinks back from the stage as it watches an actor cut the throat of another. A photographer watches through the bars of the cage as a lion attacks his subject (who wanted to be photographed in the beast's den). The face of the photographer shows terror; his hand is raised above the camera in a gesture of frightened empathy.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, June 19, 1898, "Terrible accident au bois de Boulogne," illustration by F. Méaulle. *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, October 23, 1910, "Un acteur égorgé en

What was the significance of these horrified onlookers? They were prescriptive. They demonstrated the kind of response that such scenes deserved, not from the real eyewitnesses pictured within the paper but from the newspaper's consumers. Look with horror and pity, they implied, or do not look at all. It was the perfect translation of *Le petit journal*'s ambitions of the 1860s. In an early column from the paper, Victor C. reported the instructions of Alphonse Millaud, the newspaper's director in its early years, who chastised him for writing without emotion, as a "cold, unmoved spectator":

I want to see you palpitate with indignation before the assassin's steaming knife, to see you take pity upon the fate of the victim, and to hear you demand vengeance for her . . . Let the fire that ruins peasant or storekeeper, the machine that crushes the unfortunate worker in its treacherous and rigid gears, pull a cry of pity out of you; at the image of the pale suicide, spread out on the tables of the morgue, may your silence be grave and tender.<sup>77</sup>

All of these sights were horrible, in their way. And all might invite readers to idle curiosity. But so long as they evoked a response, so long as they moved the journalist, and by implication the reader—to indignation, pity, the demand for vengeance, grave and tender silences—such sights were healthy and moralizing.

The lesson was made clear by counterexample, for the mass press demonstrated the *wrong* way to look at such violence. Timothée Trimm offered this advice to the poets of the street who would compose their songs on the crimes of the day: "Stay away from these grim subjects, that everyone sings to the same tune, like a funeral hymn, unless you are full of emotion, horror and faith."<sup>78</sup> A "Suicide extraordinaire" (from 1908) dramatized the point.<sup>79</sup> (See Figure 3.) The illustration showed a young man throwing himself to the lions of a menagerie. A large lion stands on his hind legs embracing the man as his teeth break through the unfortunate's neck. The observers, in this case, are the other lions of the menagerie. They look on with curiosity or look away with self-possessed indifference. Here, surely, was the wrong way to look on such a calamity. The human parallel was the observer who watched with neither horror nor sympathy. Look to this image from 1897, of what would become the Grégoire Affair. The brutal, fatal beating of young Pierre Grégoire by his father is compounded by the passive disregard of his father's mistress, whose indifference is accentuated by the agitation of the dog. (See Figure 4.) The explanation of the illustration made it plain: "The beast offered the example of humanity to mankind." The lesson would be lost on Grégoire and his mistress, but it was there in *Le petit journal illustré* to be viewed and read.

Altogether, the crowd-in-the-press and the horrified observer responded to the very problem raised by sensational press reporting: morbid curiosity. Newspapers

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scène," artist unknown. *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, September 29, 1895, "Dévoré par un lion," illustration by Henri Meyer. For the precise meaning of the outstretched arm, compare *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, June 1, 1902, "La France vient au secours de la Martinique," after the volcanic explosion from a few days before. Marianne, the tricolor beside her, stretches out her arm with her fingers wide apart, toward a burning Martinique across the sea.

<sup>77</sup> *Le petit journal*, February 26, 1863. This is from the end of the first month of publication of the paper.

<sup>78</sup> *Le petit journal*, June 12, 1864.

<sup>79</sup> *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, September 27, 1908.





FIGURE 3: The wrong way to look at death. "Suicide extraordinaire," *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, September 27, 1908, Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.





FIGURE 4: The beast offers “the example of humanity.” Henri Meyer, “L’enfant martyr,” *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, January 3, 1897, Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

defended the press attention to violence and horror at the same time that they explained the rules for and limits on the observation of such scenes. If they presented countless examples of bad observers, they valorized the crowd as an emotional public. This was their audience, they implied. Not the hooligans that gathered at executions, not the bloodthirsty foreigners eager for a view of blood, no. Their audience was the people, the crowd, the mass; it was easily moved, spontaneous, and generous.

THESE TEXTS AND IMAGES reveal the operating principles of the Parisian mass press from its formative age in the 1860s to its great expansion at the turn of the century. This press validated the view of the street crowd, making it a central metaphor for the vision of the mass newspaper. When it dwelled on the horrors of crime and catastrophe, the mass press insisted on the propriety of its vision. It was not idle curiosity that would be served in its pages, not the image of Victor Fournel's *badaud*, gaping stupidly at the extraordinary. Rather, the basis for its selection of news and the model for its audience was an empathic observer—a newly valorized *badaud*.

But there was something more than this to the press tales and images of the crowds that descended on the scene of sensational news events. There was a consistent logic to their gathering, a mechanism of solidarity that seemed to follow right behind death and destruction: a community of horror. This logic was often only implicit, but it was pervasive. *Le petit journal*, for example, told the story of strangers coming together on the street to exchange news of the murders of Troppmann. This mechanism of solidarity was patently clear in stories of disaster, where groups otherwise opposed would put aside differences in the name of a common humanity. The 1907 mining disasters at Saarbrücken and Liévin bridged national differences. For *Le petit parisien*: “The human soul, in the presence of such misfortunes, forgets nationalities and thinks only of equality before death.”<sup>80</sup>

In the universe of press description, all observers, all readers, all Parisians, all human beings of sentiment cried together at the sight of tragedy. “All of Paris is moved . . .” went the classic opening to the sensational report—you can fill in the blank: by news of the railway disaster, by the conflagration, by the discovery of bodies, and so on.<sup>81</sup> The implication was obvious: if Paris was moved, the press would follow, and its readers were right to follow after it. Such events, and the responses they elicited, were cast as fundamentally human; they served thus to rally observers and readers to a common humanity. Consider the press accounts of the aftermath of the Bazar de la Charité fire (1897). According to *Le petit parisien*: “From the top of society to the bottom, all cried with the survivors over the tangled pile of cadavers.”<sup>82</sup> The *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, a week and a half after the fire, expanded the circle: “A general cry, full of sympathetic pity, burst from

<sup>80</sup> *Le petit parisien*, January 30, 1907.

<sup>81</sup> Likewise, there were “these lamentable catastrophes that will move an entire city.” *Le petit journal*, August 21, 1867. Trimm gave as examples a fire, a flood, an earthquake, the collapse of a building, a maritime disaster.

<sup>82</sup> *Le petit parisien*, May 8, 1897.



every heart, from one end of the world to another." It asked what remained of the disaster. "Nothing but a bit of ash, but at the same time, perhaps something else. Like a holy and radiant flash of reconciliation between classes in need of affectionate solidarity, of resignation to one's own pains at the thought of the misfortune of others." The paper explained the basis of class reconciliation. "Hands reached toward each other, hearts shuddered with the same vibrations, the great misunderstanding is over; through pity, love enters into the soul and we see we are all brothers." Class misunderstanding was overwhelmed by the solidarity of individuals before a great catastrophe. What must be highlighted here is the mechanism of class reconciliation, for it followed quite directly from the pity felt in the face of the event. Listen again to the *Supplément illustré du petit journal*: "We all loved each other for a few hours *because we cried together*: why can we not continue to do so?"<sup>83</sup> To cry together, in the sensationalism of violence, was to love each other.

These meditations on the crowds at the scene of crime or disaster had their parallel in newspapers' descriptions of their audience. The mass press—from *Le petit journal* of the 1860s to *Le matin*, *Le petit parisien*, and the *Supplément illustré du petit journal* of the turn of the century—depicted its readership as a crowd that united men and women, artisan and master, peasant and urbanite, bourgeois and worker. It painted the production of the newspaper as a sensational event in and of itself, worthy of the crowd. It applied the solidaristic logic of *badauderie* to the newspaper as a whole.

This definition of the mass audience was made most explicitly in *Le petit journal* during the 1860s. From the beginning, it described itself as a newspaper for the common man and the common woman, for those individuals who had been excluded from the world of ideas by the cost of books and newspapers. But this program for a popular press—a newspaper that spoke to the people—merged with a program for a mass press—a newspaper that appealed to all classes of French society. It was a program that laid the foundations for the mass press in France.<sup>84</sup>

*Le petit journal* often described itself as popular, explaining its mission as taking the newspaper to those who did not have it. One correspondent said that the paper "addressed a large mass of the public that had not read newspapers before."<sup>85</sup> On the first anniversary of the newspaper, Trimm described the newspaper as "popular

<sup>83</sup> *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, May 16, 1897, my emphasis.

<sup>84</sup> Founded in 1863 as a non-political newspaper, *Le petit journal* was exempt from the 5-centimes tax on newspapers of opinion. After 1870, of course, the press could and did speak freely of politics. All through the 1870s and 1880s, *Le petit journal* would come to throw its lot in with the republican parties; it would celebrate the "little people" in more particular forms. Emile Zola, for example, who wrote for the newspaper early in his career, remarked: "*Le Petit Journal* flattered the people, personified by concierges, workers, the little people." Quoted in Henri Mitterand, *Zola journaliste* (Paris, 1962), 26. At the end of the century, under the direction of Ernest Judet, the paper would take up the cause of the army and the nation against Dreyfus and Zola. In the early twentieth century, it was still pictured in the hands of coachmen and concierges but now as a reactionary rag. See, for example, Jules Grandjouan, "Concierges," *L'assiette au beurre*, January 28, 1905. The inclusive spirit of its beginnings was carried on by *Le matin* (founded 1884), a newspaper that represented the triumph of information over politics. Unlike nearly every other daily in France, *Le matin* had no political position of its own. It had a front-page editorial column that rotated among various political viewpoints. Here was another version of the logic of the mass. Conservative, socialist, radical, and monarchist could all read *Le matin*.

<sup>85</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 13, 1869, "La boîte aux lettres du petit journal."

by its price, popular by its deep love for all those who labor and produce.”<sup>86</sup> And yet *Le petit journal* continually subsumed the people and the popular in the mass. Trimm made this clear; he wrote for “the people, by which I understand all classes of society.”<sup>87</sup> The point would be made a hundred times or more. The paper was read by “all classes,” by “all fortunes,” “in thatched-roof cottage and farmhouse, in the chateau and in the bourgeois home, in the village as in the city.”<sup>88</sup> “All classes rubbed shoulders” in reading *Le petit journal*.<sup>89</sup> This imaginary mingling of classes was systematic and pervasive. *Le petit journal*’s audience was not the Academy but “the crowd, the mass, the great number of readers.” This preference showed signs of Baudelaire’s meditation on the urban masses but with a positive reevaluation. “The multitude excites the imagination as the sea sustains the swimmer, for the crowd is intelligent, impressionable, spontaneous and generous.”<sup>90</sup> What did the crowd want? Not algebra, not dry debates, not challenging literature. “The mass wants interest, emotion and sincerity in a story.”<sup>91</sup> The crowd, the people, and the mass were one and the same for *Le petit journal*: the French people of all classes, not *le peuple* that rose up once in a generation to build barricades and overthrow kings. In the program of the mass press, they would be unified by emotion and sensation, news that shocked and literature that moved them.

There was an important gender element to this project. *Le petit journal*’s new definition of news—the appeal of “interest, emotion and sincerity”—was understood as peculiarly feminine by its journalists and its critics. The writers for *Le petit journal* did not shirk from this association; they celebrated it. Trimm wrote: “One cannot believe that ladies are indifferent to the *Petit Journal*. Their patronage is the most precious of all.”<sup>92</sup> This was more than a ploy to attract new readers. Indeed, women stood for a kind of emotional, empathic reader that was a model for its audience. This was especially true of the reporting of frightful events. In the pages of *Le petit journal*, women were “curious”; they sought out “terrible emotions”; they were especially attracted to “dark subjects.” “Curiosity” carried the stain of unhealthy attention to crime and catastrophe, but in the pages of *Le petit journal* (female) curiosity was rendered natural, legitimate, and healthy through the (female) emotions of compassion and sympathy.<sup>93</sup>

In the mass press of the turn of the century, the logic of inclusion—the logic of the mass—played a prominent role. An advertisement for *Le matin* from 1906 made it plain. “Everyone reads *Le Matin*,” it declared. (See Figure 5.) Two news vendors offer the newspaper to the passengers on a train as the stationmaster prepares to close the door. The hats told the story: *Le matin* appealed to all professions, young and old, male and female. An illustration in the *Supplément illustré du petit journal* from 1909 showed something similar. (See Figure 6.) It pictured the crowd spread

<sup>86</sup> *Le petit journal*, January 31, 1864.

<sup>87</sup> *Le petit journal*, March 29, 1864.

<sup>88</sup> *Le petit journal*, January 27, 31, May 22, 1864, September 13, 1869.

<sup>89</sup> *Le petit journal*, January 1, 1865.

<sup>90</sup> *Le petit journal*, October 15, 1864. Trimm would also write of “cette foule immense qui se nomme le peuple.” *Le petit journal*, June 23, 1864.

<sup>91</sup> *Le petit journal*, March 29, 1866; Trimm introducing Victor Hugo’s *Travailleurs de la mer* in *Le soleil*.

<sup>92</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 26, 1864.

<sup>93</sup> *Le petit journal*, September 18, 1864, March 15, 1863, May 9, 1864.



FIGURE 5: Everyone reads *Le matin*. Albert Guillaume, “Tout le monde lit ‘le Matin’” (1906), color lithograph.

out on the grounds of Bois de Boulogne, cheering and admiring the floating masthead of the dirigible airship “Le Petit Journal.” The newspaper, modern aeronautics and the heroism of the ship’s pilot, Comte Henry de la Vaulx, drew the collective acclamation of the crowd. It was, according to the explanation on the inside pages, just another example of *Le petit journal*’s program to popularize modern technology. In these figurations of the audience, it was as if the mass press recreated the crowd of spectators as a virtual community—the “sublime communion of souls across distance,” as *Le petit parisien* described the community of newsreaders in 1893—expressed through and lived within the pages and images it broadcast.<sup>94</sup>

In these declarations and images, the mass press appealed to all potential readers. Crossing boundaries of class, education, gender, and geography, the mass press addressed a massive, national audience. This logic of inclusion was at the heart of early mass culture in France. So, too, was the appeal to emotion. Journalists of the day valorized their own efforts as offering items of common interest. Critics of mass culture then and ever since have decried a culture of the lowest common denominator. Common interest or lowest common denominator: the terms have different implications, but they point out the same phenomenon. In

<sup>94</sup> “To read one’s newspaper is to live the universal life, the life of the whole capital, of all the town, of all France, the life of all nations . . . It is thus that in a great country like France, the same thought, at one and the same time, animates the whole population . . . It is the newspaper which establishes this sublime communion of souls across distances.” *Le petit parisien*, October 13, 1893, quoted in Theodore Zeldin, *France, 1848–1945: Taste and Corruption* (1977; Oxford, 1980), 181.





Le dirigeable « LE PETIT JOURNAL » atterrissant sur la pelouse de Bagatelle

FIGURE 6: The crowd of the newspaper airship. *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, January 3, 1909. “Le dirigeable ‘Le Petit Journal’ atterrissant sur la pelouse de Bagatelle,” Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



fact, it was not just critics who would cast the moves of the mass press as a dumbing down of culture. Polydore Millaud, the banker turned news magnate who founded *Le petit journal*, expressed his program in a bon mot to one of his competitors: "We must have the courage to be stupid."<sup>95</sup> To be stupid—that is, to speak of simple things in a simple language—was the way to attract the largest number of readers. But we should not stop here, with the suggestion that *badauderie* in the press and the logic of inclusion were nothing more than marketing strategies.

THERE WERE OTHER READINGS OF THE AUDIENCE of the mass press, and we must take these into account to fathom the meanings of the community of newsreaders. Consider, for example, the satiric illustrated weekly, *L'assiette au beurre*.<sup>96</sup> It portrayed the mass press and the reporting of crime as a frightful distraction. In the years 1906–1908, it ran a series of issues criticizing the mass press of Paris for its venality and triviality. An image from 1907 portrayed the press as a lamentable sideshow in a spectacle of sordid curiosity and misplaced interest. (See Figure 7.) This was not the empathic crowd pictured by *Le petit journal*! In the illustration by Carlègle (Charles Emile Egli), a crowd of men and women, bourgeois and workers, adults and children, converges on the kiosk, grappling for the papers. The kiosk itself seems to have a magnetic attraction; the crowd is transfixed by it and its promises of sensational news. The immediate referent of Carlègle's illustration was the arrest of Albert Soleilland for the murder of his young neighbor, "Little Marthe" Erbelding in early February 1907. In Carlègle's illustration, the crowd eyes the newspaper kiosk and the dueling promises offered by the mass press. *Le matin* promises two rapes; *Le journal* ups the ante to three. *Le matin* makes Soleilland the king of the satyrs; *Le journal* makes him the emperor, adding stereoscopic images and a story of a woman vampire as bonuses. But the focal point of the illustration was the crowd. Like those offered up by the mass press, the crowd was composed of all classes. We can see this by various markers: top hats, bowlers, caps, a cigarette, a cigar, clean-shaven faces, a rough beard, the ponytail of a schoolgirl. But before the shrine of the kiosk, these differences were obscured; the crowd coalesced to form a mass. In the foreground is a pretty young woman, well dressed and carrying a hat box, her eyes fixed on the newspaper she holds before her. Underneath, the caption: "You cannot live by bread alone . . ." Circuses, too, would be necessary.

A further example from *L'assiette au beurre*, the cover from a 1906 issue devoted to the *faits divers* in life and imagination, developed this critique further. (See Figure 8.) In this illustration by Max Radiguet, the top-hatted bourgeois, the worker in cap, blouse, and scarf, the woman with a hat box, and a flock of children are brought together by the sight of blood. They are transfixed by a poster on the kiosk advertising "The Crime of the Rue Chose, in Today's *Journal*." It shows a woman's half-naked body, blood pooled about her as her hand reaches up in a dying gesture. The criminal's foot is just visible as he disappears into the distance and the sun

<sup>95</sup> René Mazedier, *Histoire de la presse parisienne* (Paris, 1945), 139.

<sup>96</sup> For background on the journal, its illustrators, and its subject matter, see Elisabeth and Michel Dixmier, *L'assiette au beurre: Revue satirique illustrée, 1901–1912* (Paris, 1974).



— Tu ne vivras pas de pain seulement .....

FIGURE 7: Bread and circuses. Carlégle [Charles Emile Egli], "Tu ne vivras pas de pain seulement," *L'assiette au beurre*, March 23, 1907, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.



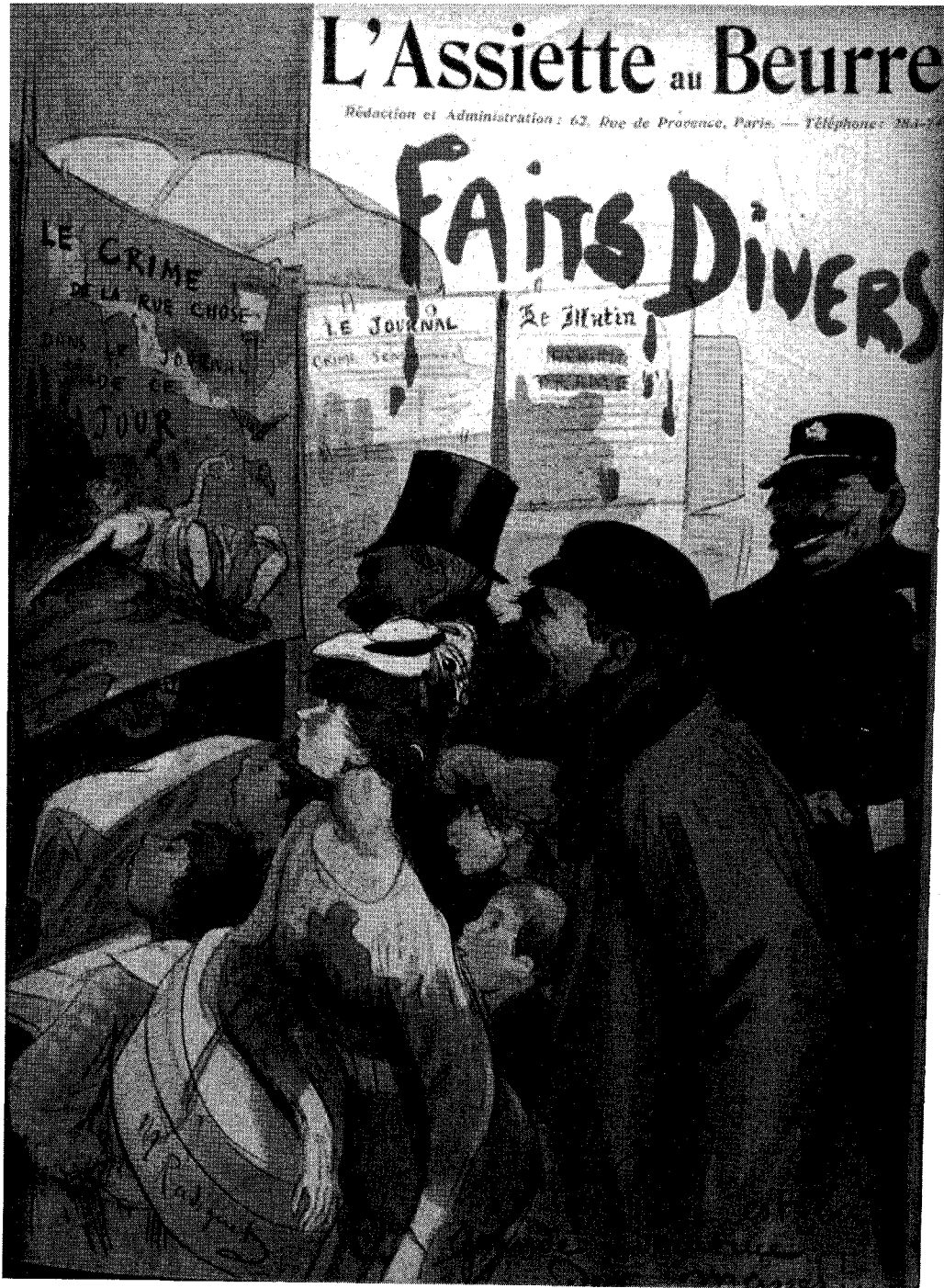


FIGURE 8: The besotted crowd at the kiosk. Max Radiguet, "Faits divers," *L'assiette au beurre*, September 8, 1906, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

comes up over Paris. To the right of the poster is a front page from *Le journal* and *Le matin*. One headline is clear: "Sensational Crime." The other is highlighted in the red of the victim's blood. Here we can see the mechanism of solidarity once again. The crowd comes together before the remarkable sight, thanks to the press. But in this case, the community of horror has given way to the community of gawking. Here we are back to the *badaud* described by Victor Fournel. The faces of the kiosk crowd show a gaping, leering fascination. Indeed, the two men at the center of the composition are smiling, their gaze a direct line to the victim's parted legs. There are no signs of pity or horror in this crowd. On the right, a grinning policeman oversees the crowd with the air of a carnival barker. Radiguet's point is clear: the sensational crime will help maintain the order that the policeman seeks to preserve. On the left, in a curious balance with the forces of order, the news vendor smiles at the crowd. She is barely visible, obscured by the sensational poster above her and the newspaper she holds before her. At the bottom of the page: "The press is the great educator of the masses!"

It is no coincidence that women played a prominent role in these images. We see the same figure of the woman with a hat box in the foreground of both. She is a curious corollary to the female reader invoked and celebrated—for her sympathy—by the early *Le petit journal*. Here she is pictured as merely curious, as unemotional. This association of the mass press with female readers was widespread, reaching beyond the reporting of crime. A turn-of-the-century series of postcards of the press presented each of the major Parisian dailies with the portrait of a reader. *La lanterne*'s essential reader was an artisan, *Le figaro*'s a round bourgeois; the essential readers of *Le petit journal* and *Le petit parisien* were women, the only female readers present.<sup>97</sup> By the same account, critics often used a gendered language to criticize the mass press appeal to emotion and sensation, and lamented the rise of a press of consumption that stood in sharp contrast to the political press of the July Monarchy and Second Republic. The female reader, it is clear, was a powerful figure. She could be invoked to legitimate the *badaud*'s vision—as compassionate and generous (in *Le petit journal*'s view)—or to critique the mass press attention to grisly sights as morbid curiosity.<sup>98</sup>

These depictions of the crowd at the kiosk from *L'assiette au beurre* form a necessary supplement to the depictions of the crowd in the mass press. The difference between them was but a matter of interpretation. In fact, *L'assiette au beurre* was beating the mass press with its own stick. Like *Le petit parisien*, the *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, and *Le matin*, *L'assiette au beurre* depicted the solidarity of the crowd. But in this case, the solidarity was a false and degrading solidarity. It was a community of gawking, a community of distraction that brought the crowd together before the kiosk. There was no pity, no horror, no compassion here. This was another vision of the audience of the mass press and its public. The "education" of the masses was an instruction in debauchery and distraction. The *badauds* of *L'assiette au beurre* were marked by their superficiality, their fickleness, and their impressionability.

<sup>97</sup> *Dictionnaire de Paris* (Paris, 1964), 290 and following.

<sup>98</sup> On feminine mass culture, see Andreas Huyssen, "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other," in *After the Great Divide* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986).



WE ARE FACED, THEN, WITH TWO turn-of-the-twentieth-century visions of the audience of the mass press—the sympathetic *badaud* in a crowd of common interest and the *badaud*-gawker in a crowd of common distraction. It would seem that we are back where we began, back to the two visions of the public of mass culture described at the opening of this essay: the authentic community of mass culture (following Schwartz, Kalifa, and others) or the crowd of duped readers (following Habermas and the Frankfurt School). Indeed, this close reading of the French press and its critics suggests that these interpretations of mass culture are as old as the phenomenon they describe. But let us follow the logic of inclusion in the mass press a step further, by placing it more directly into its social context.

We have seen the mass press of Paris blurring and overturning the lines of class. It offered up a solidaristic vision of French society—as Trimm put it, “the people, by which I understand all classes of society.” In the 1860s, this move served a wishful social program that combined a hearty respect for those who work with a systematic rejection of class struggle. Such a social program should be construed as the antidote to the revolutionary tradition of French history. The June Days of 1848—the “ugly revolution,” to take Karl Marx’s term, that revealed the fiction behind the revolutionary collaboration of workers, artisans, and the liberal bourgeoisie—were not distant memories in Second Empire France. But such unhappy thoughts played no role in the text of *Le petit journal*. What was to be found here, by contrast, was the figurative unity of the nation. Thus *Le petit journal* both flattered the world of work, in columns devoted to the “little people” and in serial novels, such as Victor Hugo’s *Les travailleurs du mer*, at the same time that it erased a distinctive working class from the streets of Paris and of France.

The social program of *Le petit journal* was the journalistic equivalent of Baron Haussmann’s renovations of Paris of the 1850s and 1860s. With the goal of creating a healthy, well-functioning city, Haussmann’s remodeling destroyed 117,000 buildings, pushing the working class to the outskirts of the city (which had been expanded in 1860 to include the former suburbs), recreating Paris as an emphatically bourgeois city. At the center of Paris, the narrow streets and crowded, popular lodgings of the Ile de la Cité were cleared out and replaced by the new police headquarters and the Palais de Justice.<sup>99</sup> Addressing a national audience, *Le petit journal* emptied class of any contestatory meanings. Indeed, for all of its talk of uniting the classes in readership, *Le petit journal* would picture its crowd as distinctly well heeled. An 1888 poster for the paper made this plain. (See Figure 9.) In the foreground, a kiosk described the achievements of *Le petit journal* and its sibling publications.<sup>100</sup> In the center of the frame was the headquarters of *Le petit journal* on the Rue Lafayette, presented as the architectural equivalent of the newspaper masthead. The newspaper it oversaw was the story of the street, of Paris, of the urban masses. But these were not the dangerous, unwashed masses. The urban crowd that passed before *Le petit journal* was respectable in all of its guises.

<sup>99</sup> Together with a flower market and an extension to the Hôtel-Dieu hospital. See David P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (New York, 1995).

<sup>100</sup> Each day, 950,000 copies of *Le petit journal* sold, “the highest circulation of all the newspapers of the world”; 200,000 copies of the *Supplément littéraire du petit journal* sold every Friday, “the most widely read literary newspaper of the entire world”; 200,000 copies of *Le journal illustré*, “the most widely read and widely viewed of illustrated newspapers.”



FIGURE 9: The respectable crowd of the mass press. “Agrandissement du petit journal, 25<sup>e</sup> année” (1888), detail, color lithograph, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The image first appeared in *Le journal illustré*, January 30, 1887.

Ladies, leisured gentlemen in top hats, coachmen and delivery boys mingled on the street in the space between *Le petit journal*’s building and the kiosk that advertised its wares.

The mass audience—so eloquently captured by the image of the crowd of sympathetic *badauds*—was a solution to the revolutionary crowd that haunted nineteenth-century France. Indeed, the revolutionary crowd was the very subtext of the public of the mass press. The revolutionary crowd—whose empathy was directed inward and whose action was directed out—was transformed in the logic of *badauderie* into a crowd whose empathy was directed outward and whose action was only a matter of emotion. To imagine the crowd of *badauds* as a crowd of all classes united in sympathy was to imagine a convenient and cost-free solution to the question of class struggle in France.

In the years from 1890 to 1910, the celebration of the unified audience expressed the same logic as the early *Le petit journal*, but now in a context in which class struggle was a pressing social and political reality. The French Third Republic under Adolphe Thiers had silenced this struggle in the brutal suppression of the Paris Commune of 1871 (some 20,000 Communards killed in the government’s recapture of the city, thousands more sent off to penal colonies). It was to come

roaring back in the 1890s, with the rise of socialist parties (taking forty-three seats in the Chamber of 1893), with the expansion of the trade union movement surrounding the newly founded labor exchanges (the Bourses de Travail), with May Day marches (begun in 1890), with the rising tide of strikes that gave meaning to these marches, and with the incidents that thrust the social question into national consciousness, such as the military response at Fourmies (in 1891) that left fourteen marchers dead and spawned a series of anarchist attacks in the city of Paris.

In 1906–1909, the years of *L'assiette au beurre*'s critique of the mass press, the social conflicts of labor and capital (backed by the state) only intensified, in strikes that brought workers into the streets by the tens and hundreds of thousands. The disaster at Courrières in March of 1906, a mine explosion that killed 1,300 miners, sparked a series of strikes, first among the miners of the Pas-de-Calais, the northern coal mining region of France, and then all across France. The Confédération Générale du Travail (the CGT, the national confederation of labor unions) backed these strikes and pressed for their extension. In October of 1906, the CGT Congress at Amiens validated revolutionary syndicalism and the general strike as the means of social emancipation. Over the next three years, in the face of the often brutal repression of the government of Georges Clemenceau, the massive strikes continued.<sup>101</sup> Robert Nye has described these years as “another chapter in the *grande peur* of the French bourgeoisie,” a time of social unrest that helped explain a turn to order on the part of the press and public opinion, a turn reflected in the obsession with dangerous criminals (such as the “apaches” of Paris) and the reinstatement of the death penalty.<sup>102</sup>

The point of these gestures toward social history is simple, perhaps obvious. The social context of the era from 1890 to 1910 reveals a reinvigoration of politics and of social struggles, even as a new mass culture boomed. The revolutionary crowd of the Paris Commune of 1870, aligning worker, artisan, intellectual, and shopkeeper, was not replaced by a herd of docile shoppers. The contentious French of the nineteenth century were not replaced by a gathering of *badauds*. Rather, it was the mass press that wrote the nation as if it should be so.

I HAVE PRESENTED THE AUDIENCE OF *badauds* as a symbolic erasure of class contestation in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century France. This ideological underpinning of the mass audience might seem to bring us back to Habermas, Horkheimer, and Adorno. Mass culture, here—in the images of the *Supplément illustré du petit journal*, in the critique of *L'assiette au beurre*—appears as distracting and diversionary. But such an interpretation—cast in negative terms—cannot tell the whole story; it cannot help us to see what was productive and transformative in these developments. Suppose this public was not the idealized public of Habermas's public sphere of eighteenth-century coffee houses and salons, the question still

<sup>101</sup> Maurice Agulhon, *The French Republic, 1879–1992* (Oxford, 1993), 493; and Charles Sowerwine, *France since 1870* (New York, 2001), 86 and following. The year 1906 also saw the appearance of Georges Sorel's *Reflections on Violence*, heralding the mythic power of the general strike.

<sup>102</sup> Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France*, 180. See, more generally, the chapter, “The Politics of Social Defense: Violent Crime, ‘Apaches,’ and the Press at the Turn of the Century,” 171–226.



remains: what kind of public was it? The audience of *badauds* was an ideological creation, to be sure, but it cannot be reduced to a politics of distraction alone. We will do better, I would suggest, to see the public of mass culture in precisely those terms used to construct it—as an empathic public.

A bit of comparison can shed some light on this new public. In *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France*, Sarah Maza charts the rise of public opinion in the scandals of prerevolutionary France. Elaborating on Habermas, she explains a shift in the nature and understanding of the public in the 1770s and 1780s. Public life, until then conceived through the metaphor of the theater, came to be portrayed as a courtroom. The public as subject yielded to a public as critical actor.

In the old system, power was acted out before a passive *audience*; in the new one, it justified itself by appealing—albeit most often rhetorically—to the judgment of a critical, active *public*. The Old Regime public sphere, that of the court and of high society, was symbolically feminized—it was a realm of display, of the visual, the iconic. The new public sphere was gendered male: it was the domain of the word, of textuality, of rationality.<sup>103</sup>

The mass press of Paris signaled a further shift in the conception of the public. In the late nineteenth century, the public as courtroom gave way to a public as street crowd, a public conceived as the emotional spectators that gathered at a remarkable sight, a public of *badauds*. It was a new public sphere, symbolically feminized, a realm of the iconic, where the public—“intelligent, impressionable, spontaneous and generous”—played the role of the audience.<sup>104</sup>

The logic of this empathic public was set out clearly in the newspaper texts and images of the crowd in the street that gathered at the crime or the catastrophe. Such topics had been mainstays of popular culture long before the advent of the mass newspaper. Here they served the construction of a new understanding of the public, built on the emotional observation of suffering and outrage. At its center was a crime, a catastrophe, a conflagration, an outrage that brought viewers together (at least symbolically) in solidarity. These sights entailed an ethics of observation. Look closely—at the bodies of the victims, the families left behind, the faces of the perpetrators—but not with mere curiosity; look with emotion, horror, and pity. But the empathic public consisted of more than this, for the *badaud*’s vision was always in need of being completed. The emotional response opened the way to lamentations, investigations, and calls to action. What, then, were the politics of the *badaud*’s vision? None in particular. It was a tool that was turned to all kinds of uses: to dramatize the evils of public insecurity, to highlight the dangers of factory accidents, to criticize railway safety, to rally the nation before its traitors, and much, much more.

In the pages of the mass press, to be sure, the *badaud*’s vision was often distracting; it often centered on the deeds of the criminal underclass or the senseless violence of menagerie animals.<sup>105</sup> But it was also turned to work accidents, mine disasters, and abusive parents. When Jean Cruppi (the magistrate and future

<sup>103</sup> Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 314.

<sup>104</sup> Trimm, *Le petit journal*, October 15, 1864.

<sup>105</sup> Especially true of the illustrated supplements of *Le petit journal* and *Le petit parisien*.



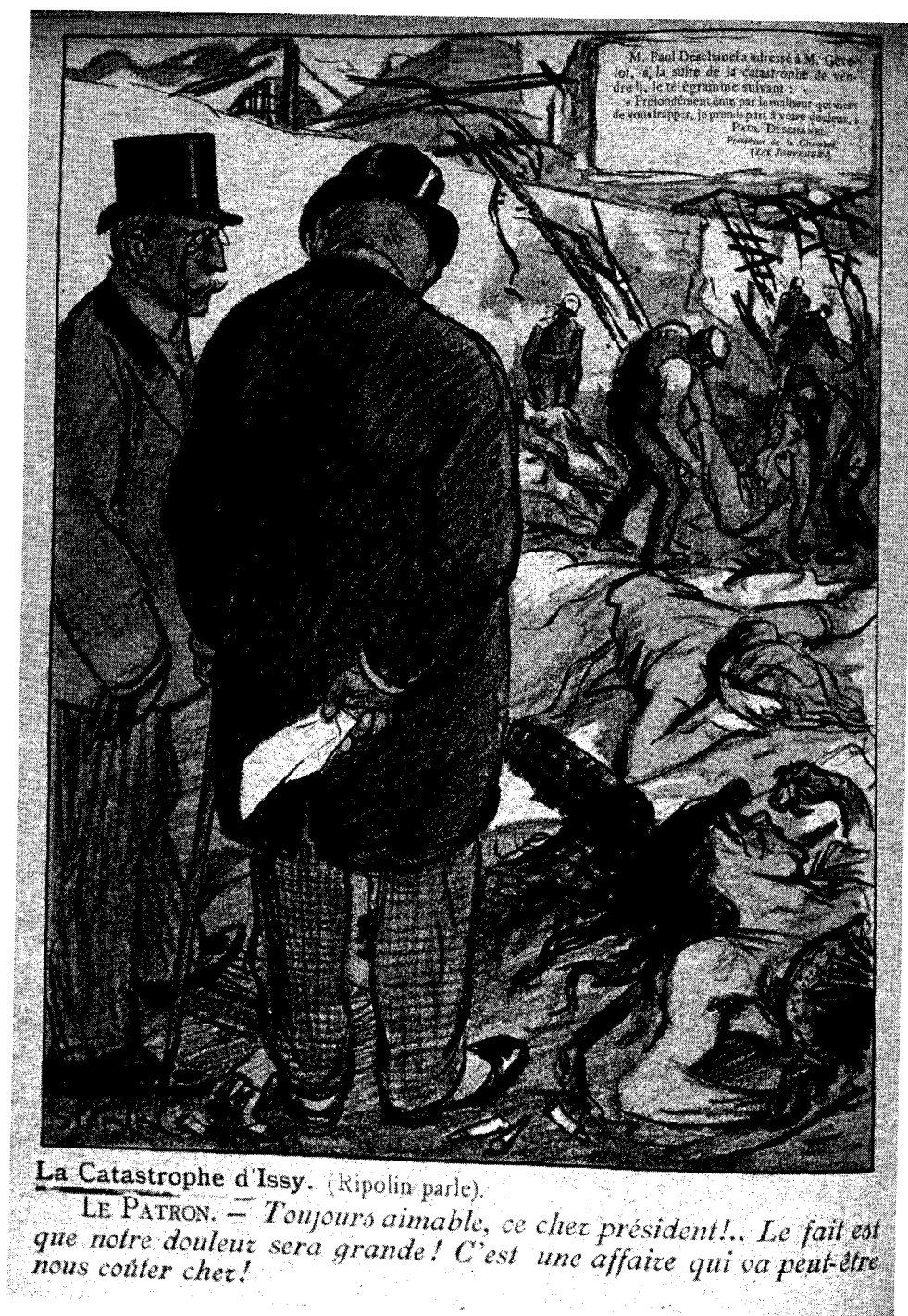


FIGURE 10: The factory owners at the disaster. Théophile Steinlein, "La catastrophe d'Issy," *L'assiette au beurre*, June 27, 1901, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

minister) explained the power of the press in 1897, he used the very terms of *badauderie*. He acknowledged that the press could be a corrupting influence, but added: "Would you not grant that the considerable development of laws and institutions protecting children is also due in large measure to the press, its daily remarks, the facts it has brought together that inform us, that move us to pity, forcing us to think, to act, to seek out remedies?"<sup>106</sup> And the power of the *badaud*'s vision reached beyond the mass press reporting of crimes and disaster. Indeed, it seemed to shape the very terms of public debate. Look, for example, to the 1896 Chamber debates over worker insurance legislation. When the socialist Jules Guesde condemned the system of factory inspections set up by the law of 1874, he, too, spoke the language of the *badaud*. Guesde told the story of a young worker (too young to be legally employed) killed in a gruesome work accident. "Inspection by law," Guesde declared, "was responsible for this infanticide." He went on to criticize the bourgeoisie and the government for their impassivity in the face of such an outrage. "You were not moved."<sup>107</sup> It was the same scene that Théophile Steinlein would capture in *L'assiette au beurre* in an illustration devoted to the "Catastrophe d'Issy," an explosion in a gunpowder factory outside of Paris in 1901 that killed seventeen workers. (See Figure 10.) Steinlein's illustration was a portrait of failed empathy; the top hats are indifferent to all but their financial losses.<sup>108</sup>

Such examples can only begin to suggest the uses to which *badauderie* could be turned. For my part, I have tried to explain the maneuvers through which the mass press of Paris cultivated a public of empathy. A full picture of this public remains to be drawn. For now, I would simply suggest that the *badaud* will have a prominent place in it. The figure of the *flâneur* captures the experience of the modern city so well—urban alienation, the psychology of distraction provoked by the tumult of urban stimulation, the social and gender configurations of the city in the age of consumer capitalism; as a figure of scholarly analysis, it has proved quite useful. But the figure of the *badaud* offers us insight on a parallel experience of modernity. In the mass press of Paris, it promised a symbolic solution to the very problems of modernity expressed in the figure of the *flâneur*. Where the *flâneur* experienced alienation and dislocation, the *badaud* partook in a community forged in the spectacle of suffering and outrage. The *badaud*-in-the-press expressed a utopia of the crowd, a vision of the individual-become-collective in the face of human

<sup>106</sup> "Les responsabilités de la presse contemporaine," *Revue politique et littéraire* 8 (December 26, 1897): 802. Indeed, the press accounts of youth crime and of youthful victims of crime, the many "martyred children," coincided with a wide expansion of the role of government in watching over children's well-being. The most far-reaching legislation was the law of July 24, 1889, which set out the situations where police or medical authorities could step in, in the interest of the child, to strip parents of their rights. It was extended by the law of 1898. For a closer look at the legislation on the protection of children, see Sylvia Schafer, *Children in Moral Danger and the Problem of Government in Third Republic France* (Princeton, N.J., 1997).

<sup>107</sup> Jules Guesde, *Des lois protectrices de travail: Ce qu'elles sont, ce qu'elles devraient être; Discours à la Chambre des Députés (séances des 15, 22, et 24 juin 1896)* (Lille, 1896), 35–37, 36, 27.

<sup>108</sup> The debates over the protection of work would lead to the Law on the Responsibility of Work Accidents of April 9, 1898. It was a profound innovation, even if it built on earlier laws. The most far-reaching of a spate of factory laws in the 1890s governing the conditions of work, it introduced the concept of professional risk to French labor law. See François Ewald, *L'état providence* (Paris, 1986).

indignity. This *badaud* was the imaginative glue in the making of a mass audience, a new public, an “imagined community” (to recast the term of Benedict Anderson) not of the nation but of right-feeling people.

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# “My Death for the Motherland Is Happiness”: Women, Patriotism, and Soldiering in Russia’s Great War, 1914–1917

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MELISSA K. STOCKDALE

ON JUNE 21, 1917, THE CITIZENS OF REVOLUTIONARY PETROGRAD witnessed a solemn public ceremony unique in modern history, the consecration of the standards of a battalion of women soldiers being sent as combatants to the front. Thousands flocked to watch the 300 women—their hair close-cropped, wearing regular army-issue trousers and boots, rifles gleaming—march from their barracks to the great St. Isaac’s Cathedral. (See Figure 1.) Among the military and civilian notables waiting to greet the women were generals Lavr Kornilov and P. A. Polovtsev, Duma president Mikhail Rodzianko, and leaders of various political parties. Two bishops and twelve priests officiated, as the battalion was presented with two icons—gifts of the soldiers of the First and Third Armies—and a banner sent by Minister of War Alexander Kerensky. Afterwards, enthusiastic soldiers and sailors lifted commander Maria Bochkareva onto their shoulders, crowds cheered, and orators mounted improvised tribunes to hail the battalion and its head. To the strains of the Marseillaise, the battalion then marched to Mars Field, to honor the graves of those who had fallen in the first days of the February Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

The singularity of this event lay not so much in the appearance of women soldiers armed for combat, for individual women in Russia had been fighting as regular soldiers, with and without formal approval, since the very start of the war. Moreover, there had been instances of women in other times and places fighting alongside men in extraordinary circumstances, often as partisans or in civil wars.<sup>2</sup>

One of the greatest pleasures of scholarship is being part of a scholarly community: many individuals and institutions in that community have contributed to the writing of this article. An earlier version was presented at the annual national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, St. Louis (November 1999), and it has profited from audience suggestions. I have been enormously helped by Cathy A. Frierson, Sandie Holguin, Catherine Kelly, Laurie Burnham, Judith Lewis, and the anonymous readers of the *AHR*, for their close readings of various drafts, as well as by long conversations in Moscow with Eric Lohr on the subject of World War I Russia. Joshua Sanborn and Elise K. Wirtschafter answered questions on the workings of the Russian military; William Allison and Slava Katamidze provided help on photos. I am especially grateful to Pavel Shcherbinin for his generosity in sharing numerous sources. My research and writing have been supported by the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, the Fulbright-Hayes Faculty Research Abroad Program, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Research Council of the University of Oklahoma.

<sup>1</sup> Descriptions come from Bessie Beatty, *The Red Heart of Russia* (New York, 1919), 94–95; Maria Botchkareva [sic], *Yashka, My Life as Peasant, Officer and Exile*, as set down by Isaac Don Levine (New York, 1919), 189–92; Nina Krylova in Boris Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi: Istoricheskii roman* (Buenos Aires, 1955), 84–87; and *Rech’* (June 22, 1917): 4.

<sup>2</sup> There is a diffuse and uneven literature on the history of women as fighters and in the military.



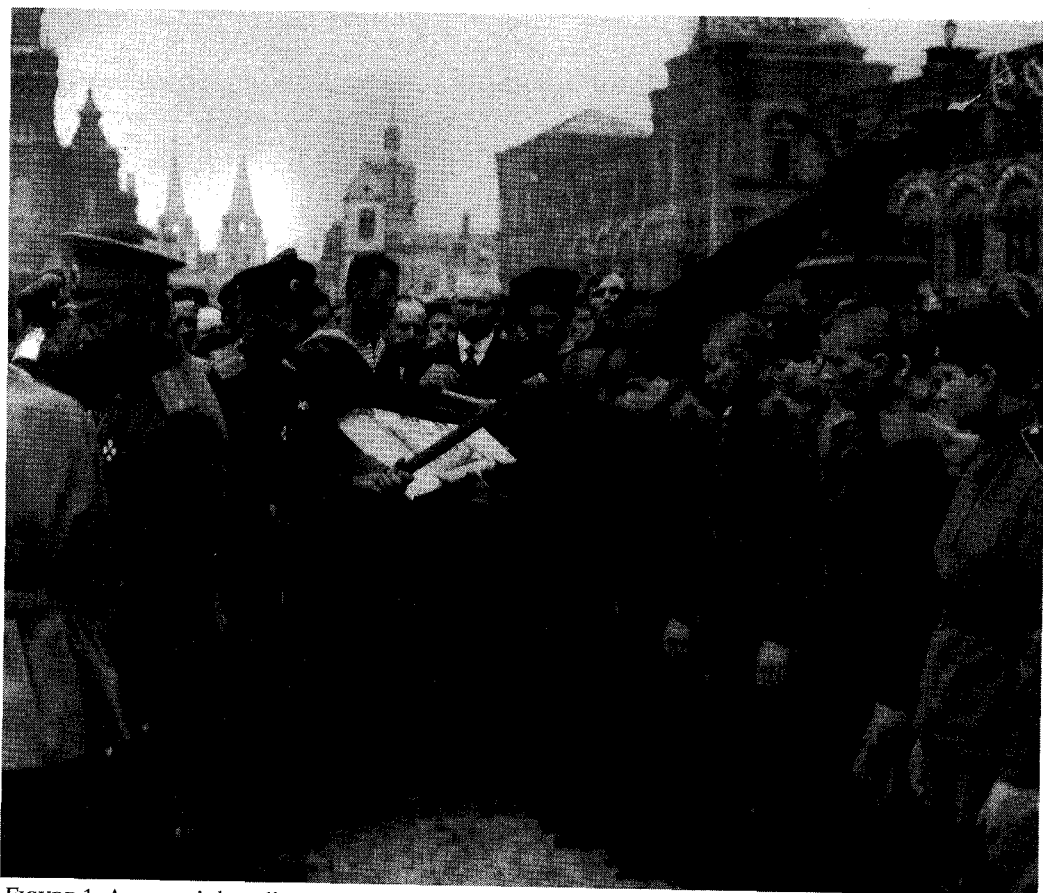


FIGURE 1: A women's battalion participates in a public ceremony in Moscow, summer of 1917. Courtesy of the Russian State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents (RGAKFD), Krasnogorsk.

Rather, the event's significance lay in its public celebration of a female combat unit formally sanctioned by the authorities—not only civil authorities but, as this ceremony demonstrated, military and religious as well. In the opinion of one American observer, these women marked the true debut of the woman soldier: "Not the isolated individual woman who has buckled on a sword and shouldered a gun through the pages of history, but the woman soldier banded and fighting en masse—gun companies of her, battalions of her, whole regiments of her."<sup>3</sup>

The "Women's Battalion of Death" (*Zhenskii batal'on smerti*), as it was called, inspired the formation of other companies and battalions of women volunteers in Russia in 1917. Yet, despite the scope of this unprecedented movement and the

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Among the works I have found most helpful are Nancy Loring Goldman, ed., *Female Soldiers—Combatants or Noncombatants? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Westport, Conn., 1982); Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives* (London, 1983); Linda Grant de Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to the Present* (Norman, Okla., 1998); Gerard J. DeGroot and Corinna Peniston-Bird, eds., *A Soldier and a Woman: Sexual Integration in the Military* (Harlow, England, 2000). A different perspective is military historian Martin van Creveld, *Men, Women and War* (London, 2001), who presents a historical argument on women's unsuitability for combat.

<sup>3</sup> Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 91.

favorable press coverage it received in Russia, Western Europe, and the United States, the story of Russia's women soldiers is today not widely known beyond the role they played in defense of the Winter Palace in October 1917.<sup>4</sup> One reason for their historical obscurity is that they could not forestall the breakdown of the army and their country's ultimate defeat. But heroic failures in war have been valorized by narratives as well as forgotten; understanding why the first modern women soldiers suffered the latter fate is one of the goals of this essay.

The story of these soldiers is in fact four stories. First, it is the story of the peasant soldier Maria Bochkareva, known as Yashka, a twentieth-century Joan of Arc who launched the movement with her vision of creating a small battalion of women to help save the motherland. Yashka's story is in turn part of other, larger stories. One of these is the impact of the world's first total war on European societies, resulting in the mobilization of women for the war effort and the transformation (however temporary) of traditional gender roles. Russia, like every other combatant, was mobilizing all its human resources, and Russian women were mobilizing themselves.<sup>5</sup> Third, the story of Russia's women soldiers is also one of patriotism, how it is configured and how it manifests itself, especially in moments of national emergency: acceptance of so radical a phenomenon as female soldiers had much to do with fears that the country was on the verge of calamitous defeat.<sup>6</sup> And finally, it is the story of a democratizing revolution. The February 1917 revolution proclaimed the disparate subjects of the empire to be free and equal citizens, with the duties as well as rights that citizenship entails. Thousands of women interpreted this equality to mean that women could and should assume the citizen's right to bear arms.

Precisely because the Russian Revolution took place during a titanic military conflict, the democratic and egalitarian forces it unleashed intersected with

<sup>4</sup> The first scholarly examination of the women's battalions is by Richard Stites in his seminal work *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), 295-300. See also the insightful piece by Richard Abraham, "Mariia L. Bochkareva and the Russian Amazons of 1917," in Linda Edmondson, ed., *Women and Society in Russia and the Soviet Union: Selected Papers from the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies* (Cambridge, 1992), 124-44; neither of these scholars had access to relevant Russian archives for their accounts. Treatments drawing on archives are by Laurie Stoff, "They Fought for Russia: Female Soldiers of the First World War," in DeGroot and Peniston-Bird, *Soldier and a Woman*, 66-82; and A. S. Senin, "Zhenskii batal'ion i voennye komandy v 1917 godu," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 10 (1987): 176-82; see also Iu. N. Ivanova, *Khrabreishie iz prekrasnykh: Zhenshchiny Rossii v voynakh* (Moscow, 2002), 107-18.

<sup>5</sup> I use the phrase "Russian women" in the broad meaning of women who were subjects of the Russian Empire—*rossiiskie zhenshchiny*—as opposed to the more narrow term *ruskie zhenshchiny*, which would refer only to women who were ethnically Great Russian. The non-Russian national groups constituted nearly 50 percent of the empire's population.

<sup>6</sup> Here, I employ the term patriotism in its most traditional way, as love of and loyalty to one's country, or what Eric Hobsbawm refers to as state patriotism; such a definition does not determine or rank specific focuses of love and loyalty within the abstraction "country"—ruler, institutions, compatriots, native land—or preclude a critical attitude toward the existing status quo. On patriotism, see E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990), 86-93; Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 95-114; and Hugh Cunningham, "The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 12 (1981): 8-33. On the practice of such patriotism, see Earle L. Hunter, *A Sociological Analysis of Certain Types of Patriotism* (New York, 1932), 18-19, who writes that a signal manifestation of patriotism is "the support which national states expect from their citizenry in times of defense or offense against external enemies. It is also evident that to the citizens themselves activity matching this expectation is the outstanding service which patriotism denotes."

patriotic and martial sentiments. We are accustomed to considering mainly the *collision* of those forces, with the narrative of the revolution focusing on deepening class conflict against the backdrop of growing popular hostility to the war. Women soldiers would in fact suffer the tragic consequences of this hostility. But the very phenomenon of volunteer revolutionary battalions, which cut across class lines in attracting women of every social estate and educational level, reminds us that class conflict and war weariness are but two strands of the revolutionary narrative, and that liberationist forces unleashed by the revolution could merge as well as collide with the need to defend the country. The published and unpublished memoirs of participants, dozens of petitions from women who sought to become combatants, and contemporary press coverage of women and World War I make clear that the experience of war and revolution in Russia revolutionized conceptions of patriotism, citizenship, and gender, as well as class identity.<sup>7</sup>

CLOSE TIES EXIST BETWEEN CITIZENSHIP AND SOLDIERING in Western culture, as Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias have noted. Historically, those ties did not work to women's advantage, since their identities "as those who do not make war but mourn and support the men that do, had located them symbolically and politically as lesser civic beings." What Elshtain calls the patriotic tradition of "armed civic virtue" has existed since at least the time of the Renaissance. Machiavelli identified the prince's duty to create an army of citizens prepared to die for the republic, while Leonardo Bruni insisted that "it is the possession of arms that makes a man a full citizen."<sup>8</sup> The French Revolution's call of citizens to arms influentially set forth the idea of the citizen soldier, connecting performance of military service to the nation and enjoyment of all the rights of citizenship. During the nineteenth century, modern citizenship—understood as possession of rights of civil equality and

<sup>7</sup> Full-length published memoirs are those by Maria ("Yashka") Bochkareva and Nina Krylova (see note 1); shorter published recollections are referenced elsewhere. Bochkareva dictated her account to a Russian émigré in New York while events were still fresh in her mind. More problematic is Krylova's text, written some twenty years after the war and posthumously published in novelized form by her friend Boris Solonevich as *Woman with a Bayonet: An Historical Novel*. Although some episodes appear to have been reworked for dramatic effect (particularly the chapter on defending the Winter Palace), most of the account seems plausible. A third full-length memoir is by Mariia Bocharnikova, "V zhenskom batal'one smerti," in the Bakhmeteff Archive (hereafter, BAR), General Manuscript Collection, Columbia University, New York. In the fall of 1918, Bocharnikova (whose name is confusingly similar to that of battalion founder Maria Bochkareva) wrote down her experiences as a soldier. She used these notes to write a memoir in the 1950s but was able to publish only the section relating to defense of the Winter Palace: Mariia Bocharnikova, "Boi v zimmem dvortse," *Novyi zhurnal* (New York, 1962): 216–27. It is impossible to tell how much Bocharnikova reworked her original notes, which have not been preserved, but her account of the battalion appears careful and eschews sensationalism.

<sup>8</sup> "Preface," Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias, eds., *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics and Social Theory* (Savage, Md., 1990), xi; J. G. A. Pocock on Bruni quoted in Linda K. Kerber, "May All Our Citizens Be Soldiers and All Our Soldiers Citizens: The Ambiguities of Female Citizenship in the New Nation," in *Women, Militarism, and War*, 91–92; Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York, 1987), 49–60. An excellent short discussion of the concept of civic virtue is Richard Dagger, "Republican Citizenship," in Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner, eds., *Handbook of Citizenship Studies* (London, 2002), 145–58. A stimulating collection of essays exploring the intersections between war and gender is Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

political participation, guaranteed by law—was extended to more and more of Europe's male population, concurrent with the extension of the principle of universal military service to all male citizens and abolition of exemptions to that duty. The belief that citizens should share an "equality of sacrifice," on which universal conscription was premised, entailed a kind of sacrifice women were prohibited from making.<sup>9</sup> Despite the exertions of the women's movement to gain suffrage, and efforts by a number of thinkers to uncouple civic virtue and the bearing of arms, on the eve of World War I it was still the case that good citizens were prepared to soldier and only men were full citizens.

A related process further consolidated the relationship of soldiering, citizenship, and gender. In late eighteenth-century Europe, during a period of war and revolution that informed its features, a new stereotype of modern masculinity was created and widely diffused. According to George Mosse, heroism, discipline, and sacrifice of one's life on behalf of a higher purpose became the set attributes of ideal masculinity. Moreover, "the nation co-opted the ideal of manliness as its own"; the experience of serving one's country as a soldier became doubly transformative, helping make men into citizens and males into men. From this time forward, "manliness and patriotism were closely associated."<sup>10</sup>

As the first total war in history, mobilizing populations and demanding their labor and sacrifices on an unprecedented scale, World War I revised or destabilized many prevailing conventions. For women and other individuals denied membership in the community of citizens, or for whom citizenship was only partially realized in law, the heavy burdens of the war could also appear an opportunity, by providing a new basis for winning citizenship claims. In Russia, where the very concept of modern citizenship was only imperfectly realized, liberals were certain that the example of every category of the population patriotically working and sacrificing for the war effort would confound the old justifications for unequal and limited rights:

<sup>9</sup> The nature and attributes of citizenship are, of course, highly contested. The definition I use here is based on Rogers Brubaker's discussion of the French Revolution and the origins of the modern institution of national citizenship, but it does not take up the distinction he draws between citizenries defined as a territorial community and those defined as a community of descent; Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), x, 39–49. The classic formulation of citizenship understood as encompassing social rights no less than civil and political rights is T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in Marshall, *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development* (Westport, Conn., 1973). Conscription, citizenship, and the notion of "equality of sacrifice" are discussed in Margaret Levi, *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism* (Cambridge, 1997), esp. 80–130; see also Alan Forrest, "La Patrie en Danger: The French Revolution and the First *Levée en Masse*," in Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron, eds., *The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 2003), 8–32; and Bertrand Taithe, *Citizenship and Wars: France in Turmoil, 1870–1871* (London, 2001), 1–20. A different perspective on gender in modern traditions of thinking on citizenship is Ursula Vogel, "Is Citizenship Gender-Specific?" in Vogel and Michael Moran, eds., *The Frontiers of Citizenship* (New York, 1991), 58–85, which identifies the institution of marriage as the original terrain on which was worked out women's exclusion from direct membership in the community of citizens.

<sup>10</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford, 1996), esp. 50–55, 107–11; and Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990), 15–33, 65–69; Mosse notes challenges to this normative ideal of masculinity by century's end but contends that it was still dominant on the eve of World War I. See also Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge, 2001), 251–321; and, for the American tradition, R. Claire Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors: Military Service and Gender in the Civic Republic Tradition* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 85–91.



the empire's passive subjects would be transformed into active citizens.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, Russian feminists, like their counterparts in Europe, believed that women could demonstrate their readiness for full citizenship through patriotic self-sacrifice in support of the nation at war, and in doing so would ultimately receive the rights they had earned. "Woman, having proved again her social consciousness and maturity," R. N. Shishkina-Iavein wrote in 1915, expects to be recognized as "a citizen of her fatherland."<sup>12</sup>

The mobilization of the home front during World War I began in earnest in 1915, as combatant countries recognized that every human resource would be needed to fight a long war to a successful conclusion. Experiences varied significantly by country, but in virtually all belligerent societies women increasingly engaged in work previously limited in scope or entirely prohibited for their sex, ranging from transportation and nursing to munitions work, where women participated in the killing end of war through the production of weapons.<sup>13</sup> By 1917, the need for able-bodied fighting men was so pressing that Britain sanctioned the creation of auxiliary corps that put women in uniform at or near the front in capacities ranging from drivers and signalers to cooks and laundresses, thus freeing up men for combat. Similarly, in the spring of 1918, Germany organized the Woman's Home Army, having women take over such duties as maintenance of public decorum on the streets.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Noting that the subjects of the Russian Empire still did not enjoy full, modern citizenship in 1914 is not to say that a dynamic civil society was not developing in tsarist Russia or that the incomplete revolution of 1905 did not give impetus to the development of citizenship rights. See particularly Joseph Bradley, "Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia," *AHR* 107 (October 2002): 1094–1123; and Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow, and James L. West, eds., *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1991). An analysis of the 1905 rhetoric of citizenship as it applied to women is Linda Edmondson, "Women's Rights, Civil Rights and the Debate over Citizenship in the 1905 Revolution," in Edmondson, *Women and Society in Russia*, 77–100. On reform and citizenship expectations for the war, see Melissa K. Stockdale, "Russian Liberals and the Contours of Patriotism in the Great War," *Russkii liberalizm: Istoricheskie sud'by i perspektivy* (Moscow, 1999), 283–92; and V. Iu. Cherniaev, in "Pervaia mirovaia voina i perspektivy demokraticheskogo preobrazovaniia rossiiskoi imperii," in *Rossia i pervaiia mirovaia voina: Materialy mezhdunarodnogo nauchnogo kollokviuma* (St. Petersburg, 1999), 189–99.

<sup>12</sup> R. N. Shishkina-Iavein, "Voina i zhenshchina," in *Chego zhdet Rossiia ot voiny: Sbornik statei* (Moscow, 1915), 210–16; on Russian feminists in the war, see Linda Harriet Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia, 1900–17* (Stanford, Calif., 1984), 158–65. A thoughtful discussion of women's wartime service as a basis for gaining full citizenship is Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), esp. chap. 6.

<sup>13</sup> There is a rich literature on women's experience of World War I; among the many works that have informed my discussion are Gail Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War* (London, 1981); Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford, 2000); Nicoletta Gullace, "White Feathers and Wounded Men: Female Patriotism and the Memory of the Great War," *Journal of British Studies* 36, no. 2 (April 1997): 178–206; Krisztina Roberts, "Gender, Class and Patriotism: Women's Paramilitary Units in First World War Britain," *International History Review* 19, no. 1 (February 1997): 52–65; Margaret Higonnet, Jane Jensen, et al., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); and Angela Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994).

<sup>14</sup> The women's services in Britain enrolled more than 90,000 women; on women's auxiliaries, see David Mitchell, *Women on the Warpath: The Story of the Women of the First World War* (London, 1966), 222–28. For the German experience, see Ute Daniel, *The War from Within: German Working-Class Women in the First World War*, Margaret Ries, trans. (Oxford, 1997), esp. 65–86; and Robert Asprey, *The German High Command at War* (New York, 1991), 403; by war's end, the German military employed some 17,000 women. The American military, not having comparable manpower shortages,

Russia, too, experienced the mobilization and self-mobilization of the civilian population, which could open new spheres of activity to women as well as impose new burdens and privations. Female streetcar drivers, porters, and concierges became increasingly common urban sights. In the industrial sector, women moved into such male preserves as munitions, metalworking, and coal. By 1916, women made up 35 percent of all railroad employees. In addition to filling positions left open by men called to the war, Russian women engaged directly in war-related services and support. Whether as volunteers or paid employees, women could actively express social patriotism through the giant task of relief work for soldiers' families, disabled soldiers, and millions of refugees. Those with the requisite level of education rushed to take nursing courses in order to serve as Sisters of Mercy. While complete numbers are lacking—the story of Russia's women in the war has yet to be fully told—they were not small: by 1916, one of the largest national organizations in support of the war effort, the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos, employed more than 30,000 women, while the Russian Red Cross employed some 18,000 Sisters of Mercy.<sup>15</sup>

FROM THE OUTSET OF THE WAR, a small number of Russian women made a still more radical break with their culture's traditional gender roles than did their European contemporaries, by actually taking up arms.<sup>16</sup> Many of these soldiers were the daughters or wives of military men, perhaps because a military connection could more easily open doors for unconventional volunteers. One of the earliest volunteers was Apollovna Isoltsev, who entered the regiment commanded by her father. Alexandra Danilova, wife of a reservist from Baku, wrote in her successful petition to the local military authorities: "Having a strong, burning desire to enter

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made limited use of women's auxiliaries: the navy and marines enlisted a total of 12,185, while the army accepted no women outside the Army Nurse Corps.

<sup>15</sup> The fullest overview of Russian women in the war is Alfred G. Meyer, "The Impact of World War I on Russian Women's Lives," in Barbara Evans Clements, *et al.*, *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 208–24; see also Barbara A. Engel, "Not by Bread Alone: Subsistence Riots in Russia during World War One," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 696–721; and Jane McDermid and Anna Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution: Female Bolsheviks and Women Workers in 1917* (Athens, Ohio, 1999), chap. 5. On women in refugee work, see Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Bloomington, Ind., 1999), 125–27. The figure for Red Cross nurses is given by V. S. Krivenko in *Russkii invalid* (May 25, 1917): 4. The term social patriotism, understood as an expression of loyalty to the people of one's country rather than to a ruler or ideology, comes from Hubertus F. Jahn, *Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), 90.

<sup>16</sup> The gendering of work roles is not identical from culture to culture, or even from class to class, and the expected behaviors and activities of Russian women could differ from those of women in other countries of Europe in the pre-war period. On women's work in Russian peasant society, see, for instance, Christine Worobec, "Victims or Actors? Russian Peasant Women and Patriarchy," in Esther Kingston-Mann and Timothy Mixter, eds., *Peasant Economy, Culture, and Politics of European Russia, 1800–1921* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 177–206; on factory workers, see Rose L. Glickman, *Russian Factory Women: Workplace and Society, 1880–1914* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); a case study for a profession is Christine Ruane, *Gender, Class, and the Professionalization of Russian City Teachers, 1860–1914* (Pittsburgh, 1994); an overview of changes affecting women's work for the period 1861–1917 is Barbara Alpern Engel, "Transformation versus Tradition," in Clements, *Russia's Women*, 135–47. My point here is that Russians were highly conscious of the way the war had introduced women into many kinds of waged labor and spheres of activity from which they had previously been excluded.

as a volunteer into the army for the defense of the dear Tsar and Fatherland, I request my enrollment in the regular army." Kuban Cossack Elena Chuba, who joined the army after her husband went off to war, was one of a number of Cossack women who gained permission to become soldiers. All these women took part in actual fighting or sorties; several received decorations for bravery.<sup>17</sup>

Many other women had to resort to subterfuge in order to become soldiers. Anna Alekseevna Krasil'nikova, the daughter of a mineworker from the Urals, disguised herself as a man and enlisted as Anatolii Krasil'nikov; she took part in nineteen battles and was awarded the St. George's Cross for valor. Twelve Moscow *gymnaziia* students ran off together to the army, gaining support from soldiers who agreed to disguise them as boys, find them uniforms and rifles, and teach them to shoot. As one of them later told a reporter, "It was a bit terrible at first . . . , but the desire to see the war and ourselves kill the Germans overcame all other sentiments." By the time the authorities realized their deception, outside Lemberg (L'vov) in Galicia, it was agreed they could continue to serve.<sup>18</sup> A number of women disguised themselves so successfully that their sex long remained secret, as was the case with Marfa Malko, a junior officer's wife whose real identity was not discovered until she was imprisoned in a German POW camp.

All told, the number of women who served in the Russian army as combatants from 1914 to 1916 was, at a minimum, forty-nine, but probably closer to several hundred, individuals.<sup>19</sup> As insignificant as these figures are when compared with the legions of women working for Russia's war effort in other capacities, the appearance of armed female soldiers in the regular army was nonetheless remarkable: with the exception of several women who fought with the Serbs and the Austrians, this phenomenon in World War I was confined to Russia. And it was by no means a Russian tradition, since the imperial Russian army was as exclusively a masculine preserve as were the armies of every other belligerent, and one in which misogyny was strong.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> "Russia's Women Soldiers," *Literary Digest* (August 25, 1917): 20, V. V. Brusianin, *Voina, zhenshchiny i deti* (Moscow, 1917), 63; "Warrior Women," *Literary Digest* (June 19, 1915): 1460; and "Zhenshchiny-geroi," *Voina*, no. 24 (1915): 6. It is worth noting that the terms fatherland (*otechestvo*) and motherland (*rodina*) were used more or less interchangeably in both printed texts and petitions.

<sup>18</sup> *Zhenshchina i voina* (March 1915): 11; "Young Girls Fighting at the Russian Front," *New York Times Current History of the European War* (May 1916): 367; "Those Russian Women," *Literary Digest* (September 29, 1917): 53; and Brusianin, *Voina*, 62–63, 105–06. The sensationalized autobiography of a girl who joined a Cossack unit is Marina Yurlova, *Cossack Girl* (New York, 1934).

<sup>19</sup> The *London Graphic* did not give a source for its figure of 400 women in the Russian army, quoted in *Literary Digest* (June 19, 1915): 1460; Florence Farmborough, an Englishwoman who nursed with the Russian Red Cross at the front, maintained that "A woman soldier, or boy soldier, was no unusual sight in the Russian Army." Farmborough, *With the Armies of the Tsar: A Nurse at the Russian Front in War and Revolution, 1914–1918* (New York, 1974), 300.

<sup>20</sup> According to Joshua Sanborn, the tsarist military's ideals were both explicitly and implicitly masculine, and the authorities struggled to "insulate the army from feminine contamination"; Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics, 1905–1925* (DeKalb, Ill., 2003), esp. 132–33, 146–54, 160. See also two essays by Karen Petrone exploring the gendering of heroism and cowardice, "Masculinity and Heroism in Imperial and Soviet Military-Patriotic Cultures," in Barbara Evans Clements, Rebecca Friedman, and Dan Healy, eds., *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture* (Basingstoke, England, 2002), 172–93, and "Family, Masculinity, and Heroism in Russian War Posters," in Billie Melman, ed., *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870–1930* (New York, 1998), 95–119. An earlier exception to the prohibition on women bearing arms comes from the distinct martial culture of the Don Cossacks, which during the pre-modern period countenanced

The notable exception in Russia to the exclusion of women from the regular army dated to the Napoleonic Wars. The noblewoman Natalia Durova disguised herself as a man, successfully served as a cavalry officer, and was decorated; in recognition of her patriotism, Tsar Aleksandr I granted her permission to continue serving even after her true sex was revealed. Durova's stirring memoirs were well known to educated Russians, and a number of the young women who petitioned to be allowed to fight invoked her example, as did Elena Iost: "I will be so bold as to remind your Imperial Highness that already a hundred years ago a certain young woman, officer N. Durova, served in the ranks of our glorious army and participated in the battles of the campaigns of 1812."<sup>21</sup> What should be noted here is that the example of Durova had previously *not* inspired women to become soldiers, for only four women are known to have entered the Russian army in the hundred years after Durova did so.<sup>22</sup>

The Great War therefore represented a genuine departure, for now hundreds of women sought to fight, and the authorities, including that most conventional of men, Nicholas II, allowed some of them to do so. Women's petitions for permission to enlist became sufficiently numerous to prompt formulation of a policy on this question. On June 10, 1915, on the recommendation of the minister of war, military authorities decided that during the present conflict exceptions could be made to the law barring women from the army, provided the emperor ultimately approved each petition. A memo evaluating one individual's petition explained that, while allowing women into the army "is, as a general rule, undesirable," it was deemed possible in certain unique circumstances to admit them "in the role of regular troops."<sup>23</sup>

This surprising departure can in part be explained by the wartime changes in gender roles, which made more thinkable the request and grant of exceptions to the exclusively masculine nature of combatants. The reality of who waged war, and how,

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women fighting: Shane O'Rourke, "Women in a Warrior Society: Don Cossack Women, 1860–1914," in Rosalind Marsh, ed., *Women in Russia and Ukraine* (Cambridge, 1996), 46.

<sup>21</sup> Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voenno-Istoricheskii Arkhiv (Russian State Military Historical Archive, hereafter RGVA), Moscow, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 28, l. 69, petition of Elena Iost, May 28, 1916. Nina Krylova says many of her fellow women soldiers mentioned Durova; Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 91. Brusianin, *Voina*, 63, gives other examples of girls pointing to Durova. An English translation of the memoirs is Nadezhda Durova, *The Cavalry Maiden*, Mary Fleming Zirin, trans. (Bloomington, Ind., 1989).

<sup>22</sup> A few women also fought as partisans in 1812 but were never incorporated into the war myth in the way Durova was; see L. Bychkova, *Partizanskoe dvizhenie v otechestvennoi voine 1812 goda* (Moscow, 1941). Additionally, as was the case in virtually every Western society into the nineteenth century, there were women associated with the army in non-combat capacities: Russia permitted soldiers' wives to follow the army, since they provided essential services such as sewing and laundering. A law of 1821 banned wives from joining the army in the field; the military reforms of 1874 and 1912 seem to have further distanced women from the army in any capacity but nursing. On soldiers' wives, see Elise Kimmerling Wirschafter, *From Serf to Russian Soldier* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 34–40. On women in the Russian army prior to 1914, see Iu. V. Ivanova, "Zhenshchiny v istorii rossiiskoi armii," *Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal*, no. 3 (1992): 86–89. On the marginalization of camp followers in histories of the military, see Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You?* 1–17; and Scott N. Hendrix, "In the Army: Women, Camp Followers and Gender Roles in the British Army in the French and Indian Wars, 1755–1765," in DeGroot and Peniston-Bird, *Soldier and a Woman*, 33–48.

<sup>23</sup> Response of the duty general for the Supreme Command to the petition of Anastasia Kovalenka, February 21, 1916, RGVA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 28, ll. 23, 45, 71–72, 131. Of the seventeen petitions in this file requesting admittance into the regular army in 1916, only two or three were granted (the final outcome is not always clear).



was visibly changing. While most war posters continued to present women as healers, mourners, or victims, a poster titled "All for the War!" captured women's direct participation in making war by depicting an attractive, serious female worker producing armaments. As A. K. Iakovleva in 1915 reminded readers of her new magazine, *Zhenshchina i voina* (Woman and war), this conflict had moved women into the "front lines of life" and turned "everyone into fighters."<sup>24</sup>

Another factor underlying changing attitudes toward women combatants can be found in the perceived parallels with Napoleon's invasion, a conflict known to Russians as the "Patriotic" or "Fatherland" (*otechestvennaia*) War. The ordeals and ultimate triumph over the invader symbolized in the 1812 war were part of the national myth and of popular consciousness, celebrated in folk songs and tales as well as in the symphonic music and literary works of high culture. As recently as 1912, government and society had lavishly commemorated the hundredth anniversary of the Patriotic War;<sup>25</sup> and in the fall of 1914, when Russia again faced enemy armies on its soil, the new conflict was frequently referred to as the "Second Patriotic War."<sup>26</sup> Thus the 1812 Patriotic War furnished a framework within which it was possible for women to conceive of acting in similarly patriotic and heroic fashion, and for the authorities to conceive of permitting these extreme expressions of female patriotism.

A national emergency deepened such inclinations. In April 1915, the Austro-German breakthrough at Gorlice, in Galicia, initiated the start of a devastating Russian retreat that would last almost five months, ultimately costing some 2 million casualties and thousands of miles of territory. From late May, the public was increasingly aware that a military disaster was unfolding: all manner of public and private organizations, institutions, and societies appealed to love of country, urged further mobilization of the home front, and insisted that "to save the Fatherland we cannot stop at any sacrifice."<sup>27</sup> It was in this crisis atmosphere, in June, as enemy armies drove deep into the empire's western reaches, that the policy allowing some women into the regular army on a case-by-case basis was quietly, ambivalently adopted.

<sup>24</sup> The poster is reproduced in *Russkii plakat pervoi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow, 1992), 75; A. K. Iakovleva, "Prizyv k zhenshchinam," *Zhenshchina i voina* (March 1915): 2.

<sup>25</sup> The dynastic use of the Borodino centennial is discussed in Richard Wortmann, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in the Russian Monarchy*, vol. 2 (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 428–38. An edition of Durova's memoirs was among the many works published in 1912 concerning the Patriotic War: N. A. Durova, *Zapiski kavalerist-devitsy Durovoi* (St. Petersburg, 1912).

<sup>26</sup> An early example of references to the "Second Patriotic War" is the lead article in the government-subsidized peasant newspaper *Sel'skii vestnik* (July 23, 1914): 1, declaring that, "Entering into a second patriotic war, Russia will meet it exactly as she did the first"; other examples include the Petrograd daily *Istoriia vtoroi otechestvennoi voiny* (founded September 3, 1914); G. Anofiev, ed., *Vtoraia otechestvennaia voina: Sbornik statei, stikhotvorenii i rasskazov* (Kaluga, 1915); *Vtoraia otechestvennaia voina: Po rasskazam ee geroev* (Petrograd, n.d.); and such entities as the "Society for Care for Orphans of Soldiers of the Second Patriotic War." Liberals and moderate socialists were more likely to speak of the "great war" or "great world war" (*velikaia vsemirnaia voina*).

<sup>27</sup> On Russia's great retreat, see Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front, 1914–1917* (London, 1975), 128–43, 165–91. Examples of patriotic appeals are in *Kievlianin* (June 12, 1915): 3; and especially "Otechestvo v opasnosti" (The Fatherland is in danger) (July 23, 1915): 3.

IN 1917, REVOLUTION DRAMATICALLY DEEPENED the transformations in women's wartime roles already effected by the demands of total war. Because it expanded rights and democratized institutions, the revolution created the grounds on which women could elect to fight. Because the revolution helped accelerate the regular army's breakdown, it created the perceived need to allow women to take up arms during a national emergency. And, finally, the revolution could lay claim to a historical precedent that suggested both the utility and legitimacy of mobilizing a new sort of army to defend the motherland, the precedent of the French Revolution and its calling of citizens to arms.

With the February Revolution, Russia's women received in principle many of the political and legal rights they had hoped to gain eventually through their wartime work and sacrifices. In early March, the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet proclaimed their adherence to universal suffrage. Russian feminists immediately exerted pressure to ensure that this would include women, who were formally granted the franchise on July 20, 1917. Other decrees issued over the summer enabled women to serve as trial attorneys and as jurors, and extended to women equal opportunity and pay in the civil service. Russia became not only "the freest country in the world," as its proud citizens constantly proclaimed, Russia's women were now more fully citizens of their country than the women of any other belligerent state.<sup>28</sup>

The revolution also broke down barriers to women's fuller, direct participation in the war effort. On April 30, Minister of War Aleksandr Guchkov signed an order instructing all women doctors under forty-five years of age to report for military service.<sup>29</sup> On June 13, new Minister of War Kerensky announced formation of a special commission to look into the feasibility of instituting a military labor obligation for women that would free up men for combat. The commission included representatives from the Union of Women's Democratic Organizations and the All-Russian Union of Women. Significantly, it was these women's organizations that had first raised the question of conscripting women's labor, and they did so by linking service with gender equality:

The great Russian revolution has realized women's boldest dreams. The first Provisional Government has acknowledged the civil and political equality of the women of Russia. This equality, which as yet has been realized nowhere in the world on such a scale, lays upon the Russian woman a huge responsibility. Corresponding to equal rights with men there must be equal obligations. Recognizing this, the Union of Women's Democratic Organizations and the All-Russian Union of Women have introduced for review by the Provisional Government a bill on drafting women for obligatory service.<sup>30</sup>

Women's new identity as full citizens was part of larger egalitarian processes unleashed by the revolution. A most immediate effect was the proclamation of equality before the law of all citizens of the empire, regardless of religion or

<sup>28</sup> Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement*, 291–95; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 165–68.

<sup>29</sup> *Vestnik vremennogo pravitel'stva* (June 14, 1917): 1; six weeks elapsed between the order's signing and its publication.

<sup>30</sup> Statement of commission chair O. A. Nekrasova, *Russkii invalid* (June 16, 1917): 1, and (June 17, 1917): 3. While no obligatory military service for women was instituted, an order of August 22 tried to attract women volunteers for non-combat railroad security, to replace male soldiers; RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 349, l. 28.

nationality, which in the army meant the repeal of discriminatory or preferential rules regarding service for various national groups. And accompanying new laws were concerted efforts to school new citizens in the meaning and vocabulary of citizenship: a population already bombarded by patriotic exhortations for some two and a half years was now the object of an unprecedented, if uncoordinated, campaign of civic instruction. Emphases on rights versus duties, freedom versus obligation, and social versus civic entitlements might vary according to the political orientation of any given speaker or writer, but in the first months of the revolution, at least, there was a common rhetoric of human rights and an insistence that citizenship was active and participatory.<sup>31</sup>

Supporters of Russia's war effort, even those who did not welcome revolution, hoped that a new, democratic government, presumably better able to conduct the war, would boost the country's flagging spirits. After two and a half years of fighting, during which time Russia's armies had experienced more defeats than victories, acute shortages of food and materiel, and perhaps as many as 9 million casualties, discipline and morale were breaking down. Instead, the abrupt removal of the tsar, to whom Russian soldiers swore their oath of loyalty, and the consequent collapse of the old structure of power, accelerated the decline in fighting capacity apparent since the fall of 1916.<sup>32</sup> Order No. 1, issued by the Petrograd Soviet at the outset of the revolution, followed by the "Declaration of Soldiers' Rights," played a part in this process. According to their provisions, every military unit was to elect a soldiers' committee that would take charge of all weaponry; soldiers, when off duty, were to enjoy all the rights and freedoms of the citizen. The consequences of these democratizing orders, coupled with the abolition of courts-martial and the death penalty, were disastrous: desertions mounted, many officers were forcibly removed by their men, and it became increasingly difficult to enforce orders. By mid-April, both military and civilian authorities were profoundly concerned about the fighting capacity of Russia's troops. In May, mass mutinies began to occur at the front.<sup>33</sup>

This new national emergency required action, and as so frequently happened in

<sup>31</sup> Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*, 80–82. Typically, pamphlets aimed at a popular audience identified freedom and equality as the true hallmarks of the citizen. Liberals and moderate socialists were also likely to remind readers that even members of unpopular groups and privileged classes enjoyed these rights, that freedom was not license, and that citizens were "responsible people"; see, for example, N. S. Arsen'ev, "O svobodakh i obiazannostiakh grazhdanina" (Moscow, 1917), 4–6; N. N. Pchelin, "Grazhdanin i ego obiazannosti" (Moscow, 1917), 8–9, 11, 14–15; and P. V. Gerasimov, "Novyi stroi i prava svobodnykh grazhdan" (Petrograd, 1917), 3, 9. The ways different groups understood and employed the languages of citizenship are explored by Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), 104–26.

<sup>32</sup> This figure is a rough extrapolation, since figures for Russian military casualties in the war are disputed and are not broken down for the period ending in 1916; see A. E. Stepanov, "Obshchie demograficheskie poteri naseleniia Rossii v period pervoi mirovoi voiny," *Pervaia mirovaia voina: Prolog XX veka* (Moscow, 1998), 474–84, who estimates 10.7 million military casualties (3 million of which were deaths) by the end of 1917, for approximate losses of 60 percent in the armed forces. On the army's troubled state by the fall of 1916, see Allan K. Wildman's magisterial study, *The End of the Russian Imperial Army: The Old Army and the Soldier's Revolt (March–April 1917)* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 107–15.

<sup>33</sup> The notorious Order No. 1 was addressed only to soldiers of the Petrograd Military District, but its speedy dissemination at the front effectively made it applicable to the armed forces as a whole. On the impact of these orders, see Wildman, *End of the Russian Imperial Army*, 182–90, 332–48, 362–72; and W. Bruce Lincoln, *Passage through Armageddon: The Russians in War and Revolution* (New York, 1986), 349–50, 404.

revolutionary Russia, many educated individuals looked to the French Revolution for guidance. Leaders of the Petrograd Soviet compared Russia's situation with that of France on the eve of war against Austria in 1792: many believed that a revolutionary war would help create a new civic patriotism in Russia just as the defense of *la patrie* had summoned the French citizenry to arms. They were therefore receptive to the proposal that revolutionary Russia should honor the old regime's commitment to the allies to open an offensive in 1917. By this reasoning, a campaign that would push the enemy off Russia's soil and be animated by lofty ideals—territorial acquisition and indemnities having been foresworn as goals—might very well inspire the troops and halt the disintegration of the army. Explicitly invoking the example of the revolutionary, militia-style army created by the French Revolution, a number of moderate socialists also proposed creation of a volunteer, revolutionary army to bolster—not replace—the existing forces.<sup>34</sup> “New, free Russia” provided a new object of patriotism to replace the discarded object of the tsar. Revolutionary enthusiasm could be used to rekindle the army's resolve to defend both freedom and the fatherland.

Officers and soldiers independently generated a proposal for forming revolutionary shock units, at the Congress of Delegates of the South-Western Front held May 16, 1917. General Aleksei Brusilov, who became commander-in-chief on May 27, enthusiastically endorsed the creation of revolutionary units. He also championed extending the original idea to the rear as well as the front; whereas shock (or “storm”) battalions formed at the front would be composed of active troops volunteering from various units, those at the rear would be made up of reservists, officer trainees, and civilian volunteers. As Brusilov explained it, he supported anything that tended to elevate the mood and create the best feelings in the troops at the rear and at the front in “the present decisive hour.”<sup>35</sup>

The war and revolution, combined, thus supplied the necessary elements for creation and acceptance of the modern world's first female combat units. However, it was not feminists, students of the French Revolution, or desperate politicians and generals who first conceived of fielding a unit of women soldiers. The women's battalion was the brainchild of one of Russia's women soldiers, Maria Leontevna Bochkareva, a semi-literate peasant from Siberia. Born to poverty in 1889, she had worked for wages since the age of eight, fleeing a drunkard, abusive peasant husband only to wind up sharing the Siberian political exile of her lover, a member of the intelligentsia, who also beat and abused her. News of the great war stirred her patriotic feelings, and she was seized with the idea of running away to fight for Russia: “Day and night my imagination carried me to the fields of battle, and my

<sup>34</sup> On the model of the French Revolution for creation of revolutionary units, see N. G. Ross, “Popytka sozdaniia russkoi revoliutsionnoi armii (mai-iun’ 1917 g.),” rpt. in *Novyi chasovoi*, no. 1 (1994): 76; the connection between revolutionary war and efforts to cultivate a new civic patriotism is discussed by Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: A History of the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1996), 408–12. Complexities inherent in summoning “the people” to arms in a multinational polity are explored in Mark von Hagen, “The *Levée en Masse* from Russian Empire to Soviet Union, 1874–1938,” in Moran and Waldron, *People in Arms*, 159–88. On misuse of the lessons of the French Revolution in Russia, see John Keep, “1917: The Tyranny of Paris over Petrograd,” *Soviet Studies* 20 (July 1968): 22–45.

<sup>35</sup> RGVA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 347, “Formation of Volunteer Battalions, 1917,” ll. 2, 17; Brusilov's telegrams of May 16 and May 20, to the Petrograd Soviet and General Staff.





FIGURE 2: On the right, Maria “Yashka” Bochkareva, founder of the first Women’s Battalion of Death. From the A. Tarsaidze Collection, courtesy of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California.

ears rang with the groans of my wounded brethren . . . The spirit of sacrifice took possession of me. My country called me. An irresistible force from within pulled me.” Steeling herself to the ridicule heaped on her from all sides for entertaining such an ambition, she persevered, successfully petitioning the tsar to join the regular army in 1915. She served with distinction, being twice wounded and winning a St. George’s Cross for valor. She also gradually gained acceptance from her fellow soldiers, who called her by the nickname “Yashka.” (See Figure 2.) When the revolution came in 1917, Yashka greeted it joyously, equating it with freedom for the common people, but, as the fighting capacity of the army broke down, she grew alarmed and then indignant. On a furlough to Petrograd in early May, an idea for reversing this disintegration suddenly came to her. She proposed forming a unit of some 300 women and taking them into combat to “serve as an example to the army and lead the men into battle.”<sup>36</sup>

Thus the purpose of the women’s battalion, as was the case with all volunteer revolutionary units, was to raise the morale of the regular army through heroic, self-disciplined example. Additionally, the first women’s battalion, as proposed by Yashka, was explicitly intended to embarrass Russian soldiers into doing their duty.

<sup>36</sup> Bochkareva, *Yashka*, 56, 72–76, 139–53; and S. V. Drovkov, “Organizator Zhenskogo batal’ona smerti,” in *Voprosy istorii*, no. 7 (1993): 164–65.

She considered the number of female recruits rather immaterial: "What was important was to shame the men, and . . . a few women at one place could serve as an example to the entire front." Her proposal caught the imagination of a number of people, including Duma president Mikhail Rodzianko, who arranged for her to outline her idea to General Brusilov. He, too, liked her idea, which more or less agreed with his thinking on volunteer battalions; several days later, after meetings with the new Minister of War Kerensky, the first "Russian Women's Battalion of Death" was formally approved.<sup>37</sup>

The formidable, even vaguely ridiculous title "Battalion of Death" was not unique to the women's unit. The appellation became popular in May 1917, when the Supreme Command first bestowed it on a unit that had solemnly resolved "to defend, to the last drop of blood, young, free Russia," requesting immediate posting to the front wherever the "onslaught of the forces of the revolutionary army might be needed." A month later, on June 17, the eve of the opening of the so-called Kerensky offensive, the military authorities formally approved the proposal of the All-Russian Military Union that any unit passing such a resolution could be granted the epithet "of death"; members of such a unit could sew a special red-and-black chevron to their sleeves and add the skull-and-crossbones to their banner. A battalion of death was therefore not only intended to be death-dealing on the field of battle but willing to fight unto death. Its volunteers pledged never to surrender, declaring: "my death for the Motherland and for the freedom of Russia is happiness and the discharge of my oath." By October, a total of 106 such units were in existence.<sup>38</sup>

On May 21, 1917, Yashka publicly appealed for women volunteers at a benefit for wounded soldiers. Abashed at finding herself addressing a packed auditorium, she spoke briefly and simply, calling on women "whose hearts are crystal, whose souls are pure" to set an example of self-sacrifice and save Mother Russia. Newspapers carried accounts of the appeal, announcing the creation in Petrograd of Bochkareva's Women's Battalion of Death and the address where volunteers could sign up. Several days later, the All-Russian Women's Congress issued a general appeal to women to enlist, making explicit the connection between citizenship and the duty to serve the country in whatever capacity possible:

#### Citizenesses!

In this terrible hour, when the dark storm clouds of anarchy, defeat and economic collapse are gathering over our motherland, when death is foretold for her, *we, women citizens with equal rights*, are obliged to raise our voices, are obliged to unite and strain every nerve to come forward . . .

Imperative responsibility and civic duty call upon the Russian woman to support our army's unity of will, to strengthen the falling spirit of our troops [and], having entered into their ranks as volunteers, to transform the passive, standing front into an active, aggressive one.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 157–59.

<sup>38</sup> *Russkii invalid* (June 24, 1917): 5. The text of the ten-point oath taken by the "revolutionary-citizen" volunteer is reproduced in *Razlozhenie armii v 1917 godu* (Moscow, 1923), 69–70. I have assembled figures for the number of such units from data in the file "Correspondence on Forming Shock Battalions and Battalions of Death," RGVA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 352, ll. 65–69.

<sup>39</sup> Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 161–62; the government-sponsored military newspaper *Russkii invalid*

More than 2,000 women responded to these public appeals, a number far exceeding expectations. Requests to join Bochkareva's Women's Battalion of Death continued to pour in from all over the country but were refused, since the battalion was to be trained as speedily as possible for the planned offensive. Not to be deterred, women resolved to organize additional battalions. On June 16, a group of women in Moscow received permission to organize the Moscow Women's Battalion of Death. A committee called "Women for the Fatherland" took charge of this effort; its members included Princess Kropotkina, a relative of the famous anarchist. On July 2, in Petrograd, the newly formed Women's Volunteer Committee, under the auspices of the Military Union, announced it was enlisting women volunteers for combat and labor units. Thus was born the "First Petrograd Women's Battalion"—an entity distinct from Yashka's battalion, which was also based in Petrograd.<sup>40</sup>

Yashka Bochkareva's inspiration was not confined to the two capitals. Another seasoned woman soldier and recipient of the St. George's Cross, Antonina Tupitso, asked the Supreme Command in June for authorization to outfit a women's combat legion in Mogilev province. "I wanted at first to sign up for Bochkareva's battalion," she wrote, "until letters reached me at the front from women-volunteers in cities in the rear who asked me to organize them into a legion. I already have nearly 300 desirous people." Valentina Petrova, of the Twenty-first Siberian Rifle Regiment and also winner of a St. George, identified herself as "already an old soldier" in her letter to Kerensky seeking approval to organize another women's battalion. She proposed calling her group the "Black Hussars of Death," confidently predicting, "then we'll show our enemies just what Hussars of Death are." Other women requested permission to organize female combat units in their hometowns of Tomsk and Perm.<sup>41</sup>

The scale of the response and the military authorities' surprising willingness to make use of this outpouring of female patriotism are illustrated by a confidential memo by the Chief Administration of the General Staff (GUGSh) of July 14: "Lately there have appeared at General Staff women's delegations from many cities in Russia, proposing their services for formation of military units made up of women volunteers, with the request that they be sent to the front as quickly as possible for direct participation in battle. In addition to these delegations we have received and continue to receive many such petitions in written form, both from

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(May 26, 1917): 4, announced the organization of women's "marching companies" under Bochkareva, with an address for those wishing to enlist. The text of the appeal from the Women's Congress is in *Rech'* (May 28, 1917): 6, emphasis added.

<sup>40</sup> *Moskovskie vedomosti* (June 17, 1917): 1; *Russkie vedomosti* (July 6, 1917): 4; and Rheta Childe Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1917), 82. Dorr, a war correspondent for the *Evening Mail*, spent several weeks with Bochkareva's battalion; she and Beatty provide the most detailed descriptions of the battalions by outsiders. *Russkii invalid* (July 2, 1917): 3.

<sup>41</sup> RGVA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 28, ch. 2, ll. 60–63; the authorities checked into Tupitso's claims about her service, which were confirmed; there are no records as to whether she formed her legion. Petrova's letter is reproduced in *Razlozhenie armii*, 70. Tatiana Aleksinskaia, *Zhenshchina v voine i revoliutsii* (Petrograd, 1917), 15, mentions local initiatives in Tambov, Mariupol', Baku, Ekaterinburg, Tashkent, Odessa, Pskov, Minsk, Riga, and Ufa. References to units in Tomsk and Perm, respectively, come from Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution*, 82; and Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement*, 299, n. 18.

individuals and from every conceivable organization.”<sup>42</sup> The memo continued, “At present, women volunteers desiring to enter the regular army are appearing in ever greater numbers. In view of this, it appears necessary to undertake further formation [of units].”

Not all the military high command shared such views. Several generals, most notably M. A. Alekseev and Anton Denikin, opposed creating special shock or revolutionary battalions of any description. As they saw it, civilian volunteers would receive too little training to be of real use, while taking good soldiers out of existing frontline units would only hasten the demise of those units’ fighting capacity.<sup>43</sup> One might suspect that a great many generals harbored even deeper reservations about creating battalions of women soldiers, so the lack of explicit objections to doing so is remarkable.

On June 29, military authorities submitted plans for forming a separate women’s infantry battalion in Ekaterinodar in addition to battalions in Moscow and Petrograd. On July 14, the General Staff authorized the creation of five women’s liaison detachments in Kiev and two in Saratov; eventually, a total of eleven were created. In August, rules were drawn up for organization of a separate guards unit (*karaulnaia druzhina*) in Minsk, composed of women volunteers, to free up able-bodied men for the front. This unit was explicitly a non-combat one but still part of the army. A women’s naval detachment was also organized. Additionally, groups in a number of other cities locally organized women’s combat units without even bothering to secure official permission, a form of revolutionary spontaneity the high command found extremely trying.<sup>44</sup>

The combination of national emergency and democratizing revolution made for a new martial inclusiveness as well as a new locus of patriotism. Both are illustrated in the enlistment appeal issued in June, on the eve of the Kerensky offensive, by the newly formed All-Russian Central Committee for Organization of a Volunteer Revolutionary Army. The appeal explained that, in the name of defending freedom and the gains of the revolution, “on which depends not only Russia’s freedom of democracy but that of the whole world,” the army was embarking on formation of a revolutionary volunteer army whose battalions would fight alongside the regular troops. “CITIZENS!” it urged, “the hour for saving the fatherland has arrived.” “All to whom the fate of the Motherland is dear, to whom the ideal of the brotherhood of peoples is dear—workers, soldiers, women, cadets, students, officers, civil servants—come to us under the red banner of the volunteer battalions!”<sup>45</sup>

Some proponents of the revolutionary army invoked the example of the French Revolution specifically as it pertained to women. In the pamphlet “Women, War

<sup>42</sup> RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 347, l. 19.

<sup>43</sup> RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 347, ll. 11–12, telegram from General Denikin to General Brusilov, May 18, 1917, and l. 18, telegram from Alekseev to Brusilov, May 21, 1917; see also Ross, “Popytka sozdaniia russkoi revoliutsionnoi armii,” 77–78.

<sup>44</sup> RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 349, ll. 10–11, 19–20, 23, 42, 47, and f. 29, op. 3, d. 1603, “On Forming Units of Women-Volunteers, 21 June–24 December, 1917,” ll. 21–22. The popular illustrated magazine *Niva* featured photographs of women sailors (*zhenshchiny-matrosy*), October 7, 1917. By early August, the military authorities had transferred responsibility for organizing female units to the Women’s Military Union in Petrograd.

<sup>45</sup> *Rech’* (June 18, 1917): 5.



and Revolution,” socialist Tatiana Aleksinskaia celebrated the myriad ways in which female citizens of revolutionary France helped defend their country and the revolution, despite not receiving the right to vote or legislate: “never was the mass of women as a whole so warlike in temper as in the era of the Great French Revolution. The participation of women in the wars of this era remains an example of great courage, revolutionary patriotism, and readiness to sacrifice. Russian women, follow these noble examples!” This appeal to join the fight to save the nation and freedom thus situated women’s martial ardor within the legitimizing tradition of the French Revolution.<sup>46</sup> And, by speaking of these women’s active participation *in* war, not simply their support for the war or aid to those who fight, it underlined the direct, unmediated nature of their patriotism.<sup>47</sup>

These various appeals to women—as full citizens, as daughters of the fatherland, as supporters of the revolution—found an audience. Although the total number of women who signed up for combat duty is impossible to determine, even the partial figures available are surprisingly high. Yashka’s battalion, after its initial subscription of 2,000, was speedily whittled down to 300 by its demanding leader. Figures contained in the archives for the Moscow Women’s Battalion of Death are incomplete, but they show that between June 28 and August 11 it built up to a force of more than 1,000 women. The First Petrograd Women’s Battalion had approximately 1,050 soldiers organized into four companies. It would therefore seem that the very *lowest* total figure for women enlisting in combat units was 4,000. Given the absence of numbers for the Ekaterinodar battalion, eleven liaison detachments (projected to number 100 individuals each), small units of women attached to men’s shock units, and various local women’s units organized without formal military approval, the actual figure was probably between 5,500 and 6,500 women, for a period lasting less than four months (new enrollments were halted in September).<sup>48</sup> These figures do not include women who signed up for non-combat military service.

In the two capitals of Petrograd and Moscow, at least, women soldiers were a

<sup>46</sup> Aleksinskaia, *Zhenshchina v voine i revoliutsii*, 11–12, 14; she also proposed formation of “one mighty, all-Russian Union of Daughters of the Fatherland” to save the country. Concerning women’s rights in the French Revolution, it is worth noting that women were not empowered to bear arms, despite requests to do so; see Darlene Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, “Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris,” in Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine, eds., *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution* (New York, 1992), 79–101; and Olwen H. Hufton, *Women and Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992), esp. 3–50.

<sup>47</sup> Margaret Darrow notes the difficulty French public opinion had envisioning the relationship between women and the masculine project of war: the French war myth could accommodate women around war but not directly “in” it, which helps explain why women’s participation in the war was so quickly forgotten; Darrow, *French Women and the First World War*, 1–20.

<sup>48</sup> The initial subscription for the Moscow Battalion was 371; large groups of women continued to join up even after the summer offensive collapsed, as smaller groups of volunteers dropped out on an equally steady basis; RGVIA, f. 3474, op. 2, d. 1, ll. 1–5, 11–31, “Lists of Volunteers.” Figures for the Petrograd Battalion come from the captain of its Third Company: Kapitan Shagal, “Zhenskii batal’on,” *Voennaia byl’*, no. 95 (January 1969), Paris, 6. In a report to the British War Office, Bernard Pares said that, as of early August, the All-Russian Central Volunteer Committee knew of some 4,000 female volunteers; cited in Abraham, “Mariia L. Bochkareva and the Russian Amazons,” 131; Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 112, gives the figure of 5,000 women in combat units. Official sources do not give figures, but the preliminary order of November 19, 1917, dissolving women’s combat units lists three battalions (Petrograd, Moscow, Ekaterinodar) and eleven liaison detachments as still in existence, which would represent about 4,300 individuals; Yashka’s battalion was by then defunct, and no mention was made of the naval unit; RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 3, d. 1603, l. 24. Military records contain no figures for unauthorized women’s units, although they complain about their proliferation.

common sight. According to American journalist Bessie Beatty, "The making of women soldiers became a business. People no longer followed the uniformed woman about the streets of Petrograd. They became a matter of course." The military attaché to the American embassy, General William Judson, conveyed a similar impression, though not approvingly. In a letter of September 24, 1917, to his wife he wrote, "I enclose a picture of a Woman's battalion. The Russians have a lot of them—and they are very useless and absurd."<sup>49</sup>

Exactly who joined the women's battalions is a fascinating question. Several contemporary sources depict the battalions as composed primarily of upper-class and educated women, perhaps including a smattering of peasants, the implication being that urban women of the less privileged classes did not volunteer.<sup>50</sup> Such a depiction would conform to the usual representations of the connection between class identity and patriotism in the Russian Revolution. The standard narrative of class suggests that by the summer of 1917, as class consciousness and class antagonism grew, support for the war effort was increasingly confined to the upper classes and the bourgeoisie, and that the failure of the summer Kerensky offensive marked the end of the bourgeois-led, patriotic outpouring. In Steve Smith's nuanced formulation, although class and national identities in revolutionary Russia were not mutually exclusive, they were highly conflictual; by summer 1917, "the extent to which the political language of nation became utterly discredited in the eyes of workers, soldiers, peasants is still striking." Another scholar more flatly asserts, the "new civic patriotism did not extend beyond the urban middle classes."<sup>51</sup>

However, the majority of sources show that the women who responded to patriotic appeals to fight represented a wide variety of social backgrounds, classes, and occupations. (See Figure 3.) This evidence demonstrates that, as important as the language and politics of class identity became over the course of 1917, commitment to the country's defense did not always follow class lines. The files on the Moscow Women's Battalion of Death include ten petitions from would-be volunteers or their relatives, some of which indicate occupation or social estate (*soslovie*). Two came from provincial schoolteachers. One elegantly written petition regarded the enlistment of the underage niece of a high-ranking civil servant, while a scarcely literate petition to the Sevastopol Soviet asked its help in securing the return of a daughter who had run off to enlist. Yet another came from an outraged husband serving in a machine-gun detachment.<sup>52</sup> A set of forms filled out by twenty-two women desiring to join the women's unit in Kiev provides material about age, faith, and level of education. Almost all were ages eighteen to twenty-two, with two women in their mid-twenties and two in their thirties. Most

<sup>49</sup> Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 112; General William V. Judson, *Russia in War and Revolution*, Neil V. Salzman, ed. (Kent, Ohio, 1998), 89.

<sup>50</sup> See, for example, "Those Russian Women," 51.

<sup>51</sup> S. A. Smith, "Citizenship and the Russian Nation during World War I: A Comment," *Slavic Review* 59, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 329; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 412. See also David Mandel, *The Petrograd Workers and the Soviet Seizure of Power* (New York, 1984), 228–29, 239; and Wildman, *End of the Russian Imperial Army*, 1: 374, who asserts that, "the patriotic outpourings of cultured society notwithstanding," peasant soldiers had regarded the war as an alien enterprise from the start.

<sup>52</sup> RGVIA, f. 3474, "Moscow Women's Battalion of Death," op. 2, d. 11. Dmitrii Stoliarov complained that his wife was supposed to be home caring for their elderly parents; he considered her enlistment "a blow worse than any the enemy has dealt me" and asked for her release.

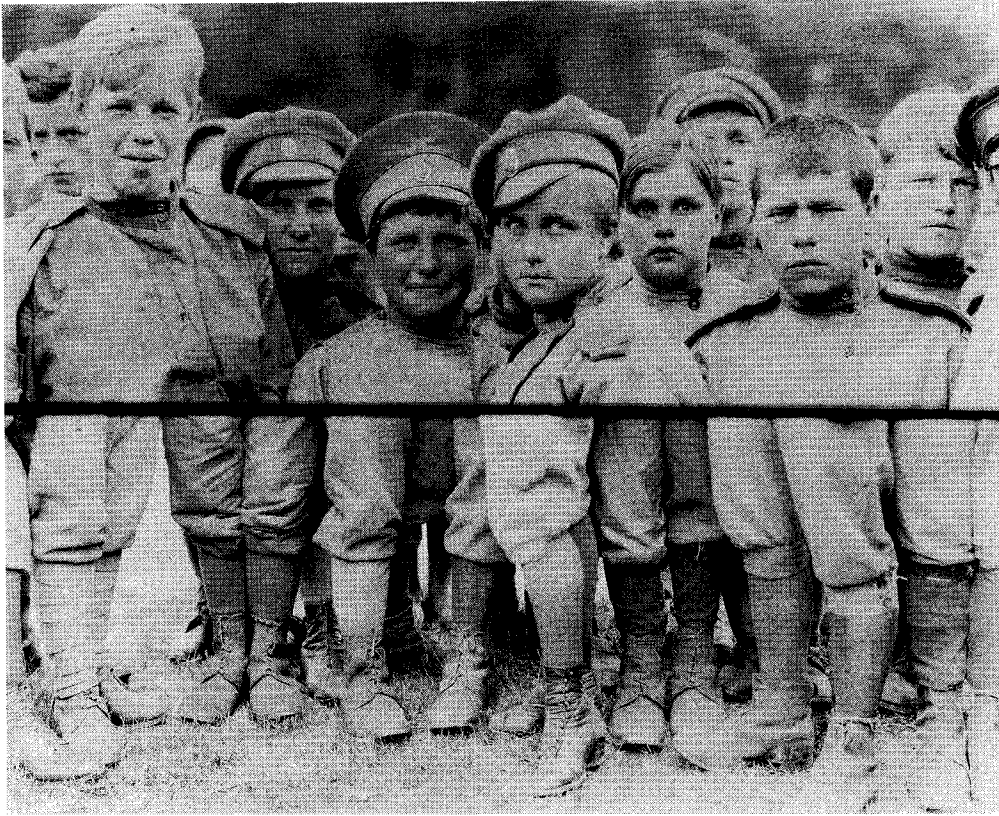


FIGURE 3: Young soldiers of the First Petrograd Women's Battalion. The rule that volunteers be at least age seventeen was not strictly enforced. Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress.

were Orthodox, although the group included four Roman Catholics and one Protestant (meaning five of the twenty-two were probably not ethnically Great Russian). Education levels show that the group was by no means exclusively "bourgeois." Six had a secondary school education, five more had attended at least several years of secondary school, and one woman was taking college-level courses. However, six identified themselves simply as literate (*gramotnaia*), and two as illiterate (*negramotnaia*); that is, eight out of twenty-two apparently had no education beyond the elementary level. That a fair number of volunteers could not read or write is also clear from soldier Mariia Bocharnikova's unpublished memoir: the first task of the Petrograd Battalion's Soldiers' Committee, she wrote, was organizing classes for the illiterate members of the battalion.<sup>53</sup>

The variety of social classes represented is captured in Bocharnikova's recollection of her first glimpse of new volunteers, still dressed in civilian garb: "Who was not here! The bright sarafans of peasant women, the head scarves of Sisters of Mercy, factory workers in multicolored print dresses, the elegant gowns of young

<sup>53</sup> RGVIA, f. 3474, op. 2, d. 16, ll. 34–56; and BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskome batal'one," 11. Bocharnikova, unsuccessful in her pre-1917 efforts to enlist, became a Sister of Mercy; a friend telegraphed her about formation of women's battalions, and she received her superior's permission to volunteer.



ladies from society, the humble attire of city workers, maids, nannies.”<sup>54</sup> Rheta Childe Dorr, an American war correspondent who traveled with Yashka’s Battalion of Death, said that women in the battalion whom she met included six nurses and a female doctor who had seen service in base hospitals, ten women who had fought in men’s regiments, clerks and office workers, domestic servants, and girls from factories and farms, as well as middle-class and aristocratic women who had never worked for wages, adding, “If the working women predominated I believe it was because they were stronger physically. Bochkareva would accept only the sturdiest.” Louise Bryant and Bessie Beatty, both of whom interviewed a number of soldiers, convey the impression that the majority of women in the Petrograd Women’s Battalion were not from the privileged classes.<sup>55</sup>

Data on the nationality and geographic distribution of volunteers is fragmentary. It is clear that they did not come exclusively from the heartland or the borderlands along which the fighting occurred. Petitions in the files on the Moscow battalion are from Astrakhan, Belgorod, Kursk, Tashkent, Sevastopol, Podolsk, and Mogilev provinces. In her account of the Petrograd battalion, Mariia Bocharnikova mentions a Siberian, a Don Cossack girl, an Estonian, and a Gypsy; Bocharnikova, herself from Tbilisi, had been a Sister of Mercy on the Caucasian front when she enlisted. In June, Major Generals Romanovskii and Kamenskii informed the General Staff that the “female part of the population of the Caucasus, and especially Cossack girls and soldiers’ wives of Kuban oblast” were keen to fight and petitioning to form a separate infantry battalion in the city of Ekaterinodar.<sup>56</sup> Overall, the evidence suggests that the phenomenon of women volunteering for combat was fairly widespread across European Russia and in the Caucasus, with volunteers also hailing from Siberia. More women came from cities and towns than from villages.

The sources also reveal an unexpected gender parity: once the military authorities decided to form more women’s combat units, they put women on an equal footing with male volunteers. The women’s battalions were organized according to rules drawn up in 1916 for volunteer units. Following a period of instruction, the women would take a formal oath of service, after which they were subject to full military discipline and could not quit. Their rates of pay appear to be the same as those set for male volunteers; similarly, all volunteer soldiers were to enjoy veterans’ rights after the war.<sup>57</sup> Of necessity, officers for women’s units would

<sup>54</sup> BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, “V zhenskom batal’one,” 2.

<sup>55</sup> Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution*, 56–58, also mentions several ethnically non-Russian members of the battalion, including an Estonian, a Jewish woman from Poland, and, surprisingly, a Japanese woman; Louise Bryant, *Six Red Months in Russia* (1918; New York, 1970), 211–19. See also Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 164; and Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 48–55, 64–66.

<sup>56</sup> BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, “V zhenskom batal’one,” 10, 18, 44. Another account is by a volunteer from a group of sixty women from Viatka accepted into the Petrograd battalion: E. Piatunin, “Russkie Zhanny d’Ark (vospominaniia udarnitsy zhenskogo batal’ona smerti),” *Nezavisimaia gazeta* (March 4, 2000): 10. On August 23, 1917, the General Staff approved creation of a women’s battalion and liaison detachment in Ekaterinodar; RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 349, ll. 10, 27.

<sup>57</sup> The Department on Service and Pensions, General Staff, set the basic frontline pay for a rank-and-file soldier (*riadovyi*) in the revolutionary army at 60 rubles a year; RGVIA, f. 29, op. 3, d. 1613, l. 12. Rates of pay for women were given as 60 rubles a year in the June 29, 1917, order establishing the women’s liaison detachments; the same rates were listed on August 16 for the Minsk non-combat guard units. RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 349, ll. 8–9, 37, 46.



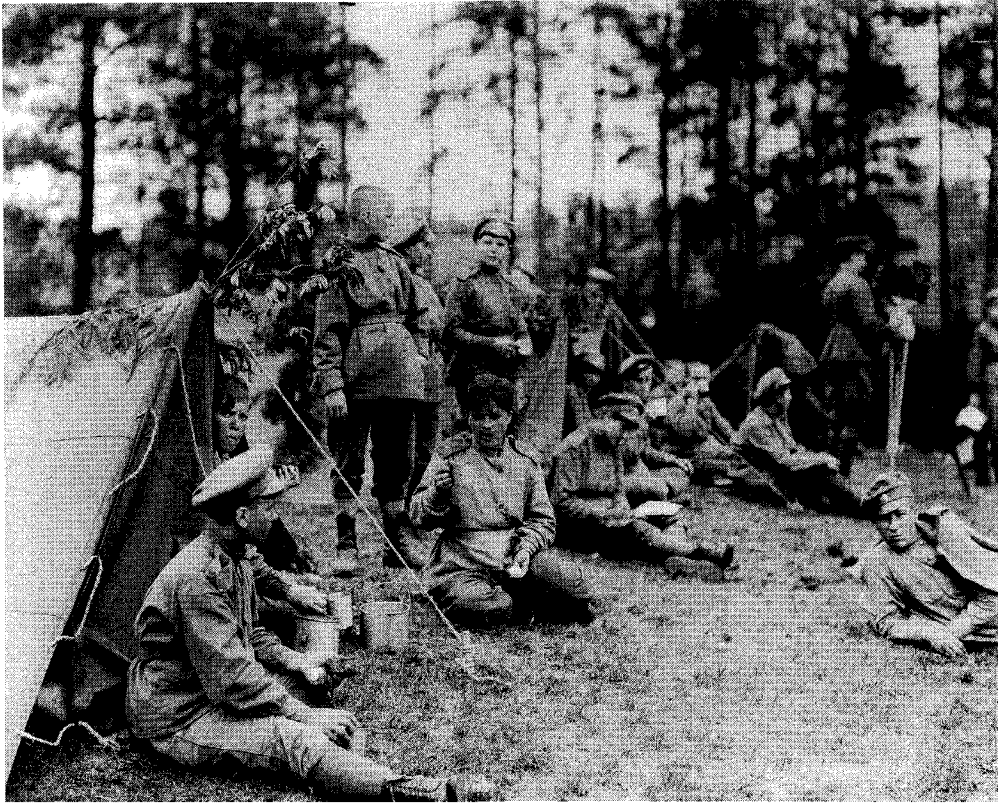


FIGURE 4: Members of the First Petrograd Women's Battalion relaxing at their training camp at Levashovo. Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress.

initially have to be men, but it was stipulated that they would be replaced by female officers as soon as qualified women became available; to this end, women were sent to the military academies for officers' training. NCOs, medical personnel, and all other staff were exclusively female. Finally, the women's battalions enjoyed the same democratization of rights as regular soldiers and elected their own soldiers' committees. The only exception on this point was Yashka's battalion, thanks to her view that soldiers' committees destroyed discipline. Her stubborn insistence on kicking out of her battalion some 600 women who favored forming a committee involved her in shouting matches with Kerensky and her superior officers and almost wrecked the project at its start.<sup>58</sup>

The quality of preparation must have varied from unit to unit, but in the First Petrograd Battalion, at any rate, male officers were required to have had frontline experience, which suggests a commitment to meaningful training. Besides parade drill, the Petrograd battalion had riflery practice and carried out night maneuvers. One of the male officers drilling this battalion insisted that "there was not a better disciplined or more thoroughly prepared unit in the Russian Army." (See Figure 4.) The regular training schedule for the Moscow battalion has been preserved,

<sup>58</sup> Thirty women finished officers' training and received the rank of ensign (*praporshchik*); reported in *Russkie vedomosti* (October 4, 1917): 5. Information on soldiers' committees is in RGVA, f. 3474, op. 2, d. 1, l. 8; and Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 172–83. Yashka entitles an entire chapter of her memoirs "My Fight against Committee Rule."

outlining a day that began with a 6:30 wake-up, followed by barracks cleaning and common prayers, two three-hour sessions of lessons and exercises, and lights-out at 10 p.m.<sup>59</sup> Yashka's Battalion of Death, since it was wanted for the big summer offensive, was rushed to the front after just five weeks' training. In contrast, both the Moscow and Petrograd battalions received at least three months' formal instruction before being deemed ready for frontline duty.

WOMEN, LIKE MEN, VOLUNTEERED to fight for different reasons, and combinations of reasons. Petitions, memoirs, and newspaper accounts show that love of and loyalty to the patria, or patriotism in its most conventional sense, might be joined with a desire for adventure, for glory and honor, or the thirst to be free of the confines and burdens of a woman's wartime life. Volunteers of diverse social origins told Bessie Beatty that they joined "because they believed that the honor and even the existence of Russia were at stake and nothing but a great human sacrifice could save her," while others said they came because "anything was better than the dreary drudgery and the drearier waiting of life as they lived it."<sup>60</sup> Some women spoke of compassion for their "brothers," the soldiers who had already suffered for years and needed their help. The American journalist Rheta Dorr interviewed several women intent on avenging personal losses. The way a variety of motives could animate any given individual is illustrated in the petition to volunteer from twenty-four-year-old Kseniia Otto of Kiev, submitted several days before the creation of the first women's battalion. Kseniia wrote that she thirsted to avenge the death of her soldier brother, that she was sure that she was "capable of serving the dear Motherland," and that "Nothing interests me in life. I would go off to the war with pleasure."<sup>61</sup>

Clearly, some women were motivated by allegiance to the new order as well as by love of country. The revolution created the opportunity for these women to fight en masse, which makes it likely that many volunteers shared the sentiments of the two young women who wrote to the Moscow Women's Battalion expressing "a passionate desire to serve under the banners of free Russia." The women soldiers in Petrograd interviewed by Louise Bryant—most of whom came from poor or working-class families—told her, "We were all moved by a high resolve to die for the revolution."<sup>62</sup> But Mariia Bocharnikova's memoir shows that there were monarchists as well as supporters of the revolution in the Petrograd Women's Battalion. When several women said they were disappointed to make their service oath to the Provisional Government instead of the tsar, others abused them. But most insisted that one's convictions were one's own concern, that "our business isn't politics, but the front." Bocharnikova depicts one volunteer recounting her monarchist father's fury when she told him she had enlisted. "'Who are you going

<sup>59</sup> Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 113; RGVIA, f. 3474, op. 2, d. 1, l. 7.

<sup>60</sup> Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 101; and RGVIA, f. 3474, op. 2, d. 11, ll. 12, 36, 39, 59. An analysis of the phenomenon of mass volunteering in Britain in World War I is W. J. Reader, *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester, 1988).

<sup>61</sup> Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution*, 56–57, 71; Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 67; petition from K. M. Otto, in RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 28, ch. 2, l. 28.

<sup>62</sup> RGVIA, f. 3474, op. 2, d. 11, l. 36; Bryant, *Six Red Months*, 217.

off to defend,' he shouts, 'that riff-raff that threw the tsar off the throne?' 'No, Dad,' I say, 'I'm going to defend Russia!'"<sup>63</sup>

It is difficult to gauge the degree to which these women soldiers believed they were demonstrating women's fitness in principle to be combatants, as opposed to acting on the belief that in a moment of national peril women were able to fight. Certainly, many prominent feminists and women radicals welcomed the women's battalions on the former grounds. The British suffragist leader Emmeline Pankhurst, on a semi-official visit to Russia in the summer of 1917, made a point of watching Yashka's battalion on parade and expressing her admiration. On August 2, 1917, at the opening of the All-Russian Women's Military Congress, the "grandmother of the revolution," Socialist-Revolutionary Ekaterina Breshko-Breshkovskaia, approvingly linked these armed women with Russia's female revolutionary tradition. Greeting the women soldiers as "granddaughters," she declared, "We [women revolutionaries], too, in our own day, fought not only with words but with weapons in hand."<sup>64</sup> Publicist Sofia Zarechnaia also celebrated the heroic voluntarism of "Russia's newest citizens," seeing in the Battalions of Death proof that women were more than ready for equal rights. Writing two decades after the event, Nina Krylova, a junior officer in Yashka's Battalion of Death, insisted on the women soldiers' feminist orientation: "Each of us felt ourselves not just a Russian woman defending her own country (as every she-wolf defends her den) but also a representative of half the population of the whole planet, going into an examination, to prove that even in military matters a woman can be a worthy soldier."<sup>65</sup>

Elena Iost's 1916 petition to be accepted into the army in effect argued that what mattered was the individual's character, not his or her sex: "I know some men who upon being called to military service cried like children from fear and grief, even becoming sick, and you will not believe, Your Imperial Highness, how ashamed I was, ashamed and hurt at their poor-spiritedness, their weakness. I despised them. They were taken and did not go willingly, while I am prepared to give my whole soul and to spill my blood for the Motherland without fear or regret and [the authorities] will not take me. Why should this be so?"<sup>66</sup>

Not all Russian women supported the women's battalions. Some undoubtedly felt that women engaging in organized violence, even for a noble cause, was unseemly or contrary to the essential feminine nature, following the view that woman's role is to create life, not take it. Such sentiments were commonplace prior to 1917 but rarely voiced after formation of the first women's battalion, most likely for patriotic reasons.<sup>67</sup> As Richard Stites notes, explicit condemnation of the

<sup>63</sup> BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 19.

<sup>64</sup> On feminist attitudes toward the women soldiers, see Stites, *Women's Liberation*, 298–99; and Edmondson, *Feminism in Russia*, 167–68. Pankhurst's opinion is mentioned in Abraham, "Mariia L. Bochkareva and the Russian Amazons," 128–29. On Breshko-Breshkovskaia, see *Moskovskie vedomosti* (August 2, 1917): 2; *Rech'* (August 3, 1917): 4; and BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 7.

<sup>65</sup> Sofia Zarechnaia, "Amazonki velikoi voyny," *Zhenskoe delo* (July 15, 1917): 16; and Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 90–94.

<sup>66</sup> RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 28, l. 70.

<sup>67</sup> See, for example, Brusianin, *Voina*, 110. An argument that sees the putative incompatibility between dealing death and giving life as one common to Western culture is Nancy Huston, "The Matrix



women's battalions typically stemmed from opposition to the war in general or to the battalions' role in continuing the hostilities. Among the former was the prominent Bolshevik feminist Aleksandra Kollontai, who denounced the imperialist government's exploitation of these misguided women. Less ideologically inspired were many soldiers' wives and urban working-class women who had simply had enough of grueling work schedules, material hardships, and personal loss. They wanted an end to the war and were angry with anyone or anything that seemed to prolong it.<sup>68</sup>

Paradoxically, while the revolution had transformed women's citizenship in Russia by allowing them to become soldiers, the very act of becoming soldiers seemed to make them cease to be women. The most graphic change involved appearance: the new recruits were marched off to barbershops to have their hair closely cropped, then put on men's uniforms. (See Figure 5.) To further aid in establishing this new identity, Yashka forbade giggling and flirting, encouraged smoking, and swore at her recruits "like a cabdriver." On their first day, she told them that from the moment they entered upon their duties "they were no longer women, but soldiers." Similarly, Mariia Bocharnikova says that after her unit's solemn taking of the military oath, she exclaimed, "Well, comrades, we've done it! We're no longer Fekla, Mariia and Lukeriia, but soldiers of the Russian army!" Rheta Dorr recounts that the first night Yashka's battalion spent near the front, when rowdy soldiers pounded on their barracks demanding to see the girls, the sentry responded, "There are no girls here. Only soldiers are here."<sup>69</sup>

All armies, of course, must transform their civilian recruits into soldiers, in the process ironing out markers of their individuality. But in the case of the Russian female recruits, their femaleness was also being intentionally erased. A central motive for characterizing women soldiers as not being women stemmed from anxiety about illicit, sexual relationships that might result from putting them alongside men. As one soldier bluntly put it when Yashka first proposed forming a female combat unit, "Who will guarantee that the presence of women soldiers at the front will not yield there little soldiers?" For women soldiers to succeed in inspiring—or shaming—the men by their example, their personal conduct had to be above reproach: on this issue, Yashka and the authorities were in total agreement. She constantly reminded her soldiers that they were to be a moral force within the army, which meant they must uphold their honor and that of the whole battalion. Nina Krylova recalled that Yashka advised taking a strong stand with men who insisted on seeing them as female: "Whoever looks at you like a *baba* or treats you like a *baba*—pop him in the snout without any conversation. I myself know from

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of War: Mothers and Heroes," in Susan Rubin Suleiman, ed., *The Female Body in Western Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 119–36, which also touches on the deeply rooted belief that "contact with the female world inhibits men's capacity to fight."

<sup>68</sup> Stites, *Women's Liberation Movement*, 297–98; for pacifist and socialist criticism, see Michael Melancon, *The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Russian Anti-War Movement, 1914–1917* (Columbus, Ohio, 1990). Shagal, "Zhenskii batal'on," 7–8, suggests a generational factor in public attitudes: "old women cried and blessed us; others, primarily workers, cursed us and spat in our direction."

<sup>69</sup> Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 165; and Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 50–51; BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 20; Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution*, 68.





FIGURE 5: Recruits to the first Women's Battalion of Death have their hair cut off. Courtesy of the Slava Katamidze Collection, London.

experience, this is the best way to show you are not a *baba*. Otherwise, many of these guys won't understand."<sup>70</sup>

Most of the women soldiers appear to have accepted these norms, and to have succeeded in making the men "understand." The majority of contemporary accounts maintain that, while male soldiers often jeered or leered at the women upon their arrival at the front, they soon accepted their seriousness of purpose—even if most did not welcome their presence—and ceased trying to treat them as women. (Similarly, the accounts concerning women soldiers in the period 1914–1916 stress that, once they had proven themselves, relations within their units were comradely, those of soldier to soldier, not male to female.) Such acceptance was critical to the women's military mission. It also meant they did not have to endure the humiliation of seeing their service popularly perceived as more licentious and

<sup>70</sup> Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 157–58, 160, 164, 174, 157; Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 57, 69–70.

self-seeking than patriotic and self-sacrificing, a fate that has befallen women in uniform in other conflicts.<sup>71</sup> Concerns about competence, acceptance, and the ability to serve as patriotic exemplars thus gave women soldiers and the men who sponsored and supported them ample reason for both insisting on the feminine virtue of women soldiers *and* denying their femininity.

The most remarkable testament to the degree that these women felt they had switched roles with men is provided by Mariia Bocharnikova, who reproduces a letter that women of her unit wrote in response to a patronizing letter sent to them from a soldier of the Petrograd garrison. Although her text of the letter must be treated with caution, since she wrote her memoirs in the 1950s, there is no reason to doubt the basic accuracy of the sentiments. After complimenting the women on their bravery (*khraibrosto'*), the male soldier advised them nonetheless to stick to their huts and not eat up all the soldiers' rations. The women replied:

Dear comrade! We were very pleased by your flattering reference to our bravery. But your last bit of advice we cannot carry out. There was a time when our valiant soldiers, not sparing their lives, defended the fatherland with their bosom, while we, simple women [*babas*] . . . baked them biscuits for the front. Now, when you have shamelessly fled the front, betraying your duty and forgetting your conscience, we have come to stand in your place and hope with honor to fulfill the obligations we've taken on ourselves. So allow us to give you some advice: dress yourself up in our sarafans, tie a kerchief on your head, cook the borshch, do the washing up . . . and wag your tongues.

[Signed] The women volunteers of the Second Company, fourth platoon.<sup>72</sup>

In one respect, this letter suggests adherence to traditional gender norms, since the women soldiers still regarded fighting as properly a male role, and sought to shame the men by saying that in refusing to fight they had surrendered their masculinity and made themselves into women. At the same time, the women's confident appropriation of the role of fighter and the honor accruing to it suggests a consciousness that, in discharging men's obligations, they were themselves transformed (see Figure 6).

THE INSPIRATIONAL ROLE OF THE WOMEN'S BATTALIONS worked better among enthusiastic civilians at the rear than it did at the front. The first Women's Battalion of Death was heavily publicized, as were warm endorsements of the various battalions made by prominent individuals, both Russian and foreign. Women soldiers were referred to in newspapers as "valiant heroines" (*doblestnye geroiny*), and the public

<sup>71</sup> On women soldiers' acceptance by their male comrades, see Yurlova, *Cossack Girl*, 49–53; Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 78–80, 95–96, 193–96, 208–18, 252–53; "Young Girls Fighting on the Russian Front," 366; and Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution*, 79–82. On allegations of loose sexual conduct directed against *milicianas* in the Spanish civil war and American women auxiliaries in World War II, respectively, see Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Denver, Colo., 1995), 109–12; and D'Ann Campbell, "The Regimented Women of World War II," in Elshtain and Tobias, *Women, Militarism, and War*, 115–16.

<sup>72</sup> BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 15; the temporary nature of the transformation for Bocharnikova herself is suggested by her emphasis, elsewhere in the memoir, on her essential femininity both before and after military service.



FIGURE 6: Members of the first Women's Battalion of Death pose rather somberly. The A. Tarsaidze Collection, courtesy of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.



responded generously to calls for donations on their behalf.<sup>73</sup> A letter of June 23 to the Moscow Women's Battalion of Death from the conservative patriotic society "For Russia" (*Za Rossiia*) extended enthusiastic greetings to these "sister-citizens" (*sestry grazhdanki*), declaring, "Heroic epochs in the life of peoples create heroic hearts . . . Let your example and your sacred, noble resolve inspire the cowardly, fortify the wavering, and create a common, irreversible upsurge for the struggle with our immemorial enemy until final victory." Fundraisers for the battalions and solemn public rituals, such as the July 2 blessing of a banner given the Moscow Women's Battalion by the Union of St. George's Cavaliers, were made the basis for giant patriotic rallies.<sup>74</sup>

A number of observers believed that women volunteering to fight for their country helped inspire Russia's men. Some 50,000 civilian men did join the revolutionary army, but there is no way of determining how many were influenced by the women's example. Of the numerous petitions preserved in the archives from men desiring to volunteer after the revolution, only one explicitly refers to women volunteers, and then on a distinctly personal level: seventeen-year-old Nikolai Beliaev of Penza wrote that his mother had enrolled in the Women's Battalion of Death and that he had both his parents' blessing "to fight for the Motherland and freedom" by signing up for a storm battalion. In at least one instance, the women's example prompted reservists to request frontline duty: in their petition to be moved as quickly as possible to the front, the soldiers of the Sixth Company of the Thirty-third Mounted Reserve Regiment, Simferopol, wrote that they did not like sitting in the rear "at a time when even women are being mobilized."<sup>75</sup>

Unfortunately, among regular soldiers, these women in uniform were more likely to be objects of ridicule, resentment, or outright hostility. When they arrived to join the 172nd Division of the Tenth Army at the front in early July, their unit now approximately three hundred strong, Yashka's women soldiers were booed and harassed. "Why did you come here?" they were asked. "You want to fight? We want peace! We have had enough fighting!"<sup>76</sup> The response to women soldiers appears in some ways analogous to the resentment British WAACs could encounter upon taking up their duties in 1917 and 1918 in France: just as the arrival of women put some male soldiers in danger by displacing them from non-combat duties, women soldiers in Russia were understood to be at the front to compel men to participate in the offensive. The effort to shame the troops could also provoke them: writer and officer Viktor Shklovsky, a supporter of the Kerensky offensive, disagreed with the whole idea of "storm battalions" and especially the women's battalions, which he considered "thought up expressly as an insult to the front." Given the misogynistic streak in Russian military culture, and the larger cultural association of active

<sup>73</sup> *Russkii invalid* (July 2, 1917): 3.

<sup>74</sup> RGVIA, f. 3474, op. 2, d. 11, l. 4; *Russkie vedomosti* (July 3, 1917): 6. *Niva*, no. 26 (1917): 895, linked patriotism, citizenship, and manly courage in its salute to the Battalion of Death's participation in battle: "In a terrible, troubled hour Russian woman manfully [*muzhestvenno*] raised her head and entered the ranks of the frontline soldiers. Let this be an example, a high example of patriotism, a persuasive example of civic spirit."

<sup>75</sup> Bernard Pares, cited in Abraham, "Mariia L. Bochkareva and the Russian Amazons," 131; and RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 28, ch. 2, ll. 30–31. The text of the Sixth Company's petition is printed in *Russkie vedomosti* (June 6, 1917): 3.

<sup>76</sup> Bochkareva, *Yashka*, 193–95; and Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 95–101.



courage with masculinity and cowardice and weakness with the feminine, such reactions could not have been wholly surprising.<sup>77</sup>

The Tenth Army, to which Yashka's battalion was assigned, was one of three armies comprising Russia's rebellious Western front. The initial attacks of the Kerensky offensive, launched June 18, were concentrated on the South-Western front, but on July 7 a supporting offensive was launched along the Western front, despite clear warnings from commanders about the unreliability of troops. The Russians successfully breached the enemy's front line on the first day of this offensive; a shock battalion, some three hundred regular soldiers, and seventy-five officers joined with the three hundred members of the Women's Battalion of Death in an engagement that day in the Smorgon-Krevo sector near Molodechno. This advance in which the women played a central part prompted several thousand reluctant regular soldiers to follow; some two hundred prisoners were taken, and the operation was deemed a success. The gains were short-lived, however, for the refusal of other units to relieve them at the appointed time meant the women and their fellow volunteers were forced to retreat. By the end of the operation, on July 11, the women's battalion had suffered approximately thirty-six casualties, at least two of them fatal, with Yashka among the injured.<sup>78</sup>

Contemporary accounts report the women's discipline and courage, but the example of women fighting and dying failed to inspire most of their fellow soldiers. As *Novoe Vremia* reported briefly, "The battalion suffered some losses, but has won historic fame for the name of women. The best soldiers looked with consideration and esteem on their new fighting comrades, but the deserters were not touched by their example, and in this respect the aim was not reached."<sup>79</sup> In the opinion of one woman journalist, the experiment's failure stemmed in part from its anachronistic belief in the power of personal example: "The time of Joan of Arc has passed. Nowadays in war one practically never sees the enemy face to face . . . Iron discipline and weapons of iron are the contemporary motors of military success." Women could not bring these things to the army.<sup>80</sup>

Thereafter, as the Kerensky offensive turned into a rout, the women's determination to keep fighting provoked more and more hostility among men consumed by the desire for peace. Several weeks after the action at Smorgon, Yashka was severely beaten by an angry mob of soldiers demanding that the women cease

<sup>77</sup> Viktor Shklovsky, *A Sentimental Journey: Memoirs, 1917–1922*, Richard Sheldon, trans. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970), 23, 30. Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*, 160–61; and Petrone, "Family, Masculinity, and Heroism," 104–10; women could also show courage but of a passive kind.

<sup>78</sup> Botchkareva, *Yashka*, estimates losses of fifty women dead or wounded, 209–19; Senin, on the basis of archival material, estimates two dead, thirty-three wounded, and two lost in action; "Zhenskii batal'on," 180; Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution*, 73–75, names two women killed and reports speaking with thirty-one wounded after the engagement, saying she did not speak with the more seriously injured; Bryant, *Six Red Months*, 212, says six women were killed, thirty wounded. A history of the offensive is Louise Erwin Heenan, *Russian Democracy's Fatal Blunder: The Summer Offensive of 1917* (New York, 1987).

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution*, 75. General Denikin put the blame squarely on the regular, male soldiers: *Ocherki russkoi smuti*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1922), vyp. 1, 136; one Siberian commander's favorable appraisal of the battalion's performance is reported in *Rech'* (August 2, 1917): 3. See also "Russia's Women Soldiers," 20; "Those Russian Women," 48; and *Novoe vremia* (July 11, 1917): 2. Farmborough, *With the Armies of the Tsar*, 304–05, wrote of hearing mixed stories, according to which some women bravely attacked while others became hysterical or fainted.

<sup>80</sup> Mariia Ancharova, "Batal'on smerti," *Zhenskoe delo*, no. 15 (August 1, 1917): 2.

fighting. Her battalion's reputation among rank-and-file soldiers was further compromised by her well-known association with General Lavr Kornilov, who became commander-in-chief on July 29, 1917, and shared her desire to reimpose strict discipline on the army. After Kornilov's abortive, late August attempt to suppress the Petrograd Soviet, the soldiers of Yashka's battalion, despite their proud membership in the revolutionary army, were regarded as counter-revolutionary "kornilovites," actively persecuted, and threatened with death by their fellow soldiers.<sup>81</sup> Its position having become untenable, the battalion was moved to an inactive sector where hostility toward it would not be so intense; some of its members apparently transferred to other women's units.<sup>82</sup>

Remarkably, women continued to volunteer despite the collapse of the offensive and the mounting wave of desertions. The impetus from above for recruiting civilian volunteers had already declined sharply after Kornilov replaced General Brusilov as commander-in-chief. Kornilov never shared his predecessor's belief that patriotic enthusiasm could make up for a lack of military training, but the failure of the volunteers (both male and female) to inspire a victory no doubt convinced most observers that the miracle of the French revolutionary armies was not going to be repeated after all. In September 1917, the high command halted enlistment of women and made tentative moves toward disbanding female units, although most remained intact until after the Bolshevik assumption of power.<sup>83</sup>

Meanwhile, women continued to see active duty. On September 30, two companies of the Moscow Women's Battalion of Death, numbering 420 individuals in all, arrived at the front. It has been impossible to determine how many units were sent to the front, since the military histories of Russia's war effort are silent on the subject of female combat participation, but other units did go.<sup>84</sup> The First Petrograd Women's Battalion would itself have seen frontline duty had political events not intervened, for in mid-October the General Headquarters (*Stavka*) ordered that it be sent to the Romanian front on October 25. Accordingly, on the morning of October 24, the battalion traveled from its training camp in Levashovo to Petrograd for a grand review before the Winter Palace. General Sir Alfred Knox, British military liaison to the Russian army, recorded the event in his diary: "About one thousand women marched past the Embassy this morning on their way to be inspected by Kerensky on the Palace Square. They made the best show of any soldiers I have seen since the Revolution, but it gave me a lump in the throat to see

<sup>81</sup> Regular soldiers also beat or killed men who wanted to keep fighting; Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 230–36, 240–42; and Heenan, *Russian Democracy's Fatal Blunder*, 118–19.

<sup>82</sup> There are discrepancies in the sources concerning the battalion's fate. Botchkareva, *Yashka*, 242–43, 254–57, says the battalion was still functioning when the Bolsheviks seized power; Krylova, in Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 148–50, says the battalion broke itself up before that date, with some of its members joining other women's battalions.

<sup>83</sup> A September 7 memo from the *Stavka* Committee on Formation of Revolutionary Battalions to the General Staff stated that women were still coming by frequently to volunteer for battalions and asked where to direct them; RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 349, l. 32. The Military Council's decision of November 30, 1917, to disband women's combat units was promulgated January 10, 1918, as Order No. 22 of GUGSh; RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 349, ll. 66–67.

<sup>84</sup> RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 349, ll. 54–55. The companies were assigned to the Twenty-seventh Infantry Division of the Tenth Army, on Russia's Western front; in late October, a report to the Supreme Command asked that no more women's units be sent to this front, noting their usefulness was "highly problematic." Shagal, "Zhenskii batal'on," 10, recounts speaking in early November with the male commander of a women's company at the front attached to one of the Turkestan divisions.



FIGURE 7: The Second Company of the First Petrograd Women's Battalion guarding the Winter Palace, October 1917. From the Collection of Joshua Butler Wright, courtesy of Mrs. Mary Wright Lampson.

them, and the utter swine of 'men' soldiers jeering at them." After the review, the Second Company was unexpectedly told to stay while the remainder of the battalion returned to camp.<sup>85</sup>

It was this unit of approximately 139 women that took part in the ill-organized defense of the Winter Palace, the best-known effort of a women's battalion. (See Figure 7.) John Reed alleges that these would-be defenders of the Provisional Government, whose members had gathered for a final meeting in the palace, huddled in a back room and succumbed to hysterics, while Cossacks and officer trainees did the real defending. Nikolai Sukhanov, indefatigable diarist of the revolution, reported that the women and Cossacks simply went home early. However, accounts by Mariia Bocharnikova and other participants and eyewitnesses do not bear out these allegations.<sup>86</sup> Apparently, the women were among the last to give up on the evening of October 25, most of the other defenders having melted away due to the lack of leadership, the failure of promised reinforcements to materialize, and sheer hunger. According to initial Bolshevik accounts, General

<sup>85</sup> RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 2, d. 349, ll. 40 and 50; Sir Alfred Knox, *With the Russian Army, 1914–1917*, vol. 2 (New York, 1921), 705.

<sup>86</sup> On John Reed, see Abraham, "Mariia L. Bochkareva and the Russian Amazons," 124, 130–31; N. N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution 1917: A Personal Record*, Joel Carmichael, ed. and trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 641. Accounts by defenders include BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 23–27; Piatunin, "Russkie Zhanny d'Ark," 10; and Aleksandr Sinegub, "Zashchita Zimnego dvortsa," *Arkhiv russkoi revoliutsii*, no. 4 (Berlin, 1922): 121–97, who refers to the women as "heroine-shock fighters."

Knox reported, "the company of women offered the most serious resistance." In the early hours of the morning, the women soldiers were arrested and marched to the barracks of the Pavlovskii regiment. Two of the battalion's male officers, fearful about the women's fate, went to the British Embassy to ask for help on their behalf. Knox agreed to go to Bolshevik headquarters and with some difficulty secured the women's immediate release. Widespread rumors to the effect that the women soldiers had been raped and tortured were incorrect; most of the women returned the next day to their camp at Levashovo.<sup>87</sup>

Then, women soldiers faced the same difficulties confronting all Russia's soldiers during the chaotic demobilization process that began November 10, 1917. There were no formal provisions for these suddenly unemployed soldiers, no apparatus to ease the transition to civilian life amid conditions of economic collapse. In some instances, women fared better than their male counterparts—in Petrograd, at least, the patriotic organizations that had supported female units turned to finding them temporary lodging, food, and civilian clothes.<sup>88</sup> For others, being a woman soldier became a distinct liability: although the women had been proudly linked with the revolution from the very taking of their military oath, their well-publicized presence among the defenders of the Winter Palace, and Yashka's association with Kornilov, seemed to locate them in popular perception in the "counter-revolutionary" camp. Even out of uniform, the shaven-headed women were easy targets; Mariia Bocharnikova gathered eyewitness accounts of women soldiers who were beaten, sexually assaulted, thrown off moving trains, or killed outright in the anarchic months after the Bolsheviks took power.<sup>89</sup>

THE WOMEN'S BATTALIONS OF DEATH fascinated the publics of Russia's American and European allies. Many saw in the battalions a phenomenon not simply unique to Russia but somehow characteristically Russian, whether interpreted as a heroic legacy of Russia's female revolutionary tradition or, less admiringly, as the sort of anomaly produced by a not fully "civilized" culture.<sup>90</sup> In fact, the appearance of women soldiers as a mass phenomenon was not in some way inherently Russian but

<sup>87</sup> BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 26–30, says that after several hours the women were transferred from the hostile Pavlovskii barracks to the Grenaderskii barracks, where the soldiers treated them as comrades; see also Shagal, "Zhenskii batal'on," 9; Meriel Buchanan, *Petrograd: The City of Trouble, 1914–1918* (London, 1918), 196–97; and Knox, *With the Russian Army*, 711–14. On allegations of mistreatment of the women being largely incorrect, see Bryant, *Six Red Months*, 212; and Beatty, *Red Heart of Russia*, 216.

<sup>88</sup> The demobilization process began with the decree of November 10 releasing soldiers of the 1899 call-up into the reserves; a more general demobilization was worked out in an order of December 21; S. N. Bazarov, "Demobilizatsiia russkoi armii," *Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal*, no. 2 (1998): 27–37. On aid given to the women soldiers, see Shagal, "Zhenskii batal'on," 10, who mentions receiving help from the Petrograd Committee of Public Safety and the Red Cross; and BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 42–45. Bryant, *Six Red Months*, 215–19, interviewed women soldiers in Petrograd who did not even own shoes.

<sup>89</sup> BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 36–42.

<sup>90</sup> For example, Michael Posner, "The Battalion of Death," *The Touchstone* 1, no. 5 (September 1917): 431–35, portrays women soldiers defending the revolution as a natural outgrowth of Russian women revolutionaries' long fight for freedom.



rather the product of the powerful conjuncture of total war, democratizing revolution, and national emergency that occurred in Russia alone.

The phenomenon of thousands of women volunteering for combat in 1917 can be understood in part as an extension of the massive mobilization of the entire population, and the breakdown in traditional gender roles which that mobilization had already wrought. Tens of thousands of women in Russia took on jobs previously restricted to men, providing labor and services indispensable to the war effort. And even prior to the revolution, dozens, or perhaps hundreds, became “fighters” not metaphorically but literally, with weapons in hand at the front. Clearly, the cataclysm of war was changing how gender was constructed in Russia, and many contemporaries believed that these changes might outlast the conflict that created them.

The February Revolution combined powerfully with the mobilizing, transformative effects of the war. Radically democratizing Russia, beginning the process of extending to women full political rights and equality before the law, and espousing an active, conscious, inclusive notion of citizenship, the revolution further eroded pre-war social and gender boundaries. It created the legal, symbolic, and moral grounds on which newly minted women citizens could become citizen soldiers. The revolution also contributed to the creation of the national emergency that made thinkable the large-scale use of women in combat, by accelerating the army’s disintegration and thus raising the specter of defeat.

The way some of Russia’s women responded to the new national emergency was to take up arms, on a scale that surprised the country and the world. Their self-mobilization for combat was not solely or even primarily a “bourgeois” or intelligentsia outpouring, although it appears to have been more urban than rural. The movement’s transcendence of class and social status reminds us that class conflict and class identity, as important as they became, existed alongside and sometimes yielded to other, powerful loyalties. The patriotism of women soldiers also cut across political boundaries. Most were democratically inclined, but monarchists as well as republicans, liberals, socialists, and the politically undefined were prepared to shoulder a rifle and swear an oath that proclaimed, “my death for the Motherland and for the freedom of Russia is happiness.”

The appearance of the first modern, governmentally sanctioned female combat units also reminds us about the genuinely revolutionary nature of the Russian Provisional Government—at least from the May 5 establishment of the First Coalition—a quality long denied it in both Soviet and Western historiography.<sup>91</sup> The regime approved formation of women’s battalions, organized around them public, revolutionary rituals, and incorporated the women soldiers in articulation of a broader, revolutionary-civic patriotism directed at all citizens. Placed in the context of the more limited military mobilization of women into auxiliary services engaged in by several other belligerents, Russia’s willingness to extend to women full combat experience, as well as the same pay and privileges as male volunteers, is striking. While the Provisional Government’s object in making women into

<sup>91</sup> Kerensky was the sole socialist in the original Provisional Government; six socialists joined him in the First Coalition, including Socialist-Revolutionary leader Viktor Chernov and the prominent Menshevik Irakli Tsereteli.

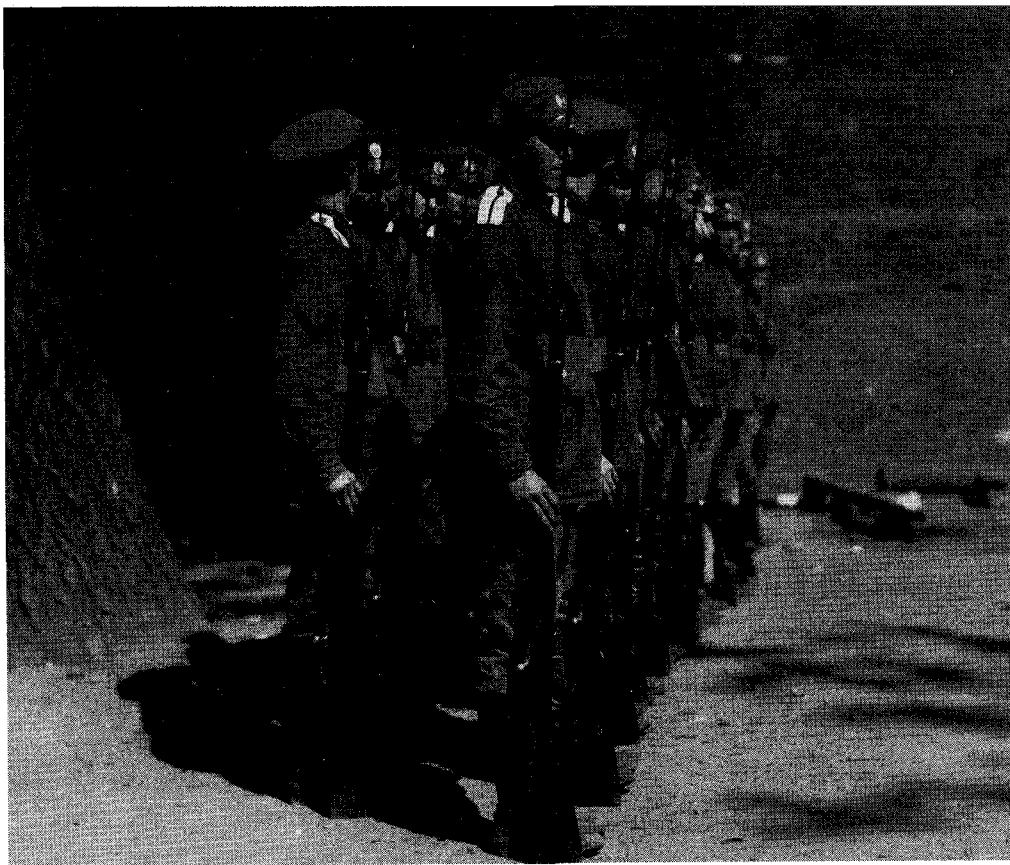


FIGURE 8: Soldiers from the first Women's Battalion of Death, with bayonets. The A. Tarsaidze Collection, courtesy of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

soldiers was clearly an instrumental one—generals and political leaders were arming women for national rather than liberationist goals—its break with the millennia-old tradition of excluding women from armed defense of their country was nonetheless a revolutionary precedent.

These women soldiers were too diverse to allow for broad generalizations about the nature of their patriotism and the meanings they assigned to their bearing of arms, but certain common themes emerge. Motives for fighting could vary dramatically, from disinterested love of the motherland, hatred of the enemy, or concern for “brothers” at the front to more personal desires for glory, escape, or adventure. But whatever the motives or combination thereof, these individuals believed women were capable of physically fighting for their country, or even for “the freedom of the whole world,” at least in exceptional circumstances, and they were proud to do so. Having enlisted, they were determined to prove that they were genuine soldiers, not simply *babas* in uniforms, thereby earning honor for themselves and their units. (See Figure 8.) Some expressed compassion and others scorn for the incapacity of male soldiers to continue fighting, but few challenged the traditional gender norm that soldiering is a male duty. However, some saw more permanent role changes, explicitly expressing their belief that, since the revolution

had transformed women into full citizens of a democracy, they had a right—or could share in the general obligation—to bear arms for their country.

Unfortunately, we cannot know the degree to which these women's understandings of gender, patriotism, and citizenship were permanently altered by their experience of soldiering. Nor is there any way of determining the eventual fate of most of the 5,000 or more women who entered combat units. Some joined the anti-Bolshevik forces in the Russian civil war, usually as Sisters of Mercy rather than as soldiers.<sup>92</sup> Others joined the Red Army, which explicitly allowed women to enlist during the civil war period. Despite more egalitarian language, however, the Bolsheviks were generally as uncomfortable with the idea of women as potential killers as were their opponents: most women soldiers of the Red Army filled non-combat roles, and no regular women's units were formed.<sup>93</sup>

A little more is known about those who left memoirs. Yashka claimed that V. I. Lenin tried to recruit her to the Red side; she instead went to the United States in an effort to muster support for the anti-Bolshevik cause, even meeting with President Woodrow Wilson. She made her way back to Russia in 1919, organizing a women's paramedic unit in Siberia under White leader Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak, then returned home to her parents in Tomsk when Kolchak's movement was defeated. She was arrested on Christmas Day by agents of the *cheka* (special police), tried as an enemy of the workers' regime, and shot on May 16, 1920. She was thirty years old.<sup>94</sup> Mariia Bocharnikova, of the First Petrograd Women's Battalion and a defender at the Winter Palace, joined the anti-Bolshevik cause as a medical worker and was wounded; she emigrated after the war, working as a lady's companion and dying in France in the early 1960s. Nina Krylova, a junior officer in Yashka's battalion, married a volunteer and subsequently emigrated with him to Belgium: she proudly told her son to tell his schoolmates that he was the son of *two* Russian officers. Deported by the Nazis during the occupation, Krylova apparently died during an Allied bombardment.<sup>95</sup>

In the postwar years, as hundreds of books by scholars and participants began to appear on the Great War, the recently celebrated Russian women soldiers were conspicuous by their absence. In Soviet Russia, the omission of the women soldiers was partly a function of a larger omission, that of the "Great War" itself. For obvious reasons, the war occupied a limited and negative place in the Soviet

<sup>92</sup> Bocharnikova provides information on the fate of twelve members of the First Petrograd Battalion. The six male officers for whom she has data all joined the anti-Bolshevik Volunteer Army; three of these were killed. Five of six women for whom she has data served with the Volunteer Army, two as soldiers; one nurse was wounded and one soldier, a Princess Cherkasskaia, was killed in battle. A male officer, Captain Shagal, later married former junior officer Natalia A. Stebel-Kamenskaia; they raised a family in Paris; BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 57–58; and Shagal, "Zhenskii batal'on," 6.

<sup>93</sup> On women in the Soviet military during the civil war, see Elizabeth A. Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997), 52–57; and Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*, 153–58. Bryant, *Six Red Months*, 212, interviewed several women soldiers planning to join the Red Army.

<sup>94</sup> Drovov, "Organizator Zhenskogo batal'ona smerti," 167–68; and the published transcript of Bochkareva's final interrogation, "'Moi batal'on neostramit Rossii . . . ' Okonchatel'nyi protokol doprosa Marii Bochkarevoi," *Rodina*, nos. 8–9 (1993): 78–81. Maria "Yashka" Bochkareva was posthumously rehabilitated by the procurator of Omsk oblast, January 9, 1992.

<sup>95</sup> BAR, Bocharnikova Papers, "V zhenskom batal'one," 5, 45; Solonevich, *Zhenshchina s vintovkoi*, 12, 150.

foundation myth. Bolshevik denunciation of the imperialist war in 1917 had been critical to the party's political success, while the need to deliver the promised peace impelled Lenin's fledgling government to conclude a disastrous treaty in March 1918, galvanizing civil war. During its first decade, the Soviet regime derived its legitimacy from the revolution and civil war victory; the imperialist debacle that preceded them, along with its soldiers, was not an appropriate object of national commemoration. In marked contrast to the practices of the other belligerents, Soviet Russia held no annual observances in connection with the war, and erected in its name no public monuments as sites of memory or mourning.<sup>96</sup>

Even the record of popular patriotism would be mostly expunged by the (initially) internationalist regime, being characterized as a brief, misguided outpouring that was soon confined to the capitalist classes and a few social elements too backward to know better.<sup>97</sup> Alive to the potency of names, the Soviets changed the appellation of the conflict itself, from the "Great War" or "Second Patriotic War" to the "First Imperialist War," further emptying its memory of national content. The term "patriotic" would be appropriated for the Soviet experience of World War II, and victory in that struggle—called the "Great Patriotic War" (*velikaia otechestvennaia voina*)—provided the regime a powerful new source of legitimacy.<sup>98</sup>

Clearly, then, there was no place in early Soviet narratives of the Imperialist

<sup>96</sup> The phrase "sites of memory" is from the influential work by Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995); for Germany's shaping of war memory, see also Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, esp. chap. 5; and Holger H. Herwig, "Of Men and Myths: The Use and Abuse of History and the Great War," in Jay Winter, Geoffrey Parker, and Mary R. Habeck, eds., *The Great War and the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), 299–330. On memory and Russia's experience of the war, see Aaron J. Cohen, "Oh, That! Myth, Memory, and World War I in the Russian Emigration and the Soviet Union," *Slavic Review* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 69–86; Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Twentieth-Century Russia* (New York, 2001), 96–100; and the fine essay by Daniel Orlovsky, "Velikaia voina i rossiiskaia pamiat'," in *Rossia i pervaiia mirovaia voina*, 49–57.

<sup>97</sup> For instance, M. I. Akhun and V. A. Petrov, *Tsarskaia armiia v gody imperialisticheskoi voine* (Moscow, 1929), 13–17. A good later example is S. V. Tiutiukin, *Voina, mir, revoliutsiia: Ideinaia bor'ba v rabochem dvizhenii Rossii 1914–1917 gg.* (Moscow, 1972), 77–90. Many Western scholars would not share the view that there was a great deal of popular patriotism to overlook, but Russia's experience of World War I has only recently begun to attract much scholarly attention. Treatment of the war has largely represented the 1914 popular patriotism in Russia as short-lived, suggesting that patriotism was not well developed in the Russian Empire, or at least not widely diffused among the masses. On the brief life of patriotic enthusiasm, see Richard Stites, "Days and Nights in Wartime Russia: Cultural Life, 1914–1917," in Aviel Roschwald and Stites, eds., *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914–1918* (Cambridge, 1999), 31 and note 51 above. Hubertus Jahn, author of the only full-length study of wartime patriotism in Russia, believes that Russians lacked a unified national identity and a clear idea of what they were fighting for, and sees patriotic culture as mainly an urban phenomenon; Jahn, *Patriotic Culture*, 172–75, 208. However, several studies suggest that Russian peasants and peasant-soldiers might have been better able to imagine themselves part of a national community than has been assumed, a capacity that would provide a foundation for patriotism; see Josh Sanborn, "The Mobilization of 1914 and the Question of the Russian Nation," and Scott J. Seregny, "Zemstvos, Peasants, and Citizenship: The Russian Adult Education Movement and World War I," both in *Slavic Review* 59, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 267–89, 290–315. Concerning urban workers, Eric Lohr concludes from his study of wartime anti-German riots that they "expressed powerful patriotic sentiments that were not simply incoherent xenophobia"; Lohr, "Patriotic Violence and the State: The Moscow Riots of May 1915," *Kritika* 4, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 624.

<sup>98</sup> On Soviet memorialization of the war as a legitimating myth, see Nina Tumarkin, *The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia* (New York, 1994), esp. chap. 6. For Russian revisionist scholarship on World War II, including the "politics of memory," see Iu. N. Afanas'ev, ed., *Drugaiia voina, 1939–1945* (Moscow, 1995).



War for patriotic citizen soldiers of either sex. But the women's effacement was more complete. In the late 1930s, when the leadership openly shifted to nationalist perspectives and began girding the country for the confrontation with fascism, Soviet history books featured positive treatment of Russia's soldiers of World War I; the women soldiers, however, were left out.<sup>99</sup> This circumstance, along with their omission from Russian émigré and Western narratives of the war, suggests that gender indeed partially explains the memory hole. So, too, does a similar neglect, at least until relatively recently, of Soviet and American women military pilots in histories of World War II.<sup>100</sup> When the women soldiers did rate inclusion in historical narratives, it was more likely to be those of revolution rather than of war. There they figured not in an offensive capacity, at the front, but defensively, at the Winter Palace; not as fighters for the motherland but as participants, or pawns, in a partisan struggle; and not as thousands taking up arms at a critical martial juncture but as a small, armed unit in the final act of a political drama. Their very presence could appear emblematic of the feebleness of the Provisional Government, an entity ultimately able to command the support of only women and boys.<sup>101</sup>

The volunteer soldiers' inability to save their country from defeat helps explain why their story was forgotten but also why the appearance of women's combat units did not prove a harbinger of things to come. Although Yashka's sketchily trained Women's Battalion of Death acquitted itself commendably in battle, Russia's exhausted and demoralized army was already beyond either inspiration or threats. Had the outcome of the summer 1917 Russian offensive been different, American and European women's experience of war in the twentieth century might also have been different. Perhaps Western societies would have resolved decades earlier upon the efficacy and propriety of extending to women the citizen's right to bear arms in defense of one's country, thereby including them in the tradition of "armed civic virtue." Instead, at the conclusion of World War I, the societies of most of the combatant countries largely restored pre-war gender roles and occupations. The

<sup>99</sup> The sole exception would appear to be Antonina Tikhonovna Palshina, a peasant girl who fought from 1914 in the tsarist army and was decorated for bravery, then married a commissar and worked for the *cheka* during the civil war. Her story—with emphasis on her work for Soviet power—was featured in several books and a film; see I. Kobzev, "'Kavalerist-devitsa' iz chekha," *Rodina*, nos. 8–9 (1993): 75–77.

<sup>100</sup> Kerensky and Rodzianko, for example, both closely associated with forming the women's battalions, fail to discuss them in their postwar writings; see Abraham, "Mariia L. Bochkareva and the Russian Amazons," 149. Even Wildman's lengthy volume on the Russian army in this period makes no mention of the existence of women soldiers: *End of the Russian Imperial Army*. On women as the "invisible combatants" of World War II, see D'Ann Campbell, "Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and the Soviet Union," *Journal of Military History* 57, no. 2 (1993); Raina Pennington, *Wings, Women, and War: Soviet Airwomen in World War II Combat* (Lawrence, Kan., 2001), esp. 155–60; and Barbara Alpern Engel, "The Womanly Face of War: Soviet Women Remember World War II," in Nicole Ann Dombrowski, ed., *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with or without Consent* (New York, 1999), 138–61. Similarly, several scholars suggest women's part in making the February Revolution has been unduly minimized in histories; see McDermid and Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution*, 143–62.

<sup>101</sup> A representative Soviet example is A. M. Astrakhan, "O zhenskoi batal'one, zashchishchavshem Zimnii dvorets," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 5 (1965), who states that the "isolation of the bourgeois Provisional Government in October 1917 is clearly manifested in the bankruptcy of all its attempts to organize any sort of serious defense of the Winter Palace"; he also contends that the women soldiers had only the "foggiest notion" of current developments in the country.

extension of full civic and political citizenship to women was uneven or belated.<sup>102</sup> And when total war again devastated Europe, the overwhelming majority of women would experience war, as always, unarmed.

<sup>102</sup> For the historiography of the war's long-term impact on gender roles and relations, see Billie Melman, "Introduction," in Melman, *Borderlines*, 1–25.

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## Review Essay

# The Recent History of Human Rights

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KENNETH CMIEL

FEW POLITICAL AGENDAS have seen such a rapid and dramatic growth as that of “human rights.” Prior to the 1940s, the term was rarely used. There was no sustained international movement in its name. There were no non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with a global reach to defend its principles. There was no international law crafted to protect our human rights.<sup>1</sup> By the 1990s, however, you couldn’t escape it. The better-known Western organizations—the International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch—roamed the globe looking for infractions. NATO prosecuted a war in the name of “human rights.” Less well known to Europeans and North Americans were the hundreds of NGOs outside Europe and the United States defining themselves as human rights agencies, almost all of them with birth dates no earlier than 1985. Rigoberta Menchú now presides over the Fundación Rigoberta Menchú Tum, a peace organization located in Mexico that campaigns in the name of human rights, particularly for indigenous peoples. It is one of many such organizations in Latin America.<sup>2</sup> In 1993, when a number of Asian governments tried to derail the Vienna United Nations Conference on Human Rights, calling for recognition of special “Asian values” and a reconsideration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 180 Asian NGOs gathered, produced a counter-document, and proved a formidable political force in opposition to their governments.<sup>3</sup> In Africa, in the early 1990s, a string of regimes vowed to democratize and respect human rights. Numerous local monitoring groups have sprung up to try to keep track of some very unstable situations.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this background, see A. W. Brian Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire* (Oxford, 2001), 91–156; J. H. Burgers, “The Road to San Francisco: The Revival of the Human Rights Idea in the Twentieth Century,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 14 (1992): 447–77.

<sup>2</sup> On the general growth of human rights NGOs in Latin America and the Caribbean, see Edward Cleary, *The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America* (Westport, Conn., 1997), 61–68.

<sup>3</sup> On the debate over this conference, and the recent growth of human rights NGOs in Asia, see William Korey, *NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Curious Grapevine* (New York, 1998), 472–91. For statements by the Asian NGOs themselves, see Asian Cultural Forum on Development, *Our Voice: Bangkok NGO Declaration on Human Rights* (Bangkok, 1993).

<sup>4</sup> To take just one example, note the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), based in Lagos, Nigeria. Created in 1989 after a union organizer was tossed into prison, the CDHR kept active through the 1990s, publishing annual reports of the human rights situation in Nigeria. The University of Minnesota Human Rights Library reported in 1993 that the group had over 2,000 members in nineteen states in Nigeria, and listed it as one of thirteen Nigerian human rights groups then active. See the University of Minnesota Human Rights Library, “The Status of Human Rights

It was not only that activism spread around the globe. The human rights agenda expanded as well. There was new attention to international justice, most famously in the effort to bring bloody dictators to trial. Slobodan Milošević in the dock is the result. "Women's rights are human rights, too," a call dating from the 1980s, expanded the agendas of human rights organizations in another way. Indigenous people's rights, children's rights, the right to health, even economic and social rights—none were on the table in 1970 as "human rights" claims. All, in one way or another, were part of the discussion by the end of the century.<sup>5</sup>

Yet what does all this add up to? The 1990s have been a sadly fitting end to the bloody twentieth century. Rwanda, Kosovo, East Timor, Iraq, the West Bank—take your pick. Who would argue the decade has been as wonderfully pacific as the heady talk in 1989 of the "end of history" or "new world order" had predicted? What good did the expanded human rights agenda do for Afghani women under the Taliban, for the unemployed of Argentina, for the mentally ill now incarcerated in American jails, for the Kurds in Iraq or Turkey? Governments continued to be as duplicitous as always, ritually mouthing slogans they ignored when convenient. The contradiction begs for explanation: Why does all the energy and effort going in the human rights activism produce such results decidedly meager? How could the rhetoric of human rights be so globally pervasive while the politics of human rights is so utterly weak?

GIVEN ALL THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISM OF THE DECADE, it is not surprising that historians have, in a small way, joined the march. In 1994, Amnesty International sponsored a series of lectures by historians on the interplay between history and human rights. Patrick Collinson, Carlo Ginzburg, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Robert Darnton, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Ian Kershaw were among the

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Organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa: Nigeria," viewed February 16, 2003, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/africa/nigeria.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*, Cheris Kramarae and Dale Spender, eds. (New York, 2000), Charlotte Bunch and Samantha Frost, "Women's Human Rights: An Introduction"; Elisabeth Friedman, "Women's Human Rights: The Emergence of a Movement," in Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper, eds., *Women's Rights, Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives* (New York, 1995); Arvonne Fraser, "Becoming Human: The Origins and Development of Women's Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 21 (1999): 853–906; Judith Zinsser, "From Mexico to Copenhagen to Nairobi: The United Nations Decade for Women, 1975–1985," *Journal of World History* 13 (2002): 139–68; Saba Bahar, "Human Rights Are Women's Right: Amnesty International and the Family," in Bonnie G. Smith, ed., *Global Feminisms since 1945* (London, 2000), 265–89; Mallika Dutt, "Some Reflections on United States Women of Color and the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women and the NGO Forum in Beijing, China," in *Global Feminisms since 1945*, 305–13; Temma Kaplan, "Women's Rights as Human Rights: Grassroots Women Redefine Citizenship in a Global Context," in Patricia Grimshaw, Katie Holmes, and Marilyn Lake, eds., *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives* (London, 2001), 290–308; Henry Minde, "The Making of an International Movement of Indigenous Peoples," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 21 (1996): 221–46; Kay Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), *passim*; Stephen P. Marks, "The Evolving Field of Health and Human Rights: Issues and Methods," *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics* 30 (2002): 742–43.



luminaries who contributed.<sup>6</sup> “Human rights” was the theme of the 1997 American Historical Association convention in New York. In the past few years, a number of books have appeared attempting to historicize the subject. While university-based historians such as Paul Lauren, Lynn Hunt, and Jeffrey Wasserstrom have addressed the subject, journalists, legal scholars, political activists, and political scientists have still done far more of this history writing. The field remains refreshingly inchoate.

Historians have been, at least in the twentieth century, for the most part particularists. They want to know in great depth the local scene they survey. And in the recent past, this has meant, more often than not, a sort of reflexive cultural relativism. Talk of universal rights was suspect, with the odors of cultural imperialism and simple-minded rationalism vaguely hanging about it. It took the end of the Cold War and the chatter about globalization to move some historians to the subject. It should be no surprise that the shift in history was paralleled by a similar shift among anthropologists.<sup>7</sup> But this has left, for both groups, a strain between their traditional respect for the local and renewed interest in the global. How to manage this is slippery indeed.

One important trend in the recent scholarship has been to explore the history and nuances of the human rights idiom. Centering on language raises its own problems. On the one hand, it seems unduly restricting to limit oneself to analyzing claims explicitly made in the name of “the rights of man” or “human rights.” Much of the activism for social justice had taken place without using the idiom of human rights. Does one exclude from this story the drive to make the workplace safe, for example, if done in the name of “social justice” instead of “human rights”? On the other hand, analysis done in the name of the “rights of man” can be wildly anachronistic, akin to talking about auto repair in the sixteenth century. Mohandas Gandhi, for one, is mentioned in several of the books discussed here as a friend of human rights. Yet Gandhi generally disliked “rights-talk” of all kinds, associating it with the self-indulgence of the modern age. This was one way he differed from the Indian Congress Party, whose UN representatives were active supporters of human rights work at that time. Gandhi preferred to frame his rhetoric in terms of “duties” and kept his distance from 1940s human rights campaigns.<sup>8</sup>

It should be no surprise that these two tendencies are but a version of the universal/particular divide. The expansive approach can wind up equating “human rights” with anything “good.” Buddha and Jesus now become human rights activists. This sort of thing can get soggy fast. The other method, however, potentially crabs

<sup>6</sup> Olwen Hufton, ed., *Historical Change and Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures, 1994* (New York, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Karen Engle, “From Skepticism to Embrace: Human Rights and the American Anthropological Association, 1947–1999,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 23 (August 2001): 536–59.

<sup>8</sup> Gandhi expressed his distrust of rights-talk as early as 1910 in *Hind Swaraj*. See M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, Anthony J. Parel, ed. (Cambridge, 1997), 81–82. In the 1940s, he expressed his skepticism about human rights projects to both H. G. Wells and a UNESCO symposium that asked for his comments on the proposed Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In both cases, he urged people to think about their “duties” instead of “rights.” See Gandhi to Wells, undated, H. G. Wells Papers, Folder G-22, Rarebook and Special Collections Library, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana; Jacques Maritain, et al., *Human Rights: Comments and Interpretations* (New York, 1949), 18.

us to those places where some magic words—*rights of man*, *human rights*, *derechos humanos*, *renquan*—were actually being uttered.

There are no definitive answers here. Rather, historians need to make informed choices, making clear to themselves and their readers what they are, and are not, trying to do. With this caution in mind, attention to the history of human rights talk can yield a lot. Ahistoric claims about human rights are still rampant among activists, lawyers, and political theorists. Grand assertions and abstract arguments made in the name of human rights continue to flourish, with charges of cultural imperialism and defenses of cultural relativism predictably coming in response. Historians have the opportunity to tug this discussion to a more sophisticated level by refusing to see the particularist/universal divide as the last word. One way of doing this is by attending to the nuances of political language in different cultural settings. And some recent historians are doing just that.

Claims about natural rights, the rights of man, or human rights were but one aspect of the larger expansion of rights-talk in the last three centuries. On the subject of human rights, there are some fine starting points. Burns Weston's essay in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* is a gem, a panoramic sweep through four centuries of intellectual history.<sup>9</sup> Such an overview, however, as good as it is, still remains only a starting point.

In recent years, some attention to the subject has come about as historians of the early modern Euro world try to move beyond what was called the "republican synthesis." This interpretive frame, most notably associated with J. G. A. Pocock, understood much seventeenth and eighteenth-century political life as suspicious of modernity. Virtue was the core civic value; commerce, self-interest, and individual rights were suspect. But as this interpretation has lost adherents, it has also created new interest in early modern natural rights, especially in the Anglo-American world. Knud Haakonssen has published an extraordinarily rich study of early modern natural law theory, demonstrating the gradual shift from duties to rights in seventeenth and eighteenth-century ethics and philosophy.<sup>10</sup> Haakonssen begins his *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy* with seventeenth-century thinkers, Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes, and Samuel Pufendorf. Most of the book is given to a detailed analysis of the ideas of Scottish moral philosophers. Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and James Mill each gets a chapter. He closes the book with a discussion of the U.S. revolution.

According to Haakonssen, American revolutionary rhetoric was dominated by the European tradition that viewed natural rights as flowing out of natural law. There was a natural order to the world, and duties were more important than rights. Rights did exist, even inalienable rights, but they were "logically subordinate." For Haakonssen, the 1970s and 1980s debates over liberal versus republican interpretations of the American Revolution missed the point. It wasn't a question of "rights" versus "virtue." Talk of subjective rights disconnected from natural law was not common coin until the nineteenth century. At the time of the revolution,

<sup>9</sup> Burns Weston, "Human Rights," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2003, Encyclopedia Britannica Online, viewed January 22, 2003, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article?i=109242> (see "Contents of This Article").

<sup>10</sup> Knud Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy: From Grotius to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1996).

according to Haakonssen, natural rights were “derivative from the duties imposed by natural law.”<sup>11</sup>

Haakonssen is brilliant discussing European moral philosophers. What he says about the American Revolution is intriguing but less convincing. He has to cover far too much far too quickly, quite different from the chapters on individual Scottish thinkers. In his discussion of the revolution, there are too many paragraphs making assertions about the American perspective that have no footnotes. The author has to do some overly complicated explaining to justify why the Americans spoke so insistently about “rights” instead of “duties.” Such passages are not history, they are the modern philosopher reconstructing the past as it logically should have been. This criticism, however, is not meant to diminish the overall power of this book. Haakonssen’s is the most sophisticated discussion of natural rights philosophy in this generation, a truly formidable achievement.

A different rendering of natural rights can be found in the work of Michael Zuckert. Zuckert has written a substantial body of work in the 1990s attacking the republican synthesis.<sup>12</sup> Unlike Haakonssen, however, Zuckert defends, with great verve and tenacity, the idea that the revolution was Lockean and modern. Unlike Haakonssen, he dismisses the notion that Lockean natural rights were derived from natural law duties. And whereas Haakonssen diminished the importance of the social contract in his reading of eighteenth-century natural rights thinking, Zuckert continues to highlight it. The United States was, according to Zuckert, the “natural rights republic.”

Zuckert does a fine job of showing how pervasive natural rights talk was during the revolution. The most excessive claims of Pocock or Gordon Wood about the classical republican origins of the revolution have not stood up particularly well. Zuckert’s analysis of the Declaration of Independence is similarly convincing. From the start, the American Revolution was about protecting natural rights. He is less persuasive, however, when arguing that core revolutionary thought stemmed from John Locke. There were multiple places, as Haakonssen shows, where natural rights ideas might grow. Moreover, as good as Zuckert’s analysis of political ideas is, the politics is largely missing. Zuckert’s revolutionaries are political philosophers, not politicians.

Both Haakonssen and Zuckert excel at the analysis of political ideas. They are well worth reading, some of the best work trying to rethink early modern political thought after the death of the republican synthesis. But their work will no doubt will leave many historians cold, looking too much like old-fashioned intellectual history. The relation of political ideology to European political theory is very important to these authors. Race and gender, however, are largely absent. The pursuit of interest is ignored. The grime of past politics, so dear to historians, is missing.

A different strain of the new work on natural rights is looking at how claims about human rights were deployed in specific historic settings, unpacking what

<sup>11</sup> Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy*, 326, 328.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Zuckert, *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Zuckert, *The Natural Rights Republic* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1996); Zuckert, *Launching Liberalism: On Lockean Political Philosophy* (Lawrence, Kan., 2002).

political stakes at any given moment were attached to the rhetoric.<sup>13</sup> Lynn Hunt's collection of documents about the rights of man during the French Revolution is a good example.<sup>14</sup> The 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen is a landmark in the history of human rights discussions. Hunt brings together documents going back to the 1750s but principally dating from 1789 to 1794, all debating the implications of theories of natural rights. The 1789 declaration becomes just one stopping point in a vibrant, ongoing, and sometimes vicious debate. On the heels of the declaration's adoption, fights erupted about its implications for black Haitian slaves, French women, and Calvinists and Jews living in France. Hunt presents documents on each of these disputes. Not surprisingly, the results were checkered. Jews became French citizens in 1791, slavery ended in Haiti in 1794, but women, in 1793, were explicitly denied the right to form political clubs. Within a decade, Napoleon Bonaparte revived slavery in the colonies, confirmed women's second-class status, but left Jewish citizenship untouched. Talk of the rights of man, according to Hunt, "helped push the Revolution into radical directions, but it did not by itself afford a permanent foundation for rule."<sup>15</sup>

It is not only *who* gets rights that matters. As important are *what* rights are on the table. That too has a history. There is the obvious—there is no right to social security in the French declaration of 1789. The UN's 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, however, includes it. But Hunt does more, noting the different ways that rights were clustered together. Distinctions between civil and political rights, she observes, were commonplace and of crucial importance in the eighteenth century. Civil rights include such classic freedoms as the rights to own property, to not be thrown in jail without proper arrest and trial, to be treated equally before the law. Political rights, on the other hand, include voting, serving on juries, and holding office. Such a distinction, important in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is not one that makes much sense to us. The mid-twentieth-century events we call the "Civil Rights Movement" had at its core the drive to extend to African Americans the right to vote—a preeminently political right. The international human rights community today conventionally distinguishes between "civil and political rights" as one grouping and "economic, social, and cultural rights" as another. This linking of the "civil" and "political" is relatively new. It was the distinction between them that was crucial in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a distinction with real consequences. Women, for example, would get the right to own property in the 1800s but not the right to vote. The civil versus political divide was routinely cited for this. Understanding the ways that rights have been clustered together over time, when tied to close attention to political ramifications, is still one more way for historians usefully to unpack the history of rights-talk.

<sup>13</sup> See Dale Van Kley, ed., *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); Michael Lacey and Knud Haakonssen, eds., *A Culture of Rights: The Bill of Rights in Philosophy, Politics, and Law—1791 and 1991* (Cambridge, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> Lynn Hunt, ed., *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston, 1996). For other recent collections dealing with French documents, see Christine Fauré, ed., *Les déclarations des droits de l'homme de 1789* (Paris, 1988); Lucien Jaume, ed., *Les déclarations des droits de l'homme: Du débat 1789–1793 au préambule de 1946* (Paris, 1989). For a recent history directly on the subject, see Ladan Boroumand, *La guerre des principes: Les assemblées révolutionnaires face aux droits de l'homme et à la souveraineté de la nation* (Paris, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> Hunt, *French Revolution and Human Rights*, 18.



If Hunt's collection tells us how to do it, Paul Lauren's *Evolution of International Human Rights* shows some of the pitfalls of not attending to the nuances of the rhetoric. Lauren's book is the best single overview of modern human rights activism thus far. It is especially informative on the politics of the 1940s. And Lauren deserves our thanks for being the first scholar to address systematically the issues of color and empire in relation to human rights activism. He shows that human rights idioms were used by African Americans in the United States, blacks in South Africa, and anti-colonial activists in Asia and Africa.

Lauren's work allows us to recognize that the divide between "civil and political rights" and "economic, social and cultural rights," now written into conventional wisdom, itself betrays the Western origins of the contemporary human rights movement. A third set of ideas, revolving around the notion of the "self-determination of peoples," was also part of the mid-century human rights debates.<sup>16</sup> The trouble was, Westerners did not agree that this was a fundamental human right. In 1946, the Nigerian activist Mbonu Ojike would state, "The right to rule oneself is a natural right." The year before, Ho Chi Minh declared independence for Vietnam quoting the "inalienable rights" of Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. In 1952, Asian, African, and Latin American nations, over the objections of Western nations, officially made respect for the "self-determination of peoples" part of the UN's human rights program. In the Western nations, however, opposition persisted, even as formal colonialism was folding. As Michael Ignatieff has recently pointed out, Isaiah Berlin's famous essay "Positive and Negative Freedom," first delivered as an Oxford lecture in 1958, was in part an expression of skepticism about Third World nationalism. About the same time, the French jurist René Cassin, who would later win a Nobel Prize for his work drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was complaining that the whole UN human rights program had gone off track thanks to the "Arab states" forcing "self-determination" onto the agenda. In 1962, the British historian Maurice Cranston, in a widely read book on human rights, argued that self-determination did not really belong on the list.<sup>17</sup>

Lauren is right to see anti-colonialism as a key strain ignored by other historians. Yet he does not distinguish it from other visions, a practice more confusing than enlightening. Whatever different things historians make of Ho Chi Minh, it is safe to say he was no Jeffersonian democrat, and not even an Eleanor Rooseveltian New

<sup>16</sup> The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1966, *each* contain the right to self-determination as the first article. The right was given prominence of place, in other words, but did not fit easily into the categories that by then were conventionally used to organize human rights discussions.

<sup>17</sup> Mbonu Ojike, *My Africa* (New York, 1946), 261; Ho Chi Minh, "Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," in Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Writings: 1920-1969* (Hanoi, 1973), 53-56; on the UN resolutions of 1952, see United Nations, General Assembly, *Official Records, Sixth Session, Plenary Meeting* (February 5, 1952), 519; UN General Assembly, *Official Records, Sixth Session, Supplement no. 20*, "Inclusion in International Covenants on Human Rights of an Article relating to the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination" (February 5, 1952), 36-37; Michael Ignatieff, *Isaiah Berlin: A Life* (New York, 1998), 227; Marc Agi, *René Cassin: Fantassin des droits de l'homme* (Paris, 1979), 244-48; Maurice Cranston, *Human Rights To-day* (London, 1962), 65-72. For another critique from a prominent Western social scientist of the time, see Rupert Emerson, *Self-Determination Revisited in the Era of Decolonization* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

Dealer. In Lauren's account, however, any such distinctions are either passingly mentioned or ignored. For Lauren, Ho as well as Eleanor contributed to an emerging human rights vision. Citing Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* as an anti-colonial human rights document, as Lauren does, without noting Fanon's celebration of revolutionary violence and his general indifference to "bourgeois" civil liberties, is just plain misleading.<sup>18</sup> It ignores absolutely crucial distinctions in outlook. Political language can tell us a lot, but only if we treat it seriously.

More attention to political discourse, however, will no doubt destroy the shibboleth that rights-talk has had no life outside the West. Political claims made in the name of "natural rights," or "the rights of man" did first surface in Western Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the nineteenth century, this debate spread to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We still have only scattered bits of this history.<sup>19</sup>

The work of Stephen Angle and Marina Svensson shows what can be done. They each have written excellent individual books on human rights debates in China, and they have collaborated on a collection of documents.<sup>20</sup> Angle's book is a classic intellectual history, especially good at unpacking the layered meanings of *quan*, a word traditionally meaning "power" or "authority" but around the turn of the twentieth century beginning to be used for "rights." His close readings of key translations of mid-nineteenth-century texts in international law (where rights-talk first explicitly enters Chinese debate) reveal how complicated translations of key terms can be. Angle is also good at relating the complexities of neo-Confucian thinking to an emerging discussion of "rights." Svensson, more attuned to the concrete political contexts of ideological claims, pursues the twentieth-century debate about *renquan*, the term now generally translated as "human rights." Svensson demolishes the assumption that no one discussed human rights in China before the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The *Chinese Human Rights Reader*, their collective work, makes the same point. It is a compendium of primary sources in China on *renquan*. The documents cover the entire twentieth century, contextualized by the editors' informative commentary. Their sources show, first of all, that debates about "human rights" emerged in China during the 1890s, connected to a larger reassessment of Confucian pieties in the face of Chinese humiliations vis-à-vis the West. Throughout the last century, party ideologists, lawyers, and independent intellectuals debated the concept. Nationalist Guomindang (GMD) intellectuals from the 1920s such as Zhou Fohai explicitly contrasted Sun Yat-sen's call for "people's rights" (*minquan*) with the French Revolution's "rights of man" (*renquan*). Only those loyal to the nation, in their estimation, deserved rights. In the 1940s, certain intellectuals who worked with Chiang Kai-shek defended the notion of human rights, although Chiang did

<sup>18</sup> Paul Gordon Lauren, *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen* (Philadelphia, 1998), 251.

<sup>19</sup> For a recent foray into this topic, see Robert H. Taylor, ed., *The Idea of Freedom in Asia and Africa* (Stanford, Calif., 2002).

<sup>20</sup> Stephen Angle, *Human Rights and Chinese Thought: A Cross-Cultural Inquiry* (Cambridge, 2002); Marina Svensson, *Debating Human Rights in China: A Conceptual and Political History* (Lanham, Md., 2002); Stephen C. Angle and Marina Svensson, eds., *The Chinese Human Rights Reader: Documents and Commentary, 1900–2000* (Armonk, N.Y., 2001).

not.<sup>21</sup> In the 1920s and 1940s, activists trying to push the GMD to respect its citizens more mounted “human rights” campaigns. A short-lived magazine called “Human Rights” (*Renquan*) was published in China in 1925. Chinese Communists, similarly, in the last sixty years, have had more than one position on the subject. At different times, they have denounced human rights talk as a bourgeois ruse, used the idiom strategically, made halting and brief gestures to respect civil and political rights, and argued that the true core of human rights was economic and social rights.<sup>22</sup>

Notions of human rights have been a part of China’s ideological battles, not only in the 1990s but for the whole twentieth century. It impoverishes these debates, Angle and Svensson argue, to reduce them to Western parasitism. The “discussion of rights in China,” they write, “has long been motivated by indigenous concerns, rather than imposed from without, and it has been interpretive and critical, rather than passive and imitative.”<sup>23</sup>

If careful attention to the idiom can lead to new insights, so too can examination of how the absence of the idiom has mattered. In 1993, the United Nations expanded the definition of “war crimes” to include systematic rape. Historians Atina Grossmann and Elizabeth Heineman have recently written on what it meant *not* to have this definition of war crimes in the 1940s.<sup>24</sup> There was, they note, brutal and widespread rape of German women by Soviet military personnel in 1945. But, as Grossmann first observed, unlike what some have argued, this was not “silenced” at the time. Quite the contrary: U.S. and British army officers discussed the rapes as a problem of venereal disease, all the occupying armies discussed the abortion issues raised (huge numbers of raped German women wanted abortions), and the women themselves passed around survival stories to each other. Even German Communists openly worried that the rapes hindered efforts to recruit Germans to the Communist Party. Heineman adds that discussion of the rapes allowed Germans to construct the image of themselves as innocent victims of the war. This was not silence. But the terms mattered. Amid all the talk, never at the time were the rapes discussed as a crime against humanity. Rape was not part of the Nuremberg indictment. Nor was there any international outcry against Soviet behavior. “Cold War–era references to the Soviet rapes,” Heineman observes, “explained them in political, national, or even racial terms—and not as gendered acts.”<sup>25</sup> Nor, I would add, as human rights violations. It took the women’s movement of the 1970s and 1980s to change the way the discussion took place.

The language of human rights is fluid. The term has meant widely different things at different points in time. It may be too much to say that “human rights” is

<sup>21</sup> Among the defenders was Peng-chun Chang, who served on the drafting committee of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For Chiang Kai-shek’s opposition, see Chiang Kai-shek, *China’s Destiny*, Wang Chung-hui, trans. (New York, 1947), 207–08.

<sup>22</sup> Angle and Svensson, *Chinese Human Rights Reader*, *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> Angle and Svensson, *Chinese Human Rights Reader*, xiii.

<sup>24</sup> Atina Grossmann, “A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers,” in *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era*, Robert G. Moeller, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997), 33–52; Grossmann, “The Difficulty of Historicizing Rape and Sexual Violence: Victims, Resisters, and Liberators in World War II,” unpublished paper. Also see Elizabeth Heineman, “The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany’s ‘Crisis Years’ and West German National Identity,” *AHR* 101 (April 1996): 364–74.

<sup>25</sup> Heineman, “Hour of the Woman,” 370.

an empty signifier, but given the range of usages over time—the phrase can mean diametrically opposed things—that seems to be a useful starting point. Hunt, Angle, Svensson, and Grossmann demonstrate that historians of human rights can do much to further our understanding of global political discourse by not taking the term for granted, by carefully attending to its different uses, and by locating those uses in local, political contexts. It is precisely in not treating assertions of “human rights” in hushed, reverential tones that the best possibilities lie.

These historians refuse to be tripped up by any universal/local divide. Rather, they are writing the local histories of universal claims. Such claims—specifically attached to human rights discourse—have become one way that peoples around the world now interact with each other. In this sense, human rights talk communicates across cultures in ways similar to money, statistics, pidgin English, or a discussion of soccer. Such idioms are important, at times extraordinarily important, but they are also expressively thin. We do successfully communicate with them, but only in a rough and ready way.

But if human rights has become one of the *linguae francae* of a globalized world, this certainly does not mean that local cultures are irrelevant. If human rights talk is a thin communicator across cultures, it also gathers thicker meaning within cultures. Hunt, Angle, Svensson, and Grossmann explore how this universalistic idiom acquires local meanings that are fought over and evolve through time. And they are exploring this with a sharp eye on the specific political stakes involved at any given moment. It is the careful and constant interplay between local and global, between specific political settings and grand political claims that promises to contribute to knowledge.<sup>26</sup>

IF THE TALK IS EVERYWHERE, though, why are human rights politics so weak? Here we shift from political language to the history of activism. This is the other area where much recent work has been done, especially looking at the 1940s to the present. The last sixty years has really made for a remarkable shift.

International activism in the name of some shared basic rights has not had a distinguished history. The liberal revolutions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries took place within the frame of the nation-state. While intellectuals such as Tom Paine and Immanuel Kant dreamed of moving international affairs beyond the “Westphalian system” devoted to respecting the autonomy of sovereign states, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and the American Declaration of Independence both announced universal rights that were to be protected by national states. In other words, as far as the international community was concerned, nations could still do what they wanted inside their borders. This presumption does not appear to have been dramatically challenged until the 1940s, when international law against genocide was written and when it was proclaimed that the world community needed to monitor basic human rights.

<sup>26</sup> On the concepts of “thick” and “thin” in human rights talk, see Michael Walzer, *Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1994); Kenneth Cmiel, “The Emergence of Human Rights Politics in the United States,” *Journal of American History* 86 (December 1999): 1249–50; Angle, *Human Rights and Chinese Thought*, 11–15.



To be sure, Gary Jonathan Bass, in *Stay the Hand of Vengeance*, his excellent history of war crimes tribunals, shows that the British wanted to try Napoleon in 1815. (The Prussians wanted to shoot him.) Bass also recounts the efforts to try Kaiser Wilhelm in 1919 for war crimes. But both cases make the point about the weakness of humanitarian law before the 1940s. Neither of these trials actually happened. Napoleon was shipped to Elba; the Dutch would not hand over the kaiser. Nuremberg marked the first “successful” war crimes trial.<sup>27</sup>

If you think of “human rights activism” in another way—as efforts to make claims across borders in the name of basic rights—this activism has been intermittently strong but not sustained. The international campaign against slavery, scattered attempts in the 1880s and 1890s to regulate the Ottoman Empire’s treatment of Christians, the birth of the international women’s movement are all examples.<sup>28</sup> But so much was left undone. There was no international outcry or organizations devoted to the slaughter of Indians in the United States, no important transnational NGOs fighting pogroms against Jews in Russia. There was no real organized international opposition to European empire, or important groups of activists devoted to securing former slaves their rights in the United States.

Adam Hochschild’s powerful account of international activism against the slaughter of African workers in the Congo under the colonial regime of King Leopold of Belgium underscores the point. The leader of the campaign was Edmund Dean Morel, an employee of a Liverpool shipping line, who shortly after 1900 became outraged at the wanton cruelty and stunning, murderous disregard for life that Belgian overlords exhibited toward their African subjects. Horrific brutality, outright starvation, inhuman workloads—all were astoundingly commonplace. Hochschild recounts the tireless efforts of Morel and his associates to bring these horrors to the attention of the Western public. Morel developed ties throughout Europe and the United States. Hochschild accurately sees Morel’s work as the bridge between the international antislavery activism of the mid-nineteenth century and the human rights work of the present.

Still, the limitations stand out. Morel focused on the Congo alone, refusing to expand his crusade to other locales. He was not against empire in general and, Hochschild notes, “ignored his own country’s use of forced labor.” Moreover, his Congo Reform Association disbanded in 1913 after a series of Belgian reforms seemed to put the colony on a more “humane” imperial path. Morel’s campaign was a bridge, but—limited to a specific issue and fading from existence after ostensibly

<sup>27</sup> Gary Jonathan Bass, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); on war crimes trials, also see Howard Ball, *Prosecuting War Crimes and Genocide: The Twentieth-Century Experience* (Lawrence, Kan., 1999); and Devin Pendas, “‘I Didn’t Know What Auschwitz Was’: The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial and the German Press, 1963–65,” *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 12 (Summer 2000): 397–446. On the related topic of transitions to democracy, see Carla Hesse and Robert Post, eds., *Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia* (New York, 1999).

<sup>28</sup> Audrey Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000); Alan Rice and Martin Crawford, eds., *Liberating Sojourn: Frederick Douglass and Transatlantic Reform* (Athens, Ga., 1999); Nitza Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship: Women’s Rights and International Organizations* (Baltimore, Md., 1999); Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women’s Movement* (Princeton, N.J., 1997).

accomplishing its end—it looks more like a smaller version of earlier transnational antislavery efforts than contemporary human rights activism.<sup>29</sup>

There were other scattered campaigns to protect basic rights. In France, the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme was founded in 1901 and remained active until the mid-1930s.<sup>30</sup> In South America, the Liga Argentina por los Derechos del Hombre dates from 1937.<sup>31</sup> A few Russian, Latin American, and West European international lawyers tried to put human rights on the table during the 1920s, one example of the internationalism of the day. This internationalism took varied forms, cultural and political, but in general it was a weak current, overwhelmed by the aggressive 1930s nationalism of Italy, Germany, and Japan, and politically weaker than the Western isolationist or appeasement hope that staying away from fights would keep them from erupting.<sup>32</sup>

Nor was the League of Nations really committed to human rights in the 1940s sense of the term. The international lawyers who have tried their hand at human rights history—Mary Ann Glendon, Geoffrey Robertson, A. W. Brian Simpson—each makes this point with varying detail, as does historian Paul Lauren.<sup>33</sup> The League was interested in protecting the rights of minority groups, not individuals. Racial minorities outside of Europe were left to fend for themselves. The League's devotion to the principle of self-determination, similarly, was also designed to protect the rights of groups, not individuals.

In the 1940s, however, “the focus on minority rights was supplanted by an emphasis on human rights.”<sup>34</sup> Much of the recent work on the history of human rights activism underscores the importance of that decade. Mary Ann Glendon's account of Eleanor Roosevelt's work drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is one of the best of the recent books. A. W. Brian Simpson, the

<sup>29</sup> Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (New York, 1998), 210.

<sup>30</sup> Emmanuel Naquet, “Entre justice et patrie: La ligue des droits de l'homme et la grande guerre,” *Mouvement social* 183 (1998): 93–109; “La Ligue française des droits de l'homme et la L.I.D.U., son homologue italienne, organisation d'exiles antifascistes dans l'entre-deux-guerres,” *Mouvement social* 183 (1998): 119–34; Wendy Perry, “Remembering Dreyfus: The Ligue des Droits de l'Homme and the Making of the Modern French Human Rights Movement” (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1999).

<sup>31</sup> The Liga was founded in 1937. It had many Communist Party ties, although it was not formally connected with the party. It is now “a pluralist organization of the Left in Argentina.” Louis Bickford, “Human Rights Archives and Research on Historical Memory,” *Latin American Research Review* 35 (2000): 173; for general background to the organization, see Alfredo Welsh, *Tiempos de ira, tiempos de esperanza: 50 años de vida política a través de la Liga Argentina por los Derechos del Hombre* (Buenos Aires, 1984).

<sup>32</sup> Lauren, *Evolution of International Human Rights*, 91, 110–14; Burgers, “Road to San Francisco”; Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire*, 151–54. For more general background to the internationalism of the era, see Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, Md., 1997).

<sup>33</sup> Mary Ann Glendon, *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York, 2001), 9–10; Geoffrey Robertson, *Crimes against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice* (New York, 2000), 21; Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire*, 121–49; Lauren is especially good on the racial limits of League policy, see *Evolution of International Human Rights*, 98–103.

<sup>34</sup> Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 105. For a particularly clear 1940s statement of the opposition between the concept of self-determination and the notion of human rights, see Morris D. Waldman, “A Bill of Rights for All Nations,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1944.

distinguished legal historian, has written a massive book on Britain's role in framing the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights, the starting point of today's European Court of Human Rights. The heart of Paul Lauren's *Evolution of International Human Rights* is the four chapters recounting the interwar years and the 1940s. Samantha Power's *Problem from Hell: America in the Age of Genocide* provides the first glimpse of Raphael Lemkin's career in the 1940s, Lemkin being the Polish Jew who coined the term "genocide" in 1944, drafted the UN Convention on Genocide two years later, and devoted enormous energy in the next decade to keeping the world focused on the subject. These accounts are drawing the first substantive portrait of 1940s human rights activism.<sup>35</sup>

These accounts suggest the range of political actors involved. Liberal reformers and social democrats were at the forefront—Eleanor Roosevelt of the United States, René Cassin of France. Yet deeply conservative men and women played a role. Winston Churchill fought at the end of the decade to have the European Commission devise the European Convention on Human Rights. Glendon rightly gives Charles Habib Malik, the Lebanese diplomat, a prominent place in drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Malik was a conservative spirit who ended his career as a hero to certain Christian intellectuals in the United States.<sup>36</sup> Yet he played a major role in drafting the Universal Declaration and shepherding it through the United Nations.

This activism was also designed to build international law, and the new United Nations was at the heart of it. The Nuremberg Principles were meant to be the start of something much grander. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the first step. That set of principles was supposed to be quickly turned into binding international law. The Genocide Convention, adopted by the General Assembly the day before it adopted the Universal Declaration, was similarly supposed to matter.

Yet the world waited until the 1990s for the next major international tribunal charging someone with crimes against humanity. The Cold War and fights between Western and Third World nations undermined the human rights élan of the 1940s. The second important period scholars are reviewing is the 1970s, when there was an explosion of interest in human rights. The exponential growth of Amnesty International (which was founded in 1961), as well as the birth of Human Rights Watch in New York, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, and the

<sup>35</sup> Other works on the 1940s include Johannes Morsink, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Origins, Drafting and Intent* (Philadelphia, 1999); Arieh Kochavi, *Prelude to Nuremberg: Allied War Crimes Policy and the Question of Punishment* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998); Carol Anderson's excellent *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955* (Cambridge, 2003); Kenneth Cmiel, "Human Rights, Freedom of Information, and the Origins of Third World Solidarity," in Mark Bradley and Patrice Petro, eds., *Truth Claims: Representation and Human Rights* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2002), 107–30; Marilyn Lake, "From Self-Determination via Protection to Equality via Non-Discrimination: Defining Women's Rights at the League of Nations and the United Nations," in Grimshaw, Holmes, and Lake, *Women's Rights and Human Rights*, 254–71; Elizabeth Borgwardt, "An Intellectual History of the Atlantic Charter: Ideas, Institutions, and Human Rights in American Diplomacy, 1941–1946" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2002).

<sup>36</sup> In the early 1960s, Malik began publishing books in the United States with religious publishers. *A Christian Critique of the University* (Downers Grove, Ill., 1982), which condemned the godless turn in higher education and was published by a prominent evangelical press, is still read in the United States.

Helsinki Watch Groups in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—these are stories starting to be told.<sup>37</sup>

New transnational communication networks became extremely important. This activism, in other words, was part of the emergence of late twentieth-century globalization, a point not mentioned in enough of the historiography. And the center of the activism shifted. NGOs rather than the UN were the focal point. The 1970s activists were less interested in international law, more invested in publicizing cruel behavior to shame perpetrators into change. Nor were the new human rights campaigns truly part of a mass movement. Rather, they depended on small numbers of very well educated people in Latin America or Eastern Europe connecting with activists in New York, London, Paris, and Geneva and getting their stories into venues such as *Le monde*, the *New York Times*, or the BBC. Regional treaties such as the Helsinki agreements, or national legislation like the Jackson-Vanik Amendment in the United States, were far more important than international law crafted at the UN. In fact, relations between the UN and the Western human rights NGOs steadily worsened during the 1970s.<sup>38</sup>

The agenda also shrank from the 1940s. The “self-determination of peoples” remained off the radar screen of the Western NGOs, a principal source of the tension with UN representatives. But, just as important, the general 1940s liberal or social democratic emphasis on civil and political rights *and* economic rights was lost. The major Western human rights organizations, Amnesty International in London, Human Rights Watch in New York, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, all devoted themselves solely to combating appalling abuses of civil and political rights around the globe.

Finally, a third wave of activism dates from the late 1980s but gathered real steam in the 1990s. Being so recent, far less is written on it. Still, some things can be said. The agenda of Western human rights activists expanded to include health rights, women’s rights, economic justice, and indigenous people’s rights. Go to Amnesty International’s web site today and you will find current campaigns touching a much wider set of concerns than in the 1970s. There has also been a renewed interest in international law. The end of the Cold War turned human rights activists back to the United Nations. The idea of trying tyrants marked a return to a 1940s concern. Expansions of the UN court system via bodies such as the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia or a permanent International Criminal Court were examples of this drive.

This third, most recent wave of activism has also seen an explosion of new

<sup>37</sup> Cmiel, “Emergence of Human Rights Politics in the United States”; Jeri Laber, *The Courage of Strangers: Coming of Age with the Human Rights Movement* (New York, 2002); Daniel Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Iain Guest, *Behind the Disappearances: Argentina’s Dirty War against Human Rights and the United Nations* (Philadelphia, 1990); Marguerite Guzman Bouvard, *Revolutionizing Motherhood: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo* (Wilmington, Del., 1994); Charles Rhéaume, “Science et droits de l’homme: Le soutien international à Sakharov” (PhD dissertation, McGill University, 1999). Two useful books that range from the 1940s through the 1990s but contain much on the 1970s activism are William Korey, *NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, and Howard Tolley, *The International Commission of Jurists: Global Advocates for Human Rights* (Philadelphia, 1995).

<sup>38</sup> Jack Donnelly, “Recent Trends in U.N. Human Rights Activity: Description and Polemic,” *International Organization* 35 (Autumn 1981): 633–55; Howard Tolley, *The U.N. Commission on Human Rights* (Boulder, Colo., 1987).



human rights NGOs outside the West. They have a huge range of agendas. They often exist on shoestring budgets. Very little systematic research has been done on these organizations. Whether they are financially driven by Western European or U.S. sources is not known. (Some are, but we don't know if this is usual.) How they matter, if at all, has not had enough attention.

If the new literature suggests three waves of activism since the 1940s, it also reveals three competing attitudes of the historians to this activism. First, there is the "it's getting better" story: the world now pays increasing attention to the violation of rights. International law is expanding. Dictators can be prosecuted. The last half of the century, according to Michael Ignatieff, has engineered a "rights revolution." Some of the breezier accounts aimed at a popular audience treat the subject this way.<sup>39</sup> It turns up in other, more substantial work as well, though, such as that of Ignatieff.<sup>40</sup>

How do these writers deal with Kosovo or Rwanda? How do they account for the United States sidestepping the UN convention on landmines or its opposition to the new International Criminal Court? Some simply ignore the dirty work of the world and sing with true Panglossian cheer. Others, more subtly, suggest that the expansion of human rights talk and the prominence of human rights NGOs is a sign of better things to come. The increasing stature of Amnesty International, according to political scientists Ann Marie Clark and Kathryn Sikkink, means that new norms are winding their way into the government practice.<sup>41</sup> The historian Rosemary Foot has penned one of the best renderings of this point of view. Her *Rights beyond Borders* is an excellent account of China's engagement with human rights issues during the 1980s and 1990s. Foot argues that China's increasing participation in human rights debates will push the regime to better standards whether it really wants to or not.<sup>42</sup> I remain skeptical. More human rights NGOs do not necessarily mean that fewer people are being detained or tortured. China's participation in UN human rights venues is just as much a means of deflecting international criticism as it is moving to a more humane plateau, a point Marina Svensson notes in her account.<sup>43</sup> Foot is absolutely right to suggest that the emergence of a "human rights regime" in the last decades of the twentieth century

<sup>39</sup> Jonathan Power, *Like Water on Stone: The Story of Amnesty International* (Boston, 2001); Robert Drinan, S.J., *The Mobilization of Shame: A World View of Human Rights* (New Haven, Conn., 2001); Kirsten Sellars, *The Rise and Rise of Human Rights* (Thrupp, England, 2002); Linda Rabban, *Fierce Legion of Friends: A History of Human Rights Campaigns and Campaigners* (Hyattsville, Md., 2002).

<sup>40</sup> See Lauren's *Evolution of International Human Rights*, esp. 241–98; Michael Ignatieff, *The Rights Revolution* (Toronto, 2000); but for a more recent, and more skeptical, assessment, see Ignatieff, "Is the Human Rights Era Ending?" *New York Times*, February 5, 2002.

<sup>41</sup> This strain of optimism comes from international relations theory known as "constructivism," which challenges both neo-realist and neo-liberal understandings of the international order. Recent constructivist scholarship has emphasized the ability of human rights NGOs to alter the behavior of states. At times, this literature reads modestly—human rights NGOs can have successes. At other moments, however, these writers lean toward arguing that human rights NGOs have the power to significantly rearrange the international system. For examples, see Ann Marie Clark, *Diplomacy of Conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998); Thomas Risse-Kappen, et al., eds., *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* (Cambridge, 1999); Thomas, *Helsinki Effect*.

<sup>42</sup> Rosemary Foot, *Rights beyond Borders: The Global Community and the Struggle over Human Rights in China* (Oxford, 2000), 250–73.

<sup>43</sup> Svensson, *Debating Human Rights in China*, 266.

throws something new into international relations. But the determination of the Chinese regime to stamp out opposition, the vacillating weakness of the UN Commission on Human Rights, the salivating desire of capital in Europe, Japan, and the United States to have new markets in China, and the lack of political will, international stature, and policy consistency in the one dominant superpower left, the United States, all militate against the view that the future will see a better record on human rights in China.

The second sensibility in this historical writing sees human rights politics as paradoxical. Jeffrey Wasserstrom, Marilyn Young, Joan Wallach Scott, and Alice Bullard all explore the dual nature of human rights discourse. Robert Darnton discusses the ironies of censorship by comparing late eighteenth-century France and 1980s East Germany. Lynn Hunt sees the very origins of human rights as mired in paradox. Human rights idioms grant rights to some but take them away from others.<sup>44</sup>

To be sure, this is a large category. Paradox can be charged in very different ways. Some who write in this vein are fairly skeptical of human rights ideas—Scott and Bullard. Others, however—Darnton and Wasserstrom—are quite sympathetic. Whatever these differences, however, the common focus on the irony and paradox of human rights is a change from historians' earlier disregard of the subject. "Paradox" is not exactly cultural relativism, where each autonomous culture is judged according to internal standards. Nor is it Karl Marx's critique of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, where the falseness of the universal claims corrupted the whole project. The very point of "paradox" is that inherent problems do not destroy the idiom. As Marilyn Young shrewdly notes, paradox is not contradiction.<sup>45</sup> Rather, paradox calls for the persistent negotiation between claim and practice. There is no ultimate resolution, but we must go on. In her contribution to *Human Rights and Revolutions*, Bullard starkly states the point of view with a far more critical edge than some others would adopt: "The language of human rights appears particularly ill suited to situations of radical cultural difference, yet this essay does not seek to relativize human rights or standards for their evaluation."<sup>46</sup>

Yet even for those historians more sympathetic to human rights claims, the emphasis on paradox tends to leave little space for progress. The stories these historians tell are full of bad or unintended consequences liberally mixing with the most noble words and deeds. As Wasserstrom notes in a very fine essay, activists have painted human rights ideas as straightforward and simple while they are "complex and often internally contradictory."<sup>47</sup>

These historians may be right about the paradoxical nature of human rights

<sup>44</sup> Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, Lynn Hunt, and Marilyn Young, eds., *Human Rights and Revolutions* (Lanham, Md., 2000); Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Robert Darnton, "Censorship, A Comparative View: France, 1789—East Germany, 1989," in Hufton, *Historical Change and Human Rights*, 101–30. For Hunt, see her essay in *Human Rights and Revolutions*, "The Paradoxical Origins of Human Rights," 3–17.

<sup>45</sup> Marilyn Young, "Preface," in *Human Rights and Revolutions*, vii.

<sup>46</sup> Alice Bullard, "Paris 1871/New Calidonia 1878: Human Rights and the Managerial State," in *Human Rights and Revolutions*, 95.

<sup>47</sup> Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Chinese Revolutions and Contemporary Paradox," in *Human Rights and Revolutions*, 20.

claims in the past two centuries. Yet it is not surprising that this sensibility is the one found among academic historians, that tribe with “only paradoxes to offer.”<sup>48</sup> “Paradox” and his good pal “Irony” are peculiarly intellectual conceits, the right pitch for academics but not well tuned for success in the political world. Don’t political movements need passion more than complexity? When has paradox spurred anyone to heroism? The Czech novelist Milan Kundera has one of his characters in *Immortality* archly remark that those who preach paradox are “the brilliant allies of their own gravediggers.”<sup>49</sup> It is a point worth pondering. If human rights talk is a practice riddled with paradox, that does not bode well for its future. Put another way, the success and plausibility of the paradoxical sensibility among intellectuals could very well be a sign of a more general retreat from human rights claims in the world.<sup>50</sup>

The third sensibility in the recent historical writing is angrier, defined by a wrenching chasm between the glowing words or strenuous activism and the very slim real results. These writers do not think the ideals are paradoxical. They do not want to tarry with ironies. Rather, they focus on the horrible failure to protect basic rights in the modern world. The journalism of David Rieff exemplifies this attitude, as does the work of Adam Hochschild.<sup>51</sup> Samantha Power’s spectacular book on the history of the United States and genocide, *A Problem from Hell*, provides a powerful example. Power, a journalist who has moved over to the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard, has written the most moving history yet of the human rights activism of the twentieth century. She portrays, from the 1940s to the present, the continued refusal of the United States meaningfully to come to terms with genocide. Unlike so much of the human rights history written in the past decade, Power emphasizes the lessons that have not been learned, the continued evasions of U.S. politicians, and the depressing record of the international community.

The strength of Power’s account comes from her devoting as much ink to atrocity as to activism. Most of the other history discussed here centers differently—on the expanding networks of human rights activists or the evolving regime of international law.<sup>52</sup> Power, though, portrays both Raphael Lemkin’s drive to write law against genocide and Saddam Hussein’s gassing of his own citizens. She traces both Senator William Proxmire’s dogged efforts to have the United States ratify the Convention on Genocide and, in one of the best chapters of her book, the absolutely contortion-like efforts of the Clinton administration to avoid confronting the genocide in Rwanda. Only when we have more accounts that, like Power’s, take into account human rights abuses and evasions will we get a better assessment of what all the activism has actually accomplished.

There has not been enough systematic work on the history of brutality. To be

<sup>48</sup> Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer*.

<sup>49</sup> Milan Kundera, *Immortality: A Novel* (New York, 1991), 122.

<sup>50</sup> Lynn Hunt’s contribution to *Human Rights and Revolutions* tells a deeply paradoxical story. Yet her commentary in her collection of documents, *The French Revolution and Human Rights*, gives a much more optimistic reading of human rights history. See *French Revolution and Human Rights*, 3, 18–19. Does it matter that the collection of documents is meant for an undergraduate audience while Hunt’s contribution to *Human Rights and Revolutions* is intended for a largely academic readership?

<sup>51</sup> David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (New York, 2002); Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost*.

<sup>52</sup> Other exceptions include a number of the essays in *Human Rights and Revolutions*.

sure, the Holocaust in particular and genocide in general are regular subjects of inquiry.<sup>53</sup> Certain atrocities, such as the Rape of Nanjing, also are studied.<sup>54</sup> Books such as Norman Naimark's work on ethnic cleansing or Anne Applebaum's on the Soviet Gulag surface.<sup>55</sup> In general, work on state violence is growing. But there are still huge gaps. The history of modern torture in all its variety and particularity remains underdeveloped.<sup>56</sup> We don't have a good history of disappearances. There have been individual studies of rape as a wartime practice but no real effort to connect them. Nor is there any good historical introduction to the issue of female genital mutilation, or any systematic, comparative survey of what sorts of violence colonial rulers perpetrated on native populations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These are depressing topics, to be sure. But they deserve the same scholarly attention that genocide gets. While occasionally things are written about particular atrocities and practices, conceptual integration does not usually happen. As Mark Mazower recently argued in this journal, once this work gets done, historians will need to move away from images of state violence derived from Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Soviet Union. There is too much complexity in the history of violence that these models cannot accommodate.<sup>57</sup>

The recent wave of history writing has told us much about what human rights activists have been doing. It is starting to turn the noble, yet slippery phrase into something that can be historically unpacked. But all this history has basically been written from inside—by journalists, lawyers, and scholars who were contributing to the human rights activism of the 1990s. And precisely because everyone writing this history is inside the club, very little of this work is asking the hard questions—what if all the activism didn't really matter? What if all the brutality that human beings do to each other continues? Amnesty International began its international campaign against torture in 1973. Recent work suggests that torture is just as prevalent today.<sup>58</sup> What if claims made in the name of universal rights are not the best way to protect people?

In the 1840s, that is exactly what the radical Karl Marx was suggesting. In the 1940s, that is exactly what Hans Morgenthau, the conservative theoretician of political realism, and Melville Herskovits, the liberal cultural relativist, were arguing.<sup>59</sup> All three were concerned about world peace, although each had a

<sup>53</sup> For a recent overview, see Eric D. Weitz, *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation* (Princeton, N.J., 2003).

<sup>54</sup> Daqing Yang, "Convergence or Divergence? Recent Historical Writings on the Rape of Nanjing," *AHR* 104 (June 1999): 842–65.

<sup>55</sup> Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History* (New York, 2003).

<sup>56</sup> For some of the best work recently done, see Edward Peters, *Torture*, 2d edn. (Philadelphia, 1996); Darius Rejali, *Torture and Modernity: Self, Society, and State in Modern Iran* (Boulder, Colo., 1994); Rejali, "Electric Torture Instruments: Innovation and Diffusion in Torture Methods: A Case Study," unpublished paper (1998); Rejali, "Studying a Practice: An Inquiry into Lapidation," *Critique* 18 (Spring 2001): 67–100.

<sup>57</sup> Mark Mazower, "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century," *AHR* 107 (October 2002): 1158–78.

<sup>58</sup> Amnesty International, *A Glimpse of Hell: Reports on Torture Worldwide* (New York, 1996); Bertil Dunér, ed., *An End to Torture: Strategies for Its Eradication* (London, 1998).

<sup>59</sup> Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," in Marx, *The Early Texts*, D. McLellan, ed. (Oxford, 1971); for Morgenthau criticizing the drive for "an international bill of rights," see Hans Joachim Morgenthau, *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (Chicago, 1946), 106; for Morgenthau's critique of international law,



different way to get there: a violent lurch to the next stage of history, an ongoing balance of power, an increased respect for cultural difference. But, despite their very different sensibilities, all three were equally skeptical that some regime of liberal international law would do the trick. All found the universalistic claims masking a dangerous hubris. If the history of human rights starts to get written from a variety of perspectives, we will be in a better position to develop a more realistic balance sheet of its successes and failures.

After 9/11, there has been an outpouring of commentary on the danger that the human rights era is over.<sup>60</sup> A few accounts are now surfacing—both journalistic and scholarly—arguing that the wave of recent activism has not been very successful at all.<sup>61</sup> The optimism that underscored so much of the 1990s writing now appears to be past. This has happened before, in the 1950s, for example, when the Cold War and decolonization undermined the previous decade's enthusiasm and stopped the nascent drive for international human rights law in its tracks for the next fifty years. Only time will tell if something similar is going on right now. The answer will ultimately help us see if the recent writing on the history of human rights represents a footnote to fin-de-siècle fantasies or a true start to a new way of being in the world.

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see Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York, 1948), 209–42; for the Herskovits position, see American Anthropological Association, "Statement on Human Rights," *American Anthropologist* 49 (1947): 539–41.

<sup>60</sup> Ignatieff, "Is the Human Rights Era Ending?"; Peter Maass, "How America's Friends Really Fight Terrorism," *New Republic*, no. 227 (November 11, 2002): 18–21; "Does the Western World Still Take Human Rights Seriously?" *Lancet*, no. 358 (November 24, 2001): 1741; David Lubin, "The War on Terrorism and the End of Human Rights," *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly* 22 (Summer 2002): 9–14; Jacques Julliard, "La défaite du droit d'ingérence," *Le nouvel observateur*, no. 2027 (September 11–17, 2003): 9.

<sup>61</sup> Rieff, *Bed for the Night*; Oona Hathaway, "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *Yale Law Journal* 111 (June 2002): 1395–2042.

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## Reviews of Books and Films

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### METHODS/THEORY

JOEL MOKYR. *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 359. \$35.00.

It is a commonplace that each generation rewrites history from the perspective of its own times. This book tells the story of the economic growth of the Western world from the perspective of the contemporary revolution in information and communications technology (ICT). To understand economic growth, we need to understand how knowledge has been created, disseminated, and applied. Mokyr starts with the industrial revolution and what he calls “the industrial enlightenment” of the late eighteenth century. After that, a chapter takes the story through the second industrial revolution to the present day. Three further chapters cover other dimensions of this transformation—the rise of the factory system; knowledge, household behavior, and health; and the political economy of knowledge—exploring ways in which political institutions have retarded or promoted the application of knowledge to innovation.

This book makes considerable use of modern economic theory. It contains little mathematics (there is some use of the mathematics of consumer theory in the discussion of health and a simple diagram showing relations between rioting and Luddism, but nothing else). However, economic terminology is frequently introduced in a way that implies the intended reader is familiar with principal-agent problems, economies of scale, asymmetric information, etc. For example, large firms, employing many people, could exist under the putting-out system. It was also possible to supervise and control domestic workers. So the rise of the factory system cannot have occurred simply to get large-scale production or a disciplined workforce. Mokyr uses modern economics to explain it in terms of the rise of knowledge-based production. New techniques could be implemented and diffused faster and more cheaply in factories than if workers stayed at home. As important to the industrial revolution as what happened in factories was the spread of knowledge in the home, again explained using rational-choice models. The spread of knowledge within households (the importance of hygiene), for example, was as

important as new discoveries in improving health during the nineteenth century.

Underlying the book is a theoretical account of knowledge, outlined in the first chapter. The notion that the industrial revolution was due to a series of heroic inventions has been discredited. Similarly, it is clear that Britain’s industrial revolution was not due to the systematic application of scientific research. To make the case that knowledge was central, Mokyr paints a broader picture of the generation and, above all, the dissemination of knowledge. Several aspects of knowledge are important. First, he distinguishes between the propositional knowledge and knowledge about how to do things. The two are interrelated, their relationship depending on the institutions that generate and transmit knowledge. Second, knowledge is unequally distributed. Society knows something if there is one member of that society that knows it. For that knowledge to affect productivity, however, it is important that it reaches the right people. Third, knowledge includes not simply formal scientific knowledge but also more mundane knowledge about how to do things, such as how to wash one’s hands.

Mokyr argues that knowledge is the key to understanding many of the most important developments in the past two centuries. The book is impressively wide ranging in its scope, containing a vast array of information and ideas. There are points where I have doubts. Mokyr’s attempts to reduce household and industrial organization to rational, maximizing decisions should have been more qualified; he often seems to be doing no more than offering a possible explanation. Put another way, I would be more skeptical about the relevance of economic theory. I also think that some “left-wing” explanations were dismissed too easily; that he is too optimistic about the superiority of the market relative to government; and that his optimism about the future is perhaps a little naive, failing to take sufficiently seriously environmentalist and other critiques of the way technology is currently being used. However, for me, what makes up for all of these doubts is Mokyr’s intriguing exposition of “the industrial enlightenment.” He argues that the enlightenment involved a very broad change in attitudes toward acquiring, disseminating, and using knowledge that affected entire societies. This intellectual change, of

which the scientific revolution was a part, explains why the industrial revolution, unlike previous episodes of technical advance, kept going. I would hesitate to say that Mokyr has solved the problem of why the industrial revolution happened, but he would appear to have advanced the story a long way. This book is a fascinating integration of intellectual and economic history.

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PHILIP POMPER and DAVID GARY SHAW, editors. *The Return of Science: Evolution, History, and Theory*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. vii, 306. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.95.

Progress and providence once made history seem schematic. In the nineteenth century, dialectic, evolution, and the passion for scientific laws multiplied available schemes. Historians then recoiled from them, impelled by the accumulation of evidence, unpersuaded by all-encompassing descriptions—much less explanations—of how human lives and relationships change. Most of us reject self-designation as scientists, partly because our data are inaccessible to observation or experiment, and partly because we like the particular and unpredictable too much.

Now, however, science exerts enormous magnetism. It commands huge social prestige. It registers triumphs in the struggle to understand the world. People with the science-free schooling endured by my generation can no longer consider themselves well educated—and, if they are historians, rightly so, for humans are embedded in the ecosystems of which they form a part, and no human history is complete without reference to nonhuman nature. So science is back: sharing historians' curricula, influencing our ideas, informing our understanding.

Philip Pomper and David Gary Shaw understand "the return of science" in a stronger, more exact sense as the movement—which few historians have so far joined—to revive evolution as a source of explanation for cultural change. All the contributors to this volume argue for or against either or both of two tendencies within this movement: first, the argument that cultures are collections of evolved individuals, whose inherited characteristics determine, condition, or limit what happens in history; and second, the claim that cultures themselves behave in ways analogous to organisms, evolving, for instance, by selection of environmentally successful variations or by way of competition between "units of culture" transmitted like genes.

As usual with lightly edited compilations, the papers have incompatible arguments and inconsistent standards. After an overview of the volume by Shaw, William McNeill's already widely printed Erasmus Prize acceptance speech makes an uneasy introduction: his claim that human symbols resemble genes is echoed by one contributor, Martin Stuart-Fox, but convincingly rejected by others. Albert F. H. Naccache

sets out unsuccessfully to show how "social evolution evolves out of biological evolution" (p. 42). Bruce Mazlish reminds us of Norbert Elias's wise characterization of biological evolution and social change as "quite different" processes (p. 69). Donald E. Brown persuasively deconstructs the notion of "human nature." Doyne Dawson points out reasons for suspecting that history could yield to evolutionary explanations, such as the success of the human species, or the parallels between the histories of mutually isolated peoples. Pomper "darwinizes" modern Russian history by arguing for the decisive influence of "fitness spaces"—political environments, in effect. Alonso Peña advocates "process" above conscious human "purpose" in effecting change and argues that cultural innovations can be quantified on the same lines as "individuals carrying an infectious disease" or "an advantageous mutation." Noël Bonneuil invokes Japanese fiction and complexity theory to recommend set-valued analysis. It may seem platitudinous to conclude, with Joseph Fracchia and R. C. Lewontin, that history is too "generally messy" (p. 258) for scientific treatment, but theirs is the most impressive piece in the volume, ruthlessly unpicking scientific arguments. In important passages, they emphasize that societies change not by transmission or inheritance—terms in which evolutionary biology deals—but by two-way relationships of acquisition and acculturation; and they indict science-inspired schematizers for constructive tendencies toward political conservatism and West-centered cultural prejudice. At first glance, Stephan Berry's concluding paper looks like a counter-balancing act, but he finds that attempts to use genetics to explain historical diversity are "bound to be futile" (p. 276), because cultural variety is so much greater than genetic variation. In effect, he aims to reconcile history and science not by making history scientific but by making science humane. This seems a fitting conclusion: the "two cultures" are reconverging as indeterminacy and re-enchantment dapple science, and as interdisciplinarity and curriculum reform break down the old barriers.

So this is a collection that embodies chaos: there is little coherence but plenty of impact. No really big hitters appear on the scientific side, and the final scorecard can only be provisional. Three important issues are left for further debate. First, history seems undarwinian precisely because it is a story of the survival of the unfittest: the societies we class as least evolved—least complex, least developed, with fewest parts—are those that endure longest, while elaborate civilizations collapse. But since, as Fracchia and Lewontin point out, evolution has delivered "no increase in the duration of species" (p. 246), perhaps this feature is not so undarwinian after all. Second, many essays in this volume betray an unresolved tension between chaos and causation and between the contingent and the uncaused: are surprise events in history like "random variations" in evolution, or does it make sense to speak of uncaused occurrences? Finally, the

really big question about history is why it is peculiarly human. Some nonhuman creatures have culture and, as we are now increasingly discovering, those cultures sometimes change. But only human societies evince the tremendous volatility of history. For all our similarities with the rest of creation, this does make us different, and mistrustful of the extent to which ants or even apes can help us understand ourselves.

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SUDIPTA SEN. *Distant Sovereignty: National Imperialism and the Origins of British India.* New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xxxi, 216. \$22.95.

This lively, ambitious, and intelligent book accomplishes what many studies of British India resist: the integration of the political and social histories of Britain and its subcontinental territories into a coherent if complex narrative. In the process, Sudipta Sen makes two further important contributions. First, he demonstrates that British historians can no longer afford to cordon off what happened “out there” from what happened “in here” if they wish to understand fully either the “Island Story’s” allegedly autochthonous national culture or the motivations of British expatriate societies. Second, he challenges current scholarly emphasis on *Indian* institutions and practices in East India Company policies by showing the powerful impact that metropolitan ideas and routines had on the invention, extension, defense, and daily life of “British India.” Sen’s book thus provides an example of the “new imperial history” at its most substantive.

Extending the insights of Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer’s seminal case for statebuilding as a form of cultural revolution (*The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* [1985]), Sen explores how the processes of parliamentary sovereignty and state expansion extended a regime of political reasoning to encompass the momentous and quotidian aspects of British trade and rule in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century India. The East India Company was not an anomaly, he argues, but an extraterritorial apparatus of the British state, legitimated by ideologies of liberty and property and protected by chartered rights, that founded an indirect rule in defense of a commercial enterprise. The interpenetration of state formation at home and in the colony (although, according to constitutional historians, India was never a colony) meant that what may have appeared to be “novel or deviant aspects of colonial administration thrust upon it by the force of circumstance” were in fact “strikingly consistent with the overall paradigm of political culture in contemporary England” (p. 4). It owed much, above all, to the aggressive national imperialism and commercialism of the Georgian state.

Having provided a strong argument for the importance of the early years of British ascendancy in India (1770–1830) in establishing notions of a custodial and

expatriate British sovereignty, Sen then turns to some of the social and cultural dimensions of this enterprise of civilization building. He is especially interested in the creation and maintenance of modes of historical and social distance that orchestrated relations between Britons and their indigenous charges. Here he combines archival research with a synthesis of recent literature on the problematics of identity, gender, and “race” in colonial settings. Sen interrogates eighteenth-century history and cartography for their complicity with British imperialism. History writing was “integral to the colonial administration” (p. 49), he argues, and central to the naturalization of narratives—for example, the antiquity and “effeminacy” of Hindu culture and the “despotism” of the Muslims—that justified British intercession. Mapmaking proved to be an equally politicized and inventive art, adopting an invasive perspective that both conveyed and masked the struggles for power underway on the subcontinent. Gender and “race” as modalities of power in colonial India are examined in two insightful chapters. The historic shifts in domesticity taking place in Britain between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century not only redefined the roles and affective lives of British men but intervened in the most intimate of relations among them, Indian women, and their children. Domestic ideology also became crucial to the ideological and legal maneuvers that transformed cultural difference into matters of “blood.” In the last decade of the eighteenth century, the shift in company policy toward discouraging miscegenated alliances and removing the sons of “mixed blood” marriages from service in the civil and military departments became justified politically and socially by arguments about British degeneracy in tropical climes and the emboldening effect of British culture on traditionally subordinated Indians. Through company policy, British law, natural history, and social life, the cultural and the corporeal were fused, and blood and civilization became “much the same thing” (p. 143). In this way, “the calibration of blood became of vital significance for the colonial order in India” (p. 143) and an insurmountable barrier for Eurasians and other indigenes.

Inevitably, in such a suggestive account, questions remain. Although Sen is good on tracking the links between “race” and nation through the discourses of history, climate, and inheritance in the later century, he seems not to recognize that these entangled elaborations of national difference played essentializing roles within Britain itself from very early in the century. Throughout the period from 1700 to 1820, cultural ideas about race and racialized notions of nation both identified the juncture where rationality, nationality, and physical difference became intertwined and acquired cultural characteristics were transformed into innate ones, through the ineffable inheritance of “blood.” The instrumentalizing and timing of this complex of ideas in British India is what is striking, especially as it was used to justify the East



India Company's invasive governmentality that interfered in the private and public lives of its subjects.

Sen's work makes clear, too, how much more work is needed on gender as an instrument of this emergent order. "Effeminacy," that ubiquitous marker of cultural and gender difference in British exploration and colonial narratives, requires greater excavation, as it appears as both cause and effect of climate, despotism, and physical difference within the discourses Sen analyzes. Further analysis is also required of women as actors and objects in the emerging regime of British order. Recent work by Indrani Chatterjee, Elizabeth M. Collingham, and Durba Ghosh has documented the utilization of enslaved and indigenous women's bodies and companionship in consolidating the racialized dynamics of rule in British Indian dominions. British women's roles in natural history and East India Company policy were also significant. British women were traveled to India more readily beginning in the 1770s and played a symbolic role vastly disproportionate to their relatively small numbers in anchoring the social life of places like Calcutta. Indeed, by 1784 the *Calcutta Gazette* liked to boast about "our [British] numerous beauties, who charm the eye and enthrall the ear," and declared them central to "the rapid progress we are daily making in all those polite and refined entertainments, which have so strong a tendency to humanize the mind, and render life pleasing and agreeable." While certainly not creating the pernicious racialized categories of national belonging documented by Sen and others in this period, they did give visible embodiment to the demarcations of national and lineage politics and the personal and political boundaries of rule.

But such points of critique are offered as testaments to the suggestiveness and reach of this book, which students and scholars of empire, identity, and nation will find valuable and interesting. By providing an incisive account of the ways in which ideas of national belonging and those of natal distinction became linked and predominant in East India Company policy and sociology, Sen makes an important contribution to current debates about "race," nation, and identity in the eighteenth century. His book reminds us of the importance of the Georgian British Empire as a network of interconnected territorial and cultural sites that can be utilized to rethink the genealogies and historiographies of national belonging and exclusion. For new—and old—imperial historians, no better accolade could be offered.

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TOBIAS BRINKMANN. *Von der Gemeinde zur "Community": Jüdische Einwanderer in Chicago, 1840–1900*. (Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung, number 10.) Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch. 2002. Pp. 488. €29,90.

This book exemplifies the growing cross-fertilization between American and German social concepts and definitions undertaken by young German scholars of German Jewry. While scholars such as Till van Rahden studied Jewish communities in Germany using American concepts like "multi-ethnic society" and "situational ethnicity," Tobias Brinkmann brings to bear both American and European perspectives in this study of the Jewish immigrant community of Chicago. The author draws together four historical fields that he claims other scholars treat in isolation: German Jewry, American Jewry, German-American immigration, and American urban social history.

The ostensible focus of Brinkmann's study is the changing conception and institutional structure of "community" (a word he uses untranslated throughout his German-language text) among nineteenth-century Chicago Jews. His exploration of the replacement of the traditional *Einheitsgemeinde* (unified organic community) by a loose federation of voluntary institutions and a vague sense of community will appear more innovative to his German audience than to American readers, who take the latter type of structure for granted. Happily, this study goes well beyond this relatively narrow theme, presenting a wealth of information on the changing socioeconomic characteristics of Chicago Jewry.

After a short theoretical introduction, Brinkmann presents two substantive "background" chapters before discussing the Chicago community itself. The first, dealing with the German background of the immigrants to Chicago, is particularly valuable. Besides evaluating motives for emigration, Brinkmann illustrates both the workings of "chain migration" and the earlier stages of migration in the United States before arrival in Chicago. The second background chapter deals with the rise of the city of Chicago and of Jewish life in the American Midwest. The other substantive chapters (four through eight) are mainly chronological, carrying the story from the beginnings of Chicago Jewry to the end of the nineteenth century and beyond. The chronological rather than topical focus has its advantages and disadvantages. While giving a feel for the atmosphere of each period, it tends to break up the analysis of Brinkmann's main points, leaving considerable undigested raw material in individual chapters as well as repeating main arguments in different chapters.

This study uses such classic tools of American urban history as census reports, address books, membership lists, and ethnic and general newspapers. Although Brinkmann is frustrated by the fact that American records (unlike German ones) rarely identify individuals as Jews, making it difficult to trace unaffiliated Jews, he puts the material he could find to good use, especially for the early period (when the Jewish community was small) and for those active in communal life. The maps and charts, which present his major findings, add a great deal to the book. Like earlier students of American Jewry, Brinkmann makes extensive use of the credit reports of R. G. Dun and

Company, but unlike them, he is able to study the reports over a *longue durée*. He can therefore demonstrate that the negative stereotypes so common in mid-nineteenth century reports were replaced by more positive evaluations after the Civil War.

Brinkmann presents the Jewish communal network in the larger context of American urban and immigrant history, especially the history of Chicago's "German community." He shows how Chicago's German Jews participated actively in German institutional and cultural life, but he also demonstrates important differences between the two groups (e.g. the greater institutional unity and religious modernism of the Jews). He argues frequently that Americanization and "ethnicization" were not polar opposites but often dialectically connected phenomena, using such examples as the separate Chicago Jewish company in the Union Army and the public parade at the opening of the Chicago Jewish Hospital. The author intends to show the conflict between "German" and "Russian" Jews after 1880 from the point of view of the established community and to argue against the stereotypical way in which the "Germans" are portrayed. However, some of the extreme anti-"Russian" comments of established Jews that he quotes confirm rather than refute these preconceptions.

This work is not without its errors and omissions, something inevitable with such an ambitious study. Some errors come from misunderstanding a nuance of Jewish tradition or of the English language: for instance Brinkmann's contrasting the more "modern" term "charity" with the "traditional" term "relief." Brinkmann's analysis might also have benefited from more use of works on American Jewry, most notably Daniel Elazar's *Community and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry* (2d ed 1995). Despite these criticisms, this is a valuable volume. All in all, it endeavors to cover much new ground both theoretically and factually and succeeds to a considerable degree.

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PAMELA BALLINGER. *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 328. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$21.95.

Pamela Ballinger has written a challenging and fascinating study of Italian migration from Istria in the wake of World War II. Exploiting the techniques of anthropology and history, linguistics and literary/cultural studies, Ballinger explains both the complex reasons for this process as well as the ways in which it has been interpreted and used over the past fifty years, both by the majority that left Yugoslavia and by the minority that stayed behind.

Chronologically, Ballinger begins her story not with the Istrian exodus but rather with a brief consideration

of the earlier departure of Italians from Dalmatia in the interwar years. This sets the stage for a careful historical consideration of precisely what happened in Istria during the war, as Istrians, both Italophone and Slavophone, were caught up in vicious circles of antagonism and violence. She then follows the Italian-speaking population back to their new homes in Italy (primarily around Trieste), considering both the gradual process of adjustment and how their attitudes toward what had happened in their homeland changed first with temporal distance and then with the disappearance of the Yugoslav Communist regime. Finally, she returns to the Italian population that stayed in Istria, carefully considering their motivations and their attitudes.

What makes the book challenging, however, is that Ballinger does not give in to the temptation to tell this complex story in a straightforward manner. Rather, she interweaves the chronological sequence with long and well-chosen excerpts of what must have been hundreds if not thousands of hours of conversations with Italo-Istrians. Furthermore, she is well aware of how the kinds of stories she has uncovered fit with those that historians and anthropologists have studied in other parts of the world, and she frequently refers to a geographically wide range of studies on history and national identity. Ballinger's awareness of parallels to her own work is particularly welcome in a field where too often scholars focus on "their own" case as if it were unique.

What makes this book rewarding for the historian is Ballinger's account of how, over the years, the reasons cited by exiles for their plight have changed, the result of differences in how they wished to use the story. As is any good historian, Ballinger is well aware that it is not what happened that counts but rather how and why what happened is used. But she is much better than most historians at explaining just why and how this changes over time. In her convincing account, the original story of the exodus is presented in the context of a broader Cold War narrative. In this version, Italians were pushed out of Istria because of communism. Simultaneously, they refused the allegation that they themselves had been fascist collaborators. Rather, they either insisted that they, too, were victims of Italian fascism, or, in a process well known in Italy, they selectively forgot the first part of the war and recalled only the fact that by the end of the war many Italians had joined the Allied cause. This narrative was meant to elicit sympathy in a bipolar postwar world in which Italians could see themselves as bulwarks in the fight against world communism. With the end of the Cold War, however, the Istrian exiles have begun to revise the narrative, now being more inclined to see the story in terms of ethnic rather than political conflict. Thus, they claim that they were early victims of what they consider the inveterate Yugoslav habit of "ethnic cleansing." Ballinger shows how this rewriting of history works through a close analysis of the treatment of the *foibe* (the karstic caves of Istria into which

the bodies of murdered Istrians of all kinds were dumped during and just after the war).

At the end of her account, Ballinger devotes a chapter to the intriguing question of "cultural hybridity" in the context of Istria. Here she shows how, in the later 1990s, some contemporary Istrians attempted to recuperate and to some extent revive traditions of prewar intercommunal connections (read by them as hybrid identity) in order to resist the Zagreb-based Croatian centralist nationalism of Franjo Tudjman.

There is only one weakness to Ballinger's account. Because she does not work with Croatian or Slovenian, she was unable to interview either those Slavs who moved into Istria after the war or those who themselves were displaced in its aftermath (particularly interesting as a complement to her work would be accounts of Slovenians who left Trieste after the war to be replaced by the very Istrian exiles Ballinger came to know so well). By no means does this vitiate Ballinger's historical account, however. She is exceptionally careful to consider the full complexity of the interethnic relations in the area, and she knows enough not to take the Italo-Istrian accounts at face value. It is merely that the comparison of the accounts she collected with those of Slavophone exiles in the same region would have made an exceptionally rich book even richer.

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#### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MONICA L. SMITH, editor. *The Social Construction of Ancient Cities*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 2003. Pp. xiii, 320. \$45.00.

The definition of urbanism and the recognition of cities in the past are likely to be always a source of contention. In the first chapter of this collection, editor Monica L. Smith tries valiantly to deal with the problem of definitions, set out the book's theme, and pull all the disparate essays together. The main weakness, common to many edited volumes, is lack of consistent focus across contributions, while the main strength is that the individual essays present interesting case studies. The intent was to focus on ordinary households and how social interactions produce the archaeological record of ancient cities. However, lack of a clear definition of urban means that many different types of social relations are covered, losing the focus on how these ancient cities are "social constructions." Moreover, some contributions are concerned with origins and others with the workings of already extant sites, making the individual essays very different in purpose and in how they look at social interactions. Urban is defined so broadly that it becomes a useless concept. This is a problem of comparative social science, not just of this volume.

Since the data is mostly archaeological, what is there here to interest historians? Some sites have both historical documentation (usually of limited use but

crucial) and archaeology to investigate. The best integration of both sources of data are found in "The Spatial Patterns of Everyday Life in Old Babylonian Neighborhoods" (Kathryn Keith), "Food Provisioning in Urban Societies: A View from Northern Mesopotamia" (Melinda A. Zeder), and "Compromises and Conflicts: Production and Commerce in the Royal Cities of Eastern Zhou, China" (Chen Shen). These essays also provide some of the strongest contributions on social interactions and social construction. Keith's discussion focuses on households and how these form neighborhoods, a spatial feature of these cities. Of course, we do not know how the people themselves defined and thought about these spatial divisions. Zeder is concerned with the relations of producers and consumers, cities and supporting hinterlands. She documents how different domesticated animals were used and changed through time, from localized production and consumption to specialized pastoralism incorporated in larger urban economies. She looks at early walled cities, but the focus is most definitely on urban economy and specialization, with an interesting discussion of the rise of state-controlled workshops and then private workshops and their relationships.

Some historical data are present in "Urban Social Transformation and the Problem of the 'First City': New Research from Mesopotamia" (Geoff Emberling), "Early Walled Cities of the Indian Subcontinent as 'Small Worlds'" (Monica L. Smith), and "The Moral Community: Maya Settlement Transformation at Piedras Negras, Guatemala" (Stephen Houston *et al.*). What historical sources are present are problematic, so archaeological evidence is paramount. The origins of urbanism are what link these three studies. Emberling, to recognize the "first city" in Mesopotamia, has to define "urban" clearly. The threshold is when the urban is too large to provide its inhabitants' daily food and depends on rural production; plus it becomes an obvious focus of identity and specialization. Smith's early walled cities in India provide examples of how social networks would be important to urban dwellers, and thus trace how people come together and begin to change and order their space for multiple tasks. Houston *et al.* present Piedras Negras as a place of rapid growth and quick decline. From Maya inscriptions, they deduce that the site developed as a "moral community," with beliefs, "moral predicates of social life that persuaded people to move from somewhere else" (p. 239). Thus, for the classic Maya, rulers and the values they espoused are crucial for both development and collapse of the settlements.

Several case studies, however, have few or no historical sources: "Teotihuacan: Cosmic Glories and Mundane Needs" (George Cowgill), "Life Behind Walls: Patterns in the Urban Landscape on the Prehistoric North Coast of Peru" (Jerry D. Moore), "Early Urban Configurations on the Middle Niger: Clustered Cities and Landscapes of Power" (Roderick J. McIntosh and Susan Keech McIntosh), "Untangling the Ties that Bind: The City, the Countryside, and the



Nature of Maya Urbanism at Xunantunich, Belize" (Jason Yeager), and "Cities as a Place of Ethnogenesis: Urban Growth and Centralization in the Chicama Valley, Peru" (Christopher J. Attarian). Of these, Teotihuacan and Chicama are defined as urban in traditional ways, in terms of population density, economic specialization, public space, and monuments, while the others define an "urbanism" at variance with the usual notion, especially the Western notion, of what makes a city.

Attarian discusses the transition from rural settlements to an urban identity, revealed dramatically by pottery styles. Cowgill focuses on how the advantages or disadvantages of living in Teotihuacan might have been perceived by various inhabitants and households within the context of a city with specialization and urban planning. Moore looks at the Chimú walled compounds that restrict even what can be seen from the settlement, indicating very rigid social hierarchies with no public space. There is economic interdependence, but otherwise, strict separation. Another distinctive form of urbanism in West Africa is discussed by the McIntoshes. Their settlements have the clear urban characteristics of "aggregation, population growth, increasing scale, and specialization" but lack "subsistence intensification, highly visible ranking or stratification, imposing public monuments" (p. 104). The explanations for this type of urbanism are hypothesized as ecological and functional factors, plus ideological factors about the power of landscape, that prevent a strong hierarchy. The strength of Yeager's contribution is the interaction and integration of center and hinterland, of various political strategies that might have been employed for a dispersed settlement pattern with one core of large monumental architecture and little economic specialization. But are these last three contributions really about cities? They are all important places, but is it useful analytically to shoe-horn them into a definition of urban? It is precisely because so many different kinds of places are called urban or city that it is difficult to understand "the social construction of ancient cities."

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SUZANNE AUSTIN ALCHON. *A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 214. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

As Suzanne Austin Alchon points out, explanations for the catastrophic decline in Native American populations after 1492 focused, until relatively recently, on Spanish violence: the so-called Black Legend of Spanish cruelty. But during the past three decades or so, the impact of diseases on "virgin soil" peoples has received most of the credit for the demographic disaster. Common sense dictated the shift. The Black Legend may have been a handy political stick for Spain's enemies, but it did nothing to explain why Native Americans

perished at high or even higher rates in the New World colonies of those enemies than they did in Spain's. By contrast, pathogenic activity could serve as an explanation, and some historians took a crash course in epidemiology. But now Alchon fears that epidemiological explanations have gone too far and that Native American dislocation and despair, along with European (and not just Spanish) colonial practices, must be joined with disease susceptibility to provide a satisfactory explanation. She also wants to redress the notions that, prior to the Columbian voyages, the Americas were some sort of disease-free "Garden of Eden" and that Native Americans were unique in their susceptibility to the diseases that came in the wake of those voyages.

Accordingly, chapter one examines "Old World Epidemiology to 1500" to show that contagious diseases such as smallpox, which proved so devastating to Native Americans, had been similarly devastating to Old World peoples. The second chapter, which treats "Amerindians and Disease Before 1492," makes it clear that the former had had plenty of the latter. The third chapter, entitled "Colonialism, Disease, and the Spanish Conquest of the Caribbean, Mesoamerica, and the Central Andes," notes disease introductions from Europe and the carnage they wrought. Chapter four, on "Colonialism and Disease in Brazil and North America," treats the southern and northern peripheries of this initial epidemic thrust, whereas, in the final chapter, "New World Epidemics and European Colonialism," Alchon takes up questions of colonialism and nonepidemiological explanations for Native American population decline. In a nutshell, epidemic disease carried away a huge percentage of that population, but it was colonial policies regarding slavery, relocation, and the like that, in many places, forestalled population regeneration such as Old World peoples had experienced in the aftermath of these same diseases.

An appendix presents in historiographical fashion the thorny problem of how many Native Americans were on hand to absorb the disease assault after 1492, with the arguments of both the "high counters" and the "low counters" delineated, and the author strikes a balance of sorts by accepting a range of 46,800,000 to 53,800,000 (p. 172). An epilogue ends the work, apparently to remind readers that plagues are not just phenomena of a distant past. Influenza rocked the world in the early twentieth century with what was probably the greatest death toll ever generated by a disease. AIDS, which threatens even more mortality, closed out that century; and now in the twenty-first century, man-made epidemics in the form of bioterrorism have become a new epidemiological reality.

This book has much to recommend it, not the least of which is a series of some twenty tables that chronicle epidemics throughout the Americas and present pre-Columbian population estimates for various regions. Alchon writes with considerable pathos and is at her best in describing the plight of the Native Americans under siege from Eurasian diseases. For some reason,



however, she practically ignores African diseases such as falciparum malaria and yellow fever, which also did Native Americans no good. Indeed, malaria has been credited with depopulating the Amazon Basin.

Medical historians may also have a problem with Alchon's rather arbitrary solutions of longstanding and long-studied mysteries such as the identities of the diseases that caused the Plague of Athens and the English sweating sickness. For the author, these were smallpox and influenza respectively, even though research continues and much debate surrounds both. I mention this because of what seems to be a larger problem: the entire study appears somewhat arbitrarily constructed. I am not certain that anyone with knowledge of modern medicine has ever asserted that Native Americans were unique in their susceptibility to Eurasian ailments or that Europeans were unique in their ability to resist them. Peoples in Oceania also had disastrous disease encounters after European contact. The "edge" the Europeans had was that illnesses such as smallpox or measles had become their childhood diseases, which conferred a lifetime of immunity on survivors—an advantage obviously not enjoyed by Native Americans. Nor do I recall anyone who has dismissed Native American slavery, dislocation, and despair as factors in their mortality. But Alchon may have a point that the disease factor has been overworked.

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DAVID ELTIS, editor. *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*. (The Making of Modern Freedom.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 447. \$65.00.

Migration and its many consequences—ethnocentrism, race mixing, "othering," and freedom—is a topic worth studying. This collection of essays edited by David Eltis deviates from studies that look at migration solely along national lines by examining free and coerced migration globally. The essays largely take a comparative approach as they examine migration and labor patterns in many corners of the world. They tie together well, illustrating similar themes and showing how the experiences of migrants differed and were similar. Although careful to make distinctions between free and coerced migration, the aim of many of the contributors seems to be to show that the two were not all that dissimilar, and certain themes do emerge in the essays. Significant threads include the way in which networks, links and connections were maintained and/or created by migrants, even those forced into migration, and the connection between migration and labor. Although of late migration has been voluntary, many of the earlier migration patterns were often tied to labor demands. The theme of identity formation is also salient as we see how migrants went through a variety of adjustment processes. Those interested in

world history, diaspora, and migration studies will find this volume useful.

Eltis's introduction looks at migration in global history, paying particular attention to differences between older, more voluntary migration patterns and later, more coercive ones, noting their similarities when the question of volition is put aside. Eltis carries themes from the introduction into the first chapter as he examines transatlantic migrations, concentrating on contacts between Europeans and "other" populations. This is a dense chapter, difficult to wade through, but quite informative. He focuses on migration between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, with emphasis on the associated labor regimes. Eltis maintains that economic self-interest is not a useful category for explaining the rise and fall of the slave trade, noting that shifts in cultural values were just as significant in its abolition. Of particular interest is Eltis's comparison of European contact with Asians, Africans, and Native Americans, although I am bit uneasy with the way Eltis frames his argument that African ability to withstand European dominance and their "capacity to retain territorial integrity" until the nineteenth century helped foster the slave trade (p. 39). While the role Africans played in the slave trade is no longer in dispute, Eltis's explanation seems to ignore other important factors.

Stanley Engerman looks at changes in immigration policy over time, examining more modern questions of migration, touching on the refugee crisis, the growing number of asylum seekers in Western countries, and their impact on immigration laws. Like Eltis, he explores factors other than economics influencing migration, noting the use of migration controls for economic, cultural, and political ends. Philip Curtin looks at disease as a factor influencing migration, while Lorena Walsh and Mechal Sobel examine the influences and effects of free and coerced migration in colonial America. Sobel, in a series of vignettes, describes how individuals of different backgrounds transformed their identities to become Americans, while Walsh explores the cultural changes people of different races, genders, and social classes went through, influencing and being influenced by each other. I found both of these essays interesting, "seeing" some of the individuals in Sobel's essay in Walsh's more general essay. A prevalent theme in both essays is that of identity formation, and we are able to see the different identities migrants took on at various times.

Taking a comparative approach, Marianne Wokeck looks at the similarities and differences between German and Irish immigration to the United States, comparing characteristics of the two migrations and their impact on the receiving society. Though we know much about British indentured labor systems, other systems have not been widely studied. Walton Lai compares Asian and Indian migration to the Americas in the nineteenth century, stressing the importance of distinguishing coercion and freedom in indenture arrangements. Of particular interest is Lai's comparison

of British and Cuban indenture systems. David Northrup examines indentured labor in the French Caribbean, with particular emphasis on the relationship between freedom and indentured migrations. Given the coercive nature of indentured labor systems, many have likened it to slavery, and critics of these systems in the nineteenth century insisted that indentured labor recruitment was nothing more than the slave trade in disguise. Northrup begs to differ, stressing the need to take into account different notions of freedom to encompass not only the views of Europeans but definitions of individuals who were indentured as well.

Colin Forster looks at another form of coerced migration, comparing transportation of convicts from France and Britain to their colonies from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. He draws interesting parallels between British and French transportation, concluding that the French system, modeled on that of Australia, was a failure. The chapters by Richard Hellie and David Moon look at migration in Russia during different periods of time. Hellie examines the impact of the empire on the migration of serfs and peasants, looking at the relationship between the growth of the Russian empire and migration, while Moon explores the connection between the end of forced labor systems and the increase in peasant migration.

One criticism, which clearly reflects the bias of this reviewer, is that in a volume on global migration, except for the slave trade, little attention was paid to migration in the African diaspora. Although Eltis notes the possibility of return available to migrants and some of the chapters refer to it tangentially, no chapter dealt specifically with this theme. Sierra Leone and Liberia, mentioned briefly by Eltis, are excellent case studies for examining free and coerced migration, given that those who migrated were at various times both free and coerced migrants. Since the theme of emancipation was central to many of the essays, a look at reverse migrations and the meaning of freedom that was often attached to them might have been warranted.

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ROBERT HARMS. *The Diligent: A Voyage through the Worlds of the Slave Trade*. New York: Basic Books. 2002. Pp. xxx, 466. \$30.00.

By the 1730s, France had long since emerged as one of the leading European nations involved in transporting captive Africans to colonies in the Americas, where they provided enslaved labor for the production of colonial goods. One regional destination of the slave traders was the Caribbean, where the island of Martinique was a valuable French sugar colony. Ultimately, the French slave trade led to the creation of strong transatlantic links among France, the Atlantic coasts of Africa, and France's colonies in the Ameri-

cas, three broad sets of worlds. Robert Harms offers a probing contextualization of the French slave trade of the early eighteenth century by exploring the interconnected worlds of the Atlantic basin as they were reflected in the trading voyage of a French slave ship, the *Diligent*, in 1731–1732. Hundreds of slave trading ships belonging to Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French investors crossed the Atlantic Ocean from the Atlantic African coasts to the plantation colonies of the Americas by the 1730s, so the voyage of the *Diligent*, a converted grain ship, although unique in some ways, also reflects much about Atlantic slave trading in general at this time. The volume also throws much light on the numerous interconnected segments of a complete slaving voyage.

This ambitious book was prepared with the general reader in mind. Harms relies heavily on a journal of the voyage of the *Diligent* from the small Atlantic French port of Vannes, not far from the major slave trading port of Nantes, to the West African coast and then on to Martinique and back to Vannes. The journal (113 pages of text and eighty-one drawings or sketches) was kept by twenty-six-year-old Robert Durand, first lieutenant of the *Diligent*, who was making his first voyage to Africa. Readers will be impressed by the breadth of research and the myriad questions that Harms has tried to answer sticking close to the journal's contents but often—appropriately—filling in missing information. Harms is perhaps at his best when he fleshes out contexts from slight references. In such an undertaking, he faced difficulties beyond those normally related to the publication of annotated documents, including accounts of slave trading voyages. There was also the challenge of making the complexities of the worlds of slave trading accessible to the general reader.

While Harms does achieve much success at historical contextualization and readability, the labor that went into the former sometimes seems to yield so much information that the *Diligent*, its crew, its mission, and the unfolding voyage become obscured. A good example occurs in the several chapters about conditions on the African coast, particularly at Whydah, Assou, and Jakin, and at the Atlantic islands of Principe and São Thome off the coast, where the *Diligent* stopped or traded. The discussion of political, military, and commercial relations in these areas during the 1720s and up to the arrival of the slave ship throws considerable light on how these relations were shaped by the European demand for slaves, increasing opportunities particularly through warfare for the sale of captives. It also illuminates the significance of the immediate circumstances that led to the captivity and enslavement of thousands of Africans in the Americas. What role did such circumstances play in the adjustment of the African captive to colonial enslavement? Enslaved victims of the Atlantic slave trade should be considered first as displaced Africans whose particular backgrounds can greatly illuminate both the slave trade and colonial slavery.

The *Diligent* delivered 256 African captives to Martinique; nine captives died during the Atlantic crossing, as did four of the thirty-seven crew members of the ship. However, the voyage did not prove to be the success that its outfitters in Vannes, the brothers Guillaume and François Billy and Mr. La Croix, had anticipated. In his stirring reconstruction of the failed voyage of the *Diligent*, Harms has succeeded in revealing “the various ‘worlds’ through which it passed and the various local interests that conditioned its impact and outcome” (p. xx). That, in the end, is the book’s most striking achievement: connecting the most important elements of the worlds of Europe, the African coast, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Americas to offer a broad-ranging and illuminating account of the Atlantic slave trade.

DAVID BARRY GASPAR  
Duke University

SELWYN H. H. CARRINGTON. *The Sugar Industry and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1775–1810*. Foreword by COLIN PALMER. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. xxii, 362. \$59.95.

In his foreword to Selwyn H. H. Carrington’s exhaustively researched book, Colin Palmer heralds it as “likely to be the most important work on the economic history of the Caribbean and the relationship of the state of the island economies to abolition and emancipation since Eric Williams published *Capitalism and Slavery* in 1944” (pp. xvi–xvii). Both the strengths and the limitations of Carrington’s study are engendered by this lineage, particularly by its core “economic decline thesis,” developed by the eminent Caribbean historian Lowell Ragatz in 1928, linked by Williams to the 1807 abolition of the British slave trade, and rejected ever since by those North Atlantic historians who have preferred a philanthropic and largely metropolitan genealogy for slave trade abolition. Although Carrington himself does not always pursue the wide-ranging possibilities that his data tantalizingly suggest, his book may well help to outline new plots and recast the dramatis personae for future studies of empire, slavery, and the political economies of the Atlantic world.

Carrington’s extensive research in colonial archives as well as in plantation accounts and owners’ and managers’ personal papers in both the Caribbean and Britain has produced statistical data on an array of questions relating to the condition of plantations and the sugar economies in the British Caribbean between 1775 and 1807. They persuasively demonstrate what Williams had proposed in 1944: that the American Revolution disastrously disrupted the proscribed but vigorous intercolonial trade that sustained (with both supplies and markets) the British Caribbean sugar industry, and that in strictly enforcing the Navigation Acts after the revolution, the Sheffield ministry effectively destroyed the Caribbean economies dependent on sugar production and trade through higher costs

(for supplies and shipping) and taxes on cash-strapped and debt-ridden producers ill equipped to cope with the new conditions.

Carrington’s data show how the subsequent crises affected not only plantation owners and merchants (the usual suspects in studies of the West Indian sugar industry and abolition) but also the other residents of the sugar colonies, enslaved and free, whose diets, life expectancies, fertility rates, work, and welfare were intimately affected by the costs and accessibility of food, material, shipping, and markets. Chapters on “New Management Techniques and Planter Reforms” and “Hired Slave Labour” show the range of strategies plantation owners and managers, colonial assemblies and governors adopted to deal with these conditions and with the higher slave morbidity and mortality rates precipitated by the war and exacerbated by the peace. They also demonstrate the extent and variety of conflict within plantations and colonies, among colonies, and between the different colonies and the metropole over management of the plantation economy and of the enslaved labor on which it was based.

Indeed, a major strength of the study lies in its abundant illustration of the heterogeneity of the West Indian colonies. Carrington’s data suggest that both Colonial Office contemporaries and historians who have relied primarily on the records they produced consistently generalized about the islands on the basis of the most influential planters and prolific commentators on Barbados and Jamaica, themselves the earliest and biggest of the West Indian sugar producers, respectively. In so doing, these informants and sources may have (by extension) obscured the wide variety of local conditions and resources that shaped colonial West Indians’ responses to both British colonial policies and international developments like the American, French, and Haitian revolutions. Here, Carrington’s focus on the decline debate overshadows other questions that may be more significant in the long run not only to the historiographies on abolition of the British slave trade (and, indeed, of slavery a quarter-century later) but also to the study of the complex political economies of empire and the Atlantic world.

For example, given Carrington’s evidence about the acknowledged significance of the American trade, to what extent did fear of slave insurrection and piracy incline West Indian sugar producers toward the empire and its naval might through the end of the American War for Independence? To what extent did the Haitian Revolution contribute to the abolition of the British trade in enslaved Africans? Given the production and commercial conditions Carrington’s data present, what inspired investors and the Colonial Office to invest in expanding sugar cultivation in Trinidad and Demerara, acquired from the French in 1797? While Carrington does not address these questions directly, his book makes an invaluable contribution to a number of fields, not only in the data it presents but also in the future research that the study,



with its generously annotated primary source bibliography, will enable.

MADHAVI KALE  
Bryn Mawr College

JOSEPH C. DORSEY. *Slave Traffic in the Age of Abolition: Puerto Rico, West Africa, and the Non-Hispanic Caribbean, 1815–1859*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xvii, 311. \$59.95.

Recent advances in knowledge of the ocean-borne segment of the transatlantic slave trade serve to underline how little, by comparison, we know of the movement of slaves both before they boarded, and after they left, the vessels that completed the middle passage. Joseph C. Dorsey's book has the rare merit of attempting to integrate all phases of the movement of people from Africa to the Americas, albeit for a forty-five-year period for one Caribbean island, Puerto Rico. Most unusually for a slave-trade monograph, it addresses non-African immigration as well, with the whole approached from a commendable transnational perspective. In the process the book deals with the rarely discussed topics of the later Dutch, French, and Danish intra-Caribbean traffic, as well as the movements of slaves from British to Spanish Caribbeans. Moreover, the author is not averse to bringing in Asia when appropriate. Although Dorsey's central interest and expertise is Puerto Rico, his book has chapters on Africa as well as the Americas, and, in addition, many passages on both slaves and the organizations of people that brought them to the Americas that are genuinely transatlantic in focus. This is an unusual range, even in an era of growth in Atlantic history.

Perhaps because of this ambitious agenda, the author does not always have his material under control, and the reader is left unclear about the overall thrust. The main findings are that most Puerto Rican slaves arriving direct from Africa came from Upper Guinea, and that, compared to Cuba, a larger share of slaves brought to Puerto Rico came from other parts of the Americas. Further, many more non-Hispanics were involved in both direct and intra-American traffic to Puerto Rico than to Cuba. There is much new information on intra-Caribbean relations between European colonial authorities, on the details of slave trader operations in Africa, on British-Spanish diplomacy in relation to Puerto Rico, and on individual cases of illegally imported slaves and *emancipados*. Dorsey claims that he has "considered the symbols, meanings, mobilities, and ironies endemic to slave commerce in the Age of Abolition and their implications for socio-cultural history" (p. 210). This is all we have for a thesis, but the reader may still have difficulty illustrating the statement.

Two patterns observable in many other branches of the slave trade do, however, emerge in Puerto Rico, although the author notes neither. First, the intra-American slave trade was never major as long as direct trade with Africa was possible. It tended to emerge

when a market for slaves was first developing but was not yet large enough to absorb the numbers normally carried on a transatlantic vessel. It then fell off as the direct trade with Africa began, and reemerged when transatlantic supplies were restricted, either by colonial policy, as in the pre-1789 Spanish case, or, later, because of abolitionist measures. The trade from the Old South to the New and the traffic from northeast to southeast Brazil are the largest examples. Dorsey never attempts to estimate the volume of slave arrivals from either Africa or from the Caribbean, but it would seem that Caribbean sources of slaves arriving in Puerto Rico were minor before 1846, when the transatlantic trade shut down, and then jumped in 1847. Second, Puerto Rico was a minor market for slaves when compared to Cuba and Brazil, and as with many other small slave markets (e.g. Martinique and Guadeloupe versus St. Domingue), could not compete for slaves in the major African provenance areas. Cuba did draw slaves from Upper Guinea, but most Cuban and all Brazilian-bound slaves arrived from West-Central Africa and the Bights.

Readers should beware of other problems. Nearly half the tables and over one third of the endnotes reference the British Parliamentary Papers. It is nowhere explained that the author has used the Irish University Press edition of this source, whereas most scholars will be looking for the much more common original edition that has quite a different organizational base and different year, volume, and page references. More fundamentally, Dorsey has not bothered to go behind these printed documents and into the British Foreign Office Slave Trade Department records (F084, available on microfilm), from which nearly all of the printed documents are drawn. The originals, complete with marginal minutes, would have explained many of the policy issues that baffle him and provided much additional information on the Puerto Rican slave trade. They might also have improved his grasp of the complex nineteenth-century anti-slave trade treaty structure, as well as allowed him to broaden his analysis of the Puerto Rican slave trade beyond the few vessels that happened to be captured. (His sally into F084 is restricted to a few volumes of correspondence between the British consul in Puerto Rico and London.) Many secondary sources are also missing, and there are more than the normal quotient of errors of fact and misunderstandings. In short, this book is impressive in conception but disappointing in execution.

DAVID ELTIS  
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DONNA R. GABACCIA and FRANCA IACOVETTA, editors. *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*. (Studies in Gender and History.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 433.



This volume is a companion piece to *Italian Workers of the World: Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States* (2001), edited by Donna R. Gabaccia and Fraser M. Ottanelli. When that work was in its formative stage, it became clear that a second volume would be required if gender were to be given adequate coverage in the broader discussion of transnational Italian workers. Although the earlier volume was the result of over a decade of collaboration, with a final conference in Tampa, Florida, in 1996, the volume under review had no culminating conference but is the result of professional networking and the dedication of its editors Gabaccia and Franca M. Iacovetta.

A thirty-nine-page introduction identifies the themes of the twelve essays based in seven countries. This work is much broader in scope than its companion, reflecting the complexity and breadth of gender issues. The transnational approach allows for instructive comparison and analysis of issues surrounding "white widows," unpaid and waged labor, familial responsibilities, patriarchy, motherhood and domesticity, female militancy, and identity. In most chapters, authors challenge popular stereotypes perpetuated by middle-class moralists, ethnocentricity, or mistaken generalizations. Each essay is meticulously referenced, but documentation was not as abundant for this volume as its companion. Newspapers frequently offered only fragmentary references to women activists, providing more detailed coverage for male counterparts. Some contributors rely on oral history collections and interviews they conducted for a substantial part of their research. This collection, through innovative approaches and the creative use of extant sources, demonstrates the huge potential for incorporating gender in transmigration studies.

The volume is organized into four topical sections. In the first two sections, five authors (three Italian and two American) explore the impact that regional variations in Italy had on migration, the consequences that male emigration had on women left behind, and the relationship between familial responsibilities and specific occupations. Linda Reeder presents the most positive scenario of women left behind in her study of Sutera, a town in western Sicily. Unlike other regions, a cultural taboo prohibited women in this part of Sicily from agricultural work except during harvest. As a result, women crossed gender lines entering the public sphere with business transactions and negotiations previously handled by their husbands. In contrast, Andreina De Clementi examines landholding patterns in the peninsular south, where women took responsibility for agricultural work when men migrated. Gender-based division of labor disappeared as women turned to the fields. The regional differences not only had a significant impact on gender roles but also affected demography and marriage patterns. Maddalena Tirabassi details the wide range of wage and nonwage jobs performed by rural Italian women. She then analyzes two studies of rural life commissioned by the Italian parliament that demonstrate errors in the

middle-class perception of rural life. Researchers should be cautious in using such documents. Paola Corti continues the discussion of gender and occupations in her stimulating essay on female migration on the Italian-French border. The diversity of terrain allowed for a wide range of skilled and unskilled, temporary and permanent occupations for women. Corti draws attention to the largely untapped local archival sources for future transnational gender studies. Diane Vecchio moves the discussion of female occupations and family identity across the Atlantic to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She examines women entrepreneurs and midwives and the relationship of gender, occupations, and familial responsibilities, drawing rich detail from personal interviews.

The focus of part three, "Fighting Back: Militants, Radicals, Exiles," has much in common with *Italian Workers of the World*. In the only essay on Latin America, José C. Moya examines female activism in Argentina, where Italian women helped popularize anarchist beliefs and gender issues through pamphlets, public debates, theatrical productions, picnics, and "free" schools, frequently targeting young girls. Argentine anarchism had a relatively high rate of female participation. Anne Morelli takes the focus back to Europe, exploring different forms of female activism among Italian immigrant women in Belgium during both the interwar and postwar periods.

Two essays address female militancy in the U.S. Caroline Waldron Merithew explores the grass-roots movement in coal mining communities of Illinois through eyes of immigrant women from Italy, France, and Belgium. Using the term "anarchist motherhood," Merithew contends that these women grounded their activism in domesticity and "issues of motherhood, children, and equality rather than on birth control and free love" (p. 220). Jennifer Guglielmo provides a richly documented study of female Italian immigrant garment workers who rose from the lowest paying positions to a dominant, privileged position among New York City's needle workers by 1930. She refutes the contention that Italian women were unorganized and nonmilitant while Jewish women dominated in labor struggles. A biographical sketch of Virgilia D'Andrea by Robert Ventresca and Iacovetta adds another dimension to gender activism.

Part four, "As We See Ourselves, As Others See Us," focuses on female identity in Canada and Australia. Angelo Principe gives a broad but, as a result, rather sketchy account of Italian women in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century, with emphasis on women's identity in the fascist era. Roslyn Pesman moves the discussion to Australia, where the perception of female immigrants went through several stages; eventually issues of ethnicity, class, and race became interwoven in the struggle for female identity.

These essays suggest several avenues for future transnational studies. Corti calls for a multidisciplinary approach to maximize local archival sources. Morelli draws attention to the intersection of gender identity

with time and generational change. The intertwining of class, race, and ethnicity is an increasingly important aspect of gender relations, as Guglielmo noted in the coalition of Italian women and recent immigrants from the Caribbean. Pesman alludes to this scenario in Australia, where Italian women interacted with other migrants of non-English-speaking background (NESB). Finally, while regional differences of "sending" countries call for further study, regional differences in "receiving" countries should not be forgotten.

The essays in this collection are essential reading for all scholars involved with gender issues across the disciplines. Readers will welcome the meticulous endnotes for each selection, a consolidated index, and twelve pages of well-chosen photographs. The editors have done a commendable job in their selection of essays that indicate how far the study of gender has advanced as well as the magnitude of work still to be done using the transnational approach.

JANET E. WORRALL  
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FREDERIC COPLE JAHER. *The Jews and the Nation: Revolution, Emancipation, State Formation, and the Liberal Paradigm in America and France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 295. \$45.00.

This comparative study of the treatment of Jews in America and France between 1775 and 1815 argues that America was tolerant while France was intolerant. Whereas Americans welcomed Jews into their pluralistic society, or at least regarded them with benign indifference, Frederic Cople Jaher argues, the French expressed doubts about the ability of Jews to be good citizens. There is little historiographical originality in this dual claim. After all, in 1968 Arthur Hertzberg branded the French Enlightenment and the French Revolution as antisemitic movements—despite the inconvenient fact that France was the first European country to recognize the civil and political equality of Jews and non-Jews (*The French Enlightenment and the Jews* [1968]). Forty years earlier, Robert Ansel (*Napoléon et les juifs* [1928]) showed more plausibly, although less surprisingly, that Napoleon Bonaparte, who oppressed millions of people, also discriminated against Jews. (Jaher does not cite Ansel. He does not cite any secondary literature in French and mostly relies on translations for primary sources as well.) The implications for an understanding of France during the revolutionary period are equally unexciting. For more than two decades, since François Furet (*Interpreting the French Revolution* [1981]) highlighted the revolution's previously ignored authoritarian tendencies, historians have found it easy to argue that the French Revolution was oppressive, although the case of the Jews is a curious one to use in support of this claim.

At the same time, Jaher's book is not really about France. As the advance praise on the book's dust jacket declares, Jaher "seeks to regain a grand narrative perspective of American history through a com-

parison of two variants of nation-building." In particular, he uses the case of the Jews in France and America to test the venerable Tocqueville-Hartz paradigm. In *Democracy in America* (1835–1840), the nineteenth-century French political theorist Alexis de Tocqueville famously contrasted a liberal America (with a relatively weak, decentralized state and a strong civil society) and an illiberal, authoritarian France (with a strong, centralized state and a weak civil society). In the mid-twentieth century, the American historian Louis Hartz elaborated on Tocqueville's theory and attempted to demonstrate it historically (*The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution* [1955]). Jaher's interpretation of the Jewish experience in France supports the Tocqueville-Hartz paradigm because it points to an allegedly illiberal country exhibiting intolerance toward a minority. His account of the Jewish experience in America during the same period is amazingly thin, comprising a single thirty-four-page chapter. (The author devotes twice as much space to the French case.) But the silence itself is telling and seems to support Tocqueville's view of America. Evidently the Americans had hardly anything to say about the Jews. There was no "Jewish question" in colonial and early republican America as there was in France, where extensive debates took place about whether and under what circumstances Jews could be citizens. According to Jaher, this is proof that the Americans were "relaxed" about citizenship (p. 163).

Of course, there were other groups about whom white American men clearly harbored considerable anxiety; if Jews entered American society with little resistance, African Americans, Native Americans, and women of all ethnicities, among other "others" who greatly outnumbered the Jews, were long excluded from the great liberal consensus. Jaher recognizes this and therefore modifies his thesis to claim that the Tocqueville-Hartz model only has limited validity. Yet, as Jaher himself admits, "Political scientists far outnumber historians currently perpetuating the Tocqueville-Hartz thesis" (p. 244). Political scientists may well consider Jaher's intervention interesting, but historians who already find the paradigm unhelpful are unlikely to be moved by a book that only provides a highly qualified argument in its favor.

It does not help that Jaher's book is frustratingly difficult to read. The analysis is rambling, with jarring digressions on Germany, Russia, Great Britain, and other subjects bearing an unclear relation to the author's thesis, and it is often extremely hard to see where Jaher is headed. The writing is stilted to the point of unintended caricature. A typical sentence reads: "Thus the history of France as a national community discloses greater difficulty in achieving solidarity and stronger particularistic impulses toward cultural deconstruction and social and political disintegration" (p. 49). Sentences such as this, together with malapropisms such as "modernism" (for modernity), "obsequies" (for obsequious language), "Gallic

Church" (for Gallican Church), "minihistory" (for microhistory), and "genderized" (for gendered), leave the reader wondering who, if anyone, proofread the manuscript or checked the page proofs. The endnotes section was particularly neglected; in a casual check I found over 100 errors, including misspellings of authors' names, misquoted titles, and butchered foreign terms. None of this is conducive to the promised revival of grand narrative.

RONALD SCHECHTER  
College of William and Mary

DANIEL MORAN and ARTHUR WALDRON, editors. *The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 268. \$65.00.

Based on papers given at the Seminar on Force in History held at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, this valuable collection takes the *levée en masse* of the French Revolution and uses its influence and memorialization to consider the notion of popular engagement with war from then until the present, in a series of studies that considers aspects of the position in Algeria, China, France, Germany, the United States, and Vietnam. Editor Daniel Moran, in his comprehensive introduction, suggests that the *levée en masse* in all its forms is distinguished by the scale of its claims on society and by the linkages among citizenship, military service, political authority, and the transforming social action employed to legitimize these claims. He argues that, although the legend of the *levée en masse* has lost its grip on the Western imagination, it remains important for much of the rest of the world. Although Moran does not mention it, the legend also still echoes in the romantic corners of the Western imagination, feeding left-wing fantasies about popular warfare and their right-wing counterparts about a new civic militarism. Alan Forrest considers the first *levée en masse*, noting that, with the passage of time, the revolutionary armies lost much of their ideological commitment, but arguing that it was the boldness of the patriotic vision of August 1793, not just the tactical proficiency of the army it engendered, that explains the power of the myth and its durability. Owen Connelly assesses the historiography of the *levée en masse*, pointing out that most "leftist historians" (p. 48) have supported the myth while opposing conscription in their own time.

Turning to the place of the *levée en masse* in nineteenth-century Germany, Moran draws attention to the legend's contradictory impacts, not least the extent to which the historical record invalidated the liberal claim that popular forces could be raised and employed only for defensive purposes. The hostile attitudes of social conservatives are also discussed. John Chambers considers American views of conscription and the German nation in arms in the Franco-Prussian War, drawing general conclusions about the citizen-soldier as a legitimizing image in the raising of

America's wartime armies since the origin of the republic. John Horne notes that the myth of the *levée en masse* contributed to the identification of the nation as the principal protagonist in European warfare, but that this challenged the notion of warfare as an activity firmly controlled by professional soldiers, creating serious issues for Germany both in confronting imaginary civilian foes in 1914 and in articulating a vision of the nation in World War I consonant with the demands of industrialized mass warfare. Horne points out that earlier the Franco-Prussian War had been pivotal in the crystallization of different myths of the *levée en masse*.

Horne's essay leads on to Michael Geyer's discussion of the debate within the German war cabinet in October 1918 about fighting on by means of a popular uprising, a measure resisted by the military. Mark von Hagen's study of the situation in Russia from 1874 to 1938 juxtaposes the mythic qualities of people's war with the claims of routinized subordination to the state. Co-editor Arthur Waldron discusses the limitations of modern Chinese ideas of military service in the absence of democratic citizenship. He also notes that the radical tradition of Chinese politics and thought is connected more closely to France than to any other country and suggests that this led to a shared admiration for the idea of spontaneous mobilization and mass action, both as a tool of military organization and as an instrument for overturning old states and building new ones.

Twentieth-century popular warfare at the expense of France also excites interest. Greg Lockhart looks at the failure of the *levée en masse* in the face of French regulars in Vietnam in 1945–1946 and the process by which Viet Minh strategists then created a more effective popular warfare that was alive to regional variations in political-military and other circumstances. Douglas Porch shows how, in Algeria, the National Liberation Front (FLN) had failed to anticipate that a popular uprising might not be possible in the absence of the coercive power of the state, but that they speedily discovered that the myth of the *levée en masse* helped them create the illusion that their movement enjoyed universal support, an illusion that Porch argues owed much to the FLN campaign of terror against other Muslims. He valuably counterpoints the success of the FLN with the failure of the Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (OAS).

In his perceptive conclusion, Waldron suggests that the *levée en masse* had more military than political significance because it was the harbinger of mass armies and contributed to the transformation of European warfare in the nineteenth century and of world warfare in the twentieth. Waldron argues that the appeal of the *levée en masse* is not principally to strong states but rather to imaginative nationalists and to soldiers and bureaucrats seeking to find troops to cope with military failure. He also traces the impact of the mythology on the historiography of non-European states, not least with the notions of aroused masses and



successful popular forces arrayed against praetorian outsiders, and uses this to make some perceptive remarks about historiographical trends and problems.

The valuable collection can be profitably read alongside S. P. Mackenzie, ed., *Revolutionary Armies in the Modern Era: A Revisionist Approach* (1997). It ably complements recent work on strategic cultures and will be instructive for those trying to discuss the broader implications of developments in military organization. The politicized nature of force structures and military tasking in different contexts would repay attention. More generally, the conceptually limited nature of historically acute analysis of the interaction of political culture and military structure is highlighted by the lack of similar studies across much of the history of war.

JEREMY BLACK  
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GREGORY C. KENNEDY and KEITH NEILSON, editors. *Military Education: Past, Present, and Future*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2002. Pp. xii, 239. \$64.95.

The ten essays collected in this volume are the products of a symposium held at the Royal Military College of Canada to consider the problem of military education over time in a variety of settings in Europe, Canada, and the United States. Together, these essays nicely complement those presented in Elliott Converse, ed. *Forging the Sword: Selecting, Educating, and Training Cadets and Junior Officers in the Modern World* (1999). Like that volume, this one describes the processes of change over time that have converted military education from a narrowly defined professional training program largely run by fellow practitioners into a serious academic program run by officers and civilians that is designed to place national defense requirements into their widest and most cogent contexts.

Like Converse's volume, this one has the benefit of outstanding contributors. Among them are Dennis Showalter, Andrew Lambert, David French, and Mark Grandstaff, all of whom are widely published and respected in their fields. Although each essay has a particular focus, three themes especially stand out. First, there exists the problem of identifying exactly what military professionals should study. One school of thought contends that officers need to learn the precise nuts and bolts of their specific branch of service or unit. As virtually all of the contributors argue, this model became much less relevant over time, because it tended to produce men who were of greater utility to their service than to their nation as a whole. Consequently, military education came to focus more on general topics such as history, area studies, languages, and nonapplied sciences.

A related tension involved the distortion that arose when the military developed its own educational programs. By distortion, the contributors mean the selective use by the military of particular subfields, examples, and exercises. Thus, often the only history studied in staff colleges was military history, a focus that gave

officers an incomplete understanding of their potential enemies, allies, and even of their own nation. A wider notion of education, encapsulated in the German quest for *Bildung*, or self-motivated education, would ideally yield the cultivation of character and intellect that became increasingly important for military officers during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Second, the military itself has often been of two minds regarding the education of its personnel. On the one hand, the benefits of better educated officers promised to yield more complex answers to increasingly complex questions. Furthermore, such officers would be in a better position to plead their cases to civilian politicians and digest important data from civilian sources. On the other hand, such an education required some of the military's best and brightest to spend long periods of time away from their units. The absence meant a loss of talent to the units themselves as well as additional costs when the newly educated officer had to relearn the crafts of his chosen profession. Academic education has thus been a luxury that some militaries believed they did not need, often to their great detriment.

As a result, military education has generally received its strongest support in the aftermath of a military defeat that called into question the relevance of previous training and education standards. Such was the case for Prussia after the humiliating defeat at Jena in 1806. Similarly, major British reforms followed the frustrations of the Boer War. By contrast, successful militaries often fail to realize the weaknesses in their own educational systems. This pattern seemed most marked in the German case between 1871 and 1914. Although intellectual standards undoubtedly increased during this period, German military education moved away from general studies toward much more rigidly military ones. As a result, Showalter argues, German war planners could not rationalize ways to reorient the German economy or make maximum use of the power of German industry. As Germany's military took increasing control of the government in 1917 and 1918, it was unable to make critical nonmilitary decisions. The Royal Navy's system, which did not undergo the shock of the Boer War years, faced similar problems, allowing civilians like Winston Churchill to exercise disproportionate influence over Royal Navy strategy and operations.

The third theme relates to the role of civilians in preparing educational models for the military. As military education came to mirror more closely civilian university education, civilians came to occupy a more important place. This role evolved from consulting civilians on the design of curricula to the creation of civilian review boards to the hiring of civilians as professors and instructors at military schools. This process is reflective of the "blurring" of civilian and military spheres noted by Charles Moskos and the increased "fusion" of those spheres noted by Morris Janowitz. As Thomas Keaney notes, many high-level



military schools now teach military officers and senior civil servants in the same classrooms.

The contributors are all historians and therefore place special attention on the role of history in professional military education. This emphasis is well founded because the military makes more systematic use of history in shaping its vision, strategy, and education than any other profession (including historians themselves). Still, the vast majority of military education is not strictly historical. The role of disciplines such as engineering, language, and economics is underdeveloped here. Also, the focus is on officers; some attention to the intellectual and educational preparation of noncommissioned officers and other enlisted personnel would be instructive (although that may require another symposium).

Understanding how militaries educate their professionals is therefore not nearly as parochial as the volume's title might suggest. Instead, it is indicative of a society's fundamental assumptions about the place of the military, the nature and value of education more generally, and the relative importance of military and civilian models. The book under review explores these themes with an admirable depth in comparative context. It should be of great interest to anyone interested in the military, the education of professionals, or in education more generally.

MICHAEL NEIBERG  
United States Air Force Academy

PATRICK JOYCE. *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City*. New York: Verso. 2003. Pp. xii, 276. \$26.00.

In his previous works, Patrick Joyce has deepened and complicated our notions of class and the liberal self in modern Britain and the West. Now he has carried out a Michel Foucault-inspired archeology of the nineteenth-century "liberal" city. Focusing primarily on Manchester and London but making brief journeys as well to Vienna, colonial Calcutta, and even contemporary Los Angeles, he seeks to expose the modern city's historical innards, as it were, be they institutional, discursive, or even literal, as in his fascinating minihistory of sewage and the water closet.

Joyce's book does not break new ground so much as synthesize a growing literature on urban life and "governmentality" in the modern age that examines the ways in which subjects have come to be governed, and indeed constructed, by the powers, both public and private, that mold their everyday existence. He argues that nineteenth-century liberalism, as manifested in the new industrial city, sought to produce self-monitoring and self-regulating individuals by "freeing" them in various ways. The construction of the "sanitary city" (p. 14), first imagined by urban visionaries such as Robert Vaughn and then engineered by self-appointed health experts such as Manchester's Edwin Chadwick, represents Joyce's most vivid example. The "arrival of running water in the home," he writes, opened "new

possibilities for action," not least "the capacity to defecate in private" (p. 12). But in generating such freedoms, the "hygenisation of the city" contributed as well to "the individuation of the self" (p. 73) and to the material and moral self-regulation that invariably accompanies it.

For examples such as the Penny Post of 1840, the advent of social statistics, the mapping of the city, and the "free circulation" of urban traffic, Joyce offers similar narratives. Each case finds new urban freedoms bound up with increasing individuation and regulation. Thus the state, in encouraging easy and cheap circulation of private mail, also gathered necessary information on its recipients; indeed, it fixed them in place through street signs and letter boxes. Similarly, even as it extended the suffrage in 1832, "the liberal state" identified statistically "those it sought to govern" (p. 20), as did professional organizations such as the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Manchester Statistical Society, which gathered "vital statistics" (p. 27) on the population it sought to improve. City maps as well proved not only essential "to the practices of governance" (p. 36) but also a means of "retaining one's autonomy as a private self negotiating the city" (p. 193). And the Manchester Code of 1893, seeking to assure the "free circulation" of pedestrian traffic, prohibited all manner of "loitering," "standing," and "jostling" on city streets. "In this city of free movement," Joyce aptly summarizes, "one had to be in control of oneself" (pp. 86–87).

Following Foucault's lead, Joyce also cites points of "resistance" to governmentality" (p. 183). Here he has in mind primarily what he calls "liminal places" (p. 81)—street markets, pubs, popular songs—in which liberal freedom might turn to "misrule and unruliness" (p. 187). But seeking to improve on Foucault, Joyce refuses to exaggerate such instances, arguing instead that they might better be termed "the 'negotiation' of power than resistance to it" (p. 209). He refuses as well to write off liberal governmentality as "merely disciplinary power." Instead, noting the "audacity" of the liberal project, its "tolerance of contradiction," and its willingness to risk instability, Joyce is able to account for what Foucault cannot: "the historical strength of liberalism" (p. 102).

In clarity and elegance of prose, alas, Joyce does not improve on Foucault. Postmodern buzzwords aside ("governmentality," "panopticism," "the social imaginary"), his work is at times painfully abstract. Much is enacted in his pages, but we know little of the actors and almost nothing of those acted upon. Joyce's "liberal subjects," his new urban defecators, pedestrians, and pubgoers, remain ghostly abstractions haunting the city streets. Some of the problem might be attributed to his plausible Foucauldian premise that "individuals" are not historical givens but discursive and institutional constructs. If so, concrete subjects, both grammatical and personal, will inevitably be hard to come by. Joyce is in fact perfectly aware that his language might try the patience of "non-specialist

readers" (p. 6). That it will is a shame, for his book might have been of great interest to nonspecialists. Indeed, given its account of liberalism's historical intricacies and risks as well as its regulatory underpinnings, one would have liked to see it in the hands of those Anglo-American policy makers who would "liberate"—and regulate—the likes of Baghdad and Kabul.

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JEFFREY W. CODY. *Exporting American Architecture, 1870–2000*. (Planning, History, and the Environment Series.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xviii, 205. \$39.95.

Gathering his evidence from a variety of architectural, construction, and foreign trade journals, Jeffrey W. Cody has written a useful but sketchy overview of the exportation of American architectural planning and construction practices between 1870 and 2000. Most of his examples come from the Caribbean, South America, and China, but he also touches on specific projects in Africa, Russia, India, Europe, and the Middle East. Indeed, given his attention to engineering, construction, and planning as well as to buildings, the book's scope goes well beyond its title.

The first two chapters document the exportation of new steel and concrete technologies at the end of the nineteenth and the start of the twentieth century. The focus is on manufacturers and construction companies such as the Pencoyd Iron Works of Pennsylvania, which built the Atbara Bridge near Khartoum, Sudan, in 1899, the Milliken Brothers Company from New York that built steel-framed department stores and factories in Cuba, Russia, and South Africa, and the Truscon Steel Company in Ohio that created a system of reinforced concrete for bridges and buildings in Italy, the Philippines, Australia, and China.

Using some of the research from his first book, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture" 1914–1935* (2001), Cody focuses in chapters three and four on the foreign impact in the 1920s and 1930s of builders who designed banks and warehouses, and on urban planners who designed cities, towns, and port improvements in Cuba, Chile, Peru, Russia, and China. In later chapters, using *Architectural Forum*, *Engineering News-Record* and other periodicals, he documents the ways in which American builders used post-World War II government contracts to plan and construct military installations, water, sewer, highway infrastructure projects, and new towns.

While he touches on the work of a number of architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Henry K. Murphy, and John Harkness, Cody argues that, for most of the century, many more contractors and engineers practiced abroad than architects. He also points out that, despite the growth of engineering and construction associations formed to support American construction efforts abroad, most American designers

and contractors throughout the century were not very sensitive to the particular assumptions and dynamics of the foreign cultures in which they worked.

While Cody's book provides a pioneering first step in the examination of the influence of American contractors, architects, and planners abroad, it tries to cover too much in too short a space. For example, Cody mentions in his introduction that he was prompted to write this book when he found himself in an American-style, split-level house in Shiraz, Iran, in 1978, "a North American suburban residence [that] had been transplanted and yet had 'morphed' into something distinctly non-American" (p. viii). With the exception of his discussion of Chinese banks, however, Cody spends little time examining the question of how American designs or building techniques were "morphed" to fit different national cultures. Cody's analysis demonstrates the goldmine of information available in construction journals. His heavily illustrated volume also documents the important visual evidence in the same sources. But the overall theoretical framework of the book, which emphasizes the technological efficiency of American design and construction methods, and the impact abroad of American urban design structures and principles, is not well developed. The writing often uses clumsy metaphors and is overly mechanistic, with long lists of points in each chapter. Nevertheless, this book marks an important start in examining the complex question of the impact of American architectural and construction practices abroad.

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JOHN LINDSAY-POLAND. *Emperors in the Jungle: The Hidden History of the U.S. in Panama*. (American Encounters: Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 265. \$18.95.

John Lindsay-Poland's book purports to expose the "hidden history" (p. 2) of American involvement in Panama through an examination of the history of these two nations and their interaction during the past one hundred years. Throughout his narrative, the author argues that "Panama served as an instrument for grander U.S. aims" (p. 3) in a relationship in which the United States was willing to sacrifice Panamanian sovereignty for the sake of more pressing strategic priorities. Panama has found itself subverted by American desires for a transisthmian canal, Cold War security interests, and the problematic "war" against narcotics trafficking. Underlying the entire story is an explicit American racist attitude regarding the people of Panama and a systemic disregard for the environmental impact of U.S. policies on that country.

Although, on the surface, Lindsay-Poland offers what seems to be a tantalizing glimpse of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, the book suffers from a number of serious flaws. First, it is less an exposé than a rehashing of already well-worn dependency theory.

Whether or not the general U.S. public or media outlets were aware of the issues discussed in the book, as the author suggests in his introduction, is largely irrelevant. Lindsay-Poland's own references note that some of the items discussed have already been addressed by the academic community and journalists for years and, in some cases, decades. Moreover, according to the author's own account, Panama was able to assert its national prerogatives on many occasions during the course of the narrative. Panamanian resistance to chemical and nuclear testing successfully stymied those programs. Similarly, later Panamanian priorities regarding development of the Canal Zone consistently departed from U.S. objectives.

The author's use of evidence is one of the most tantalizing yet frustrating parts of the work. The inclusion of interviews with government whistleblowers offers very interesting glimpses of unearthed information. At points, documents gleaned from Freedom of Information Act queries reinforce some of Lindsay-Poland's conclusions. However, corroboration is too often lacking. One of the most prominent claims made in the book—that the U.S. military tested depleted uranium ammunition in Panama—is based on the disclosures of private individuals. However, even where the author cites acknowledgements by the U.S. Embassy and Southern Command that some tests took place, no evidence is included to verify the point (pp. 156–57).

Where evidence is not available, the author seems content to speculate. When discussing plans for the 1989 invasion of Panama, Lindsay-Poland notes “An unstated piece of information that must have been present for U.S. planners was that many officers in the PDF (Panamanian Defense Force) were darkskinned, a legacy of Torrijos' populist policies” (p. 115). This type of inference is unfortunate given the volatility of the claim and the presumption that it places on all U.S. policy makers.

Throughout the book, the issue of race is predominantly featured but clumsily handled by the author. Lindsay-Poland's thesis appears to be that racism has consistently influenced U.S. perceptions of Panama and government policies directed toward it. Scattered throughout the text is the use of the term “Whites” to those who serve as the protagonists for this topic. Unfortunately, in creating the category, the author reveals the tendency to conflate the actions of individuals, who were no doubt racist, particularly in the early part of the twentieth century, with the general U.S. public and all U.S. civilian and military institutions charged with policy making. Applying this blunt instrument to the history of Panama immediately begs the question of whether or not the U.S. discourse on race has remained in stasis for over a hundred years. Moreover, dramatic inconsistencies in this specific narrative do not help Lindsay-Poland's case. Noting early U.S. efforts to control disease in Panama as “the transformation of the Canal to make it biologically safe for White men” (p. 27), the author contradicts his

own statement in a subsequent chart that records the concurrent plummeting incidence of disease for “‘Colored’ workers” between 1906 and 1908 (p. 34).

Scholars of U.S.-Panama relations will be better served by alternative works such as the revised edition of Michael L. Conniff's *Panama and the United States: The Forced Alliance* (2001). For those interested in investigating the complexities of culture and imperialism, Mary A. Renda's *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (2001) offers a thoughtful examination of the clash of civilizations resulting from American intrusions in the region.

MICHAEL D. GAMBONE  
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AVIEL ROSHWALD. *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires: Central Europe, Russia and the Middle East, 1914–1923*. New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. x, 273. \$27.95.

This elegant and impressive work of synthesis focusses on a span of only nine years, from 1914 to 1923, but Aviel Roshwald convincingly argues that this brief time was a “critical watershed in the evolution of a significant number of contemporary nationalisms” (p. 1), with reverberations still felt today. World War I, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman multinational empires, and the postwar establishment of independent national states forced the crystallization of different ethnic identities and nationalist projects across Central Europe, Russia, and the Middle East, under the rubric of the Wilsonian idea of “national self-determination.” Roshwald argues that the radically compressed time in which these transformations took place was of the essence, as sudden independence immediately presented urgent questions concerning national identity, borders, sovereignty, bases of political belonging and participation, as well as the status of minorities. While many theories of nationalism focus on abstract, lengthier stages of evolutionary modernization, this study seeks “to bridge the analytical gap between the monographic and theoretical literatures by adopting a broadly comparative approach” (p. 3) to the sudden revolutionary crises of national independence in the wake of total war.

First, Roshwald ably sketches the prewar dilemmas of multinational, dynastic states unable to mobilize on the basis of ethnic identity. His comparisons of the regimes make clear that they could not stand the strains of total war. Likewise, across the different regions, self-appointed nationalist elites shared common challenges of needing to mobilize masses. Roshwald's comparisons of different groups are valuable: Young Turks, Czech Realists, Poland's National Democrats, proponents of “Yugoslavism.” Among them, Roshwald discerns early growing splits between Western models stressing liberalism, universalism, democracy, and interethnic cooperation and those promoting exclusively ethnic chauvinism.



The impact of total war produced polarized national identifications, as sufferings were interpreted in ethnic terms. But while war destroyed multinational empires, it did not automatically create homogenous identities among constituent nationalities. Hence, activists including diaspora politicians and exiled leaders offered “transformative and expansive” (p. 35) plans. Roshwald observes that exile groups, freed of the constraints of realism, produced more expansive and universalist understandings of their nationalist projects in “diplomatic cyberspace” (p. 131), such as the Czechoslovak project and Zionism. More ominously, the war also “served as both an opportunity and a catalyst for experimentation with extreme forms of ethnic nationalism” (p. 106), including the Armenian massacres of 1915 in the Ottoman Empire, and attempts at ethnic manipulation in the occupied territories of Eastern Europe.

After the war, the new national states faced the “test of power” (p. 67), as nationalist promises now came due. The 1919 Paris Settlement did not bring the new states into being; instead, in a chaotic process of establishing facts on the ground, the states clashed and redrew boundaries. Roshwald stresses the continuing importance of foundation myths of national liberation originating in the Great War. These included the Czech Legion’s odyssey through Russia, Poland’s First Brigade with its bitter self-image as an unappreciated elite, and the “Arab revolt” in the Hejaz. In Roshwald’s view, nationalist elites often failed the test of power, seeking to cement their political control and falling back on patterns of autocratic behavior that represented unconscious continuities with the old regimes. In turn, disappointment with contradictions between nationalist promises and these practices produced an “angry new generation of nationalist extremists” (p. 200) especially prone to fascism. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union took a different course, pursuing ethnofederalism to achieve standardized units that were “national in form, socialist in content.” Ultimately, however, this approach backfired, creating new ethnic fissures as the rhetoric was betrayed by repressive practice.

Roshwald makes the fundamental point that nationalisms cannot be understood in isolation but interacted and influenced one another: many nationalists borrowed Russian populist ideas; Tomas Masaryk influenced Croatian thinkers; German militarism impressed the Young Turks. The book includes insightful vignettes of leaders, especially Jozef Pilsudski, Roman Dmowski, and Masaryk, showing in concrete and personal detail the workings of the nationalist project.

Although not a central topic, one wishes for more discussion of German nationalism, both as a factor in European ethnic turmoil as well as an influential model for other nationalisms (including those defining themselves against it). In addition, communist activism in Eastern and Central Europe from 1918 needs to be brought into sharper focus. Nationalists often explic-

itly countered communism’s avowed internationalism, and this opposition also helped shape interwar politics.

In sum, this work is an impressive synthesis, evaluating a vast scholarly literature. It is a model work of comparative history.

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CAROLYN J. KITCHING. *Britain and the Geneva Disarmament Conference: A Study in International History*. (Studies in Military and Strategic History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. vii, 230. \$65.00.

Although multilateral diplomacy has become a common feature of international relations, the Disarmament Conference of 1932–1934 remains a more or less unique exercise. As Carolyn J. Kitching points out, after 1945 the focus of negotiations was much more on arms control of certain categories of weapons than on the general and multilateral disarmament that the lengthy discussions of the early 1930s unavailingly aspired to. Indeed, the conference arguably served as much as a focus for growing international tensions of the period as an arena in which those tensions could be addressed. Meanwhile, its failure allowed Adolf Hitler to point to other nations’ abrogation of disarmament obligations under the Versailles Treaty while embarking on his own energetic revision of that treaty. The conference’s failure carried enormous consequences.

Of course, success would have been difficult to achieve. The lengthy discussions in the preparatory commission set up in 1926 led to a draft convention that satisfied no one. The main protagonists, France, Germany, and Britain, all had different priorities that repeatedly surfaced throughout the conference. Germany wanted equality of rights, an expectation the conference raised but could not fulfill. Any move in that direction, moreover, was bound to increase French anxieties, and ingenious French suggestions—such as the internationalization of weapon stocks, which won the plaudits of the smaller countries—mattered not a whit if they failed to please the Germans. The British, meanwhile, had the more limited goal of preventing any Franco-German agreement on disarmament that might trammel their ability, for instance, to guard their imperial frontiers with bombers.

Following the sometimes dense technicalities of these debates through Kitching’s narrative is not always easy. Tabulation would facilitate comparing and contrasting the various proposals. Fortunately, the detail does not obscure the unfolding story of the twists and turns of the conference negotiations. After all, the overall plot was a simple one. For the conference to succeed the Germans had to be placated without undermining French security. That this did not occur, Kitching argues, was primarily the fault of the British. They were, eventually, willing to talk about equality of treatment for the Germans, but never ready



enough to see the consequent need to guarantee the French.

This was particularly true in 1932, when lack of progress culminated in the first German walkout. By the time Germany was lured back to the conference table early in 1933, Adolf Hitler had become chancellor. It was only then that the British at last offered their own proposals, and these proved insufficient to square the circle between France and Germany. Changes to the plan to satisfy the French effectively removed the equality the Germans had been promised, prompting them to walk out of the conference for the second and last time in October 1933.

In this argument, there is an implicit assumption that, instead of trying to adjust disarmament plans to find a midpoint between the French and Germans, Britain should have supported a situation in which each received the equality or security it wanted. The problem is that, in both cases, this would have been at the expense of Britain. With hindsight it is possible to agree with Kitching that this would have been a price worth paying, *if* it had helped to avert World War II. But there is no way of being sure that such would have been the case. Certainly, by the time negotiations were under way to get Germany back to the conference table in 1933–1934, the British Cabinet was unable to take a Hitler they knew to be rearming at his word. The ironic implications of this for the historiography of appeasement is one thing Kitching curiously fails to comment on. Nor, given its importance to her argument, is the British reluctance to provide a French guarantee fully explored. Neville Chamberlain's observation in March 1934 that this might be the cheapest option is reported merely as an aside, without any explanation as to why the view of the chancellor of the exchequer failed to carry the day. As Chamberlain would have been well aware of the costly alternative of British rearmament, his almost complete absence from this narrative is another oddity.

Kitching instead focuses much on ailing Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. His doubts about the utility of international conferences are cited, although whether Kitching feels that they were borne out by this case study is never made clear. Perhaps she feels that the uniqueness of the conference provides the answer. MacDonald's preferred alternative of personal diplomacy could, however, prove equally problematic, as Chamberlain learned only too well later in the decade.

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DOROTHY V. JONES. *Toward a Just World: The Critical Years in the Search for International Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 270. \$30.00.

The proliferation of scholarly interest in genocide and war crimes testifies to the bloody trail of inhumanity that stretches from the beginning of the twentieth century up to the present day. The existence of the

journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* and important recent monographs such as Samantha Power's *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (2002) and Norman Naimark's *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (2001) highlight this trend in scholarship. Three issues arise when examining genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity: the course of events, the spread of knowledge, and, finally, what was and could have been done to address the problem. The question of what could have been done is often considered in the context of international law, and it is on this question that Dorothy V. Jones's book makes its contribution.

Jones is concerned with the idea of international justice, which she defines as encompassing conceptions of international peace, rights, and law. A unique aspect of this study is a chronological focus on the period between the 1899 Hague Conference and the post-World War II Nuremberg process. "The crucial period is not the second half of the century," she argues, "but the first half, when the matrix within which later efforts would unfold was given lasting shape" (pp. 225–26). Much of the quest for international justice in this period was played out on the stage provided by the League of Nations. It would be fair to say that history has not been kind to the League providing, as it does, a preamble to the collapse of international justice during World War II. Jones takes issue, however, with the notion that the League symbolizes the weakness and ultimate failure of international justice. The widespread view of the decade of the 1930s as one of "disastrous and unending international crises" is the product of an exclusive focus on interstate conflict. However, in Jones's opinion, if we shift focus to the evolution of the idea of international justice, the 1930s become "a period of bold experimentation on the international level [that] helped forge the bond between justice and peace that is so strong today" (p. xii).

Jones has not uncovered any new archival evidence to support this relatively optimistic interpretation but rather revisits published primary sources armed with a unique interpretive model. She is not so much reinterpreting events as she is writing the history of an idea—international justice—as it intertwines with the course of events. An example is Jones's take on the 1931 Manchurian Incident between Japan and China. Instead of viewing the Manchurian Incident as indicative of the weakness of international justice and as a milestone on the road toward World War II, Jones finds something newly significant: nations not traditionally concerned with Asian power politics—such as Uruguay—felt they had a stake in the Manchurian conflict. The reason for this widespread interest was something new in history: a growing global consensus that the concept of international justice had been transformed from an ideal into fact. That international condemnation eventually led to Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations and its unilateral pursuit of empire does not diminish the fact that even rogue nations found themselves forced, at the very least, to

address the existence of international norms of behavior.

Given humanity's woeful record of disregard for international justice, some readers will object that perceptions of national interest will always trump the international card. Jones cites, for example, successful international intervention in a Danish-Norwegian dispute over territory in Greenland and in the bloody Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay—both in the 1930s—as indicative of the growing consensus surrounding the new internationalism. But it could be argued that nations submit to international pressure when it serves their national interest, and—like Japan, Italy, and Germany in the 1930s—nations defy international pressure when it conflicts with national interest. Such an objection would not, however, disprove Jones's contention that the concept of international justice became a fixture of the international scene in the first half of the twentieth century. It will be up to future historians to determine if this development did indeed move humanity "toward a better world." Jones has produced a lucid, thought-provoking book that is strongly recommended to those interested in contemporary international relations, conflict resolution, and the adjudication of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Her focus on the early twentieth century fills a gap in the historiography of international law.

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DONALD BLOXHAM. *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 273. \$52.00.

The shortcomings of the Nuremberg trials have long been apparent. The Allied prosecutors, led by the Americans, were intent on proving criminal conspiracy. As a result, they sometimes exaggerated the activities of the leading Nazi defendants and largely ignored the critical role of mid-level functionaries. With a few notable exceptions, the prosecutors deliberately avoided hearing testimony from victims. The zeal for prosecution quickly waned as the Cold War developed and American and British officials sought to integrate the western occupation zones, subsequently the Federal Republic of Germany, into a liberal capitalist international order. Perhaps most significantly, the persecution of the Jews played no particular role at the trials. Nuremberg pioneered the concept of "crimes against humanity," but the Allies prosecuted the leaders of the Third Reich mainly for crimes of aggression, not for what would subsequently be called "genocide." It would take some decades before the Holocaust would come to be understood as the epitome of Nazi atrocities.

Donald Bloxham takes the failures of the Nuremberg trials as his starting point. He wants to understand why the British and Americans failed to pursue a more vigorous prosecution and ignored the fate of

Jews. He suggests that the prosecutors fatefully and, indeed, in many instances willfully misunderstood the nature of the Nazi system. This misunderstanding carried over into public memory and historical scholarship, and not until somewhere around 1990, he implies, did historians begin to get the history right. Bloxham seeks to demonstrate his interpretation through a very close analysis of the postwar trials. He examines not only the first and most famous trial, that of Hermann Goering *et al.*, but the many little-known subsequent ones that were also conducted under the writ of the Allied London Agreement as well as individual American and British prosecutions.

Bloxham's close analysis of these various trials is highly significant. He has worked in numerous archives and plumbed the relevant secondary literature. He tracks the debates over the very idea of prosecution and then trial strategy within the American and British governments and among the four Allied powers. He examines trials that have been largely neglected. All of this is highly informative and insightful.

Among a number of very significant misunderstandings and deceptions at the trials, two issues stand out in Bloxham's account. First, the Allies separated the Wehrmacht from the crimes of leading Nazis. While numerous officers were prosecuted, their trials took place after extended legal maneuverings and had something of a farcical air about them. One of the Wehrmacht's most brilliant officers, Erich von Manstein, even managed to garner support from Winston Churchill and other leading figures. He was, so they claimed, an "honorable" officer. In that way, the Allied prosecutors helped preserve the image of a pristine Wehrmacht, free of the taint of war crimes. (As a result, the recent "Verbrechen der Wehrmacht" exhibit, which documented the Army's complicity in crimes against humanity, could still arouse intense public opposition in Germany and Austria.)

Second, the Allies confused concentration and extermination camps. The Americans liberated Dachau and Buchenwald, the British Bergen-Belsen. Hence, in the public mind in both countries, these camps quickly became emblematic of Nazi barbarism. The images of the skeletal survivors and the piles of corpses at the camps indelibly shaped public opinion in the West. Yet the distinctiveness of the extermination camps was ignored at Nuremberg. Auschwitz was, of course, liberated by the Red Army, so it played less of a role in the British and American media. Moreover, in another important insight, Bloxham shows how the British and American prosecutors completely failed to follow up on important evidence about the Operation Reinhard death camps, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. These three camps were more "purely" genocidal even in comparison with Auschwitz, which had an array of labor camps attached to it.

As important as is Bloxham's book, it is also marred by an intemperate tone. The author is so quick to condemn Allied strategy as the source of postwar misunderstanding that there is virtually no mention of

the two great achievements of Nuremberg: the principle that individuals, and not only states, could be held liable for war crimes, and the invention of the concept of crimes against humanity. Both advances have underpinned so many of the postwar claims for human rights. Moreover, Bloxham ignores key aspects of the historical context in which the trials were held. Today we understand the very particular role the genocide of Jews played in the Nazi system. But in 1945 and 1946, with the revelations and reports about the Bataan Death March, the outright murder of Allied prisoners of war, Nazi bombings of London and ravages of Poland and other Eastern European countries, it would have been hard to make the case that the extermination of Jews had a special characteristic. American and British officials were not only structuring public opinion; they were also moving with it. One should certainly not excuse the genteel antisemitism of leading American and British officials, but the Allied refusal to highlight the victimization of Jews was part and parcel of the immediate aftermath of a war in which so many people had suffered. That reality, far more than "a liberal-universalist refusal to single out the treatment of any group as unique" (p. 66), accounts a great deal for the Allied reticence to highlight the genocide of Jews.

Bloxham seems impatient that it has taken so many decades to correct the historical record (as he sees it), and he levels much of the blame for inaccuracies and misunderstandings on the postwar trials. There is a kernel of truth here, but also a rather unrealistic conception about how historical research develops. Still, readers who look past some of Bloxham's less considered judgments and the infelicitous writing will find much that is valuable in his book.

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RAANAN REIN. *Argentina, Israel, and the Jews: Perón, the Eichmann Capture and After*. Translated by MARTHA GRENZEBACK. Bethesda: University Press of Maryland. 2003. Pp. xxi, 275. \$25.00.

This is a study of the relationship among the government of Argentina, the government of Israel, and the Argentine Jewish community. Raanan Rein begins in the year 1947, with an analysis of Argentine policy leading to its abstention from the crucial United Nations vote on the partition of Palestine that brought the State of Israel into existence. He continues through 1962, when Israel's execution of the war criminal Adolf Eichmann led to a paroxysm of anti-semitic attacks in Argentina. These fifteen years saw the rise and fall of Argentine strongman Juan Perón and the election and deposing of Arturo Frondizi. In the same years, Israel consolidated itself as a nation-state and emerged as a player in world politics. Meanwhile, Argentina's Jews—first, second, and third-generation citizens—went from optimistic belief in an ever-expanding future to loss of confidence in the

possibility of a desirable future in their adoptive homeland.

Interweaving Jewish and non-Jewish Argentine sources, Rein presents what may be an unfamiliar interpretation of Perón. Obsessed with the desire to shed his fascist image, he became a patron of the country's Jewish community, to the extent of alienating some of his most devoted right-wing allies for whom antisemitism was a core value. He continued this strategy despite Jewish Argentines' evident mistrust of him, as shown by their reluctance to join his personally directed Jewish organization or to vote the *peronista* ticket. But Perón persisted; he was after bigger fish than local Jews. His motivation, says Rein, was to win the goodwill of the United States, which he believed was governed by Jews. This phantasmagoric concept of how the world works runs like a thread through the celebrations of successive Argentine administrations.

The nodal point of Rein's narrative is the kidnapping by Israeli agents of Adolf Eichmann from a Buenos Aires street. Regarded by the Argentines as an affront to their sovereignty, this action became an occasion for intensifying attacks on local Jews by gangs inspired by propaganda of the nationalist right. Under a democratic administration, they were able to act with impunity, probably because Frondizi saw native fascists as a useful bulwark against native communists. Occurring in the midst of economic collapse and political disarray, heightened antisemitism reversed the course of Argentine Jewish life, leading to the unprecedented flight of Jews from the country, largely to Israel and the United States. At the same time (and counter intuitively), the threat of a disruption in their trade relations led to intensified cultivation of relations between the governments of Argentina and Israel. It was Frondizi who took the initiative in resolving the dispute. The issue of Argentina's injured sovereignty faded into the background when weighed against the need for trade and for U.S. approval. The revival of fraternal governmental relations had a ricochet effect: it opened a fracture between the government of Israel and the Argentine Jewish community, which had not been consulted on the abduction and now was left without a protector.

Rein's research was conducted in Spanish, Hebrew, and English at archives as diverse as the Hoover Institute, the Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto in Buenos Aires, and the Israel State Archives in Jerusalem. His extensive bibliography includes documents not previously revealed, periodicals, and a wide range of secondary sources as well as published accounts by contemporary observers. Oral interviews with retired officials of the two governments and functionaries of the Jewish community were conducted over a period of ten years, reflecting the intensity and duration of this project. Footnotes are copious and precise. An excellent feature of the notes is the inclusion of biographical information on individuals named in the text. Although this is a



translation (the book previously appeared in Hebrew and in Spanish), the English text is flawlessly edited.

Rein's nuanced study, alongside the work of Sandra McGee Deutsch, confirms the importance of including a Jewish presence in the study of Argentine history and politics and of situating the history and politics of Jewish Argentines within a national context. The author has developed a complex and comprehensive analysis of this triangular relationship and the ways in which each party was affected by the interactions among them. So thoroughly integrated are the trajectories of the three parties that any history of the period that does not give each its proper weight must be judged incomplete.

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JON B. ALTERMAN. *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance, 1952–1956: Hopes Dashed*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xxiv, 200. \$55.00.

Jon B. Alterman's slender and well-written volume adds an important dimension to the extensive literature on U.S.-Egyptian relations in the 1950s. Rather than examining political and strategic factors common in past scholarship, Alterman focuses on issues surrounding U.S. economic aid to Egypt in the four years following the Egyptian revolution of 1952. He contends that such bilateral interaction, not directly related to the Cold War, was important to leaders of both states and thus deserves our attention. Although Alterman's work is based mostly on U.S. archival sources, he consulted Foreign Ministry records in Cairo, perused Egyptian publications, and interviewed former Egyptian officials. Such a binational approach gives this book a balanced perspective that is both unusual and enlightening.

Alterman observes that U.S. and Egyptian officials sought to improve their bilateral relationship after the revolution in Cairo on the basis of U.S. foreign assistance programs. In liberal U.S. thinking, foreign aid offered a scientific means to develop Third World states for the common good. From Cairo's point of view, U.S. aid would solve endemic problems besetting the Egyptian people and fulfill the promise of the 1952 revolution. The intersection of such U.S. and Egyptian visions in the early 1950s gave birth to a bilateral relationship that developed, for a while, beyond the influence of the Cold War. While the relationship initially featured hope for cooperation and progress, however, it eventually soured over conflicting ambitions, bureaucratic obstacles, and diplomatic disagreements.

At the heart of this study, Alterman examines three U.S. economic aid initiatives in Egypt. First, the Revolutionary Command Council that governed Egypt after 1952 set out to modernize its economy by reforming land-ownership practices and attracting investment capital. When asked for their assistance, U.S. officials launched the Poultry Improvement Project designed to

boost nutrition and productivity in rural areas by importing hundreds of thousands of blue-ribbon American chickens. Despite its initial popularity in both countries, the program hit snags—such as derision in Egyptian popular culture and unexpected maladies afflicting the birds—and Egyptian planners shifted their priorities to massive industrial enterprises.

Second, U.S. and Egyptian officials jointly established the Egyptian-American Rural Improvement Service (EARIS) to bring the benefits of modernization to the Egyptian countryside. But EARIS experienced problems from the start, as Egyptian technocrats emphasized land reclamation while U.S. officials stressed community development ideas such as housing, schools, and health clinics. By 1955, U.S. and Egyptian colleagues in the program had drifted apart in their goals and patterns of administration. EARIS, Alterman observes, "was never able to establish a stable identity as a joint operation" (p. 94).

Finally, Alterman assesses Egypt's quest to build the Aswan dam for reasons of development and prestige. In contrast to the usual focus on international aspects of this episode, Alterman concentrates on the technical and financial angles as well as the negotiations that led up to the short-lived U.S. offer to finance the project. He finds that Egypt consistently desired the project on behalf of its national development, while the United States saw its aid as a means to modify Egypt's foreign policy. Ultimately, the United States withdrew its offer of aid and Egypt relied on Soviet support to build the dam.

In the end, U.S. and Egyptian efforts to build a viable partnership were hindered by various problems. The stresses and strains of working on joint development projects were aggravated by emerging disagreements over certain foreign policies. Although there were no serious problems in the U.S.-Egyptian relationship, Alterman concludes, both sides became convinced that a close partnership was neither essential nor feasible.

Some readers might fault the author for focusing too exclusively on the personal, technical, and economic aspects of U.S.-Egyptian relations. Alterman, in my view, sufficiently acknowledges the national security and diplomatic dimensions of the story and casts his study as an important supplement to the existing literature on those issues. Because it contributes to a fuller understanding of a complex diplomatic relationship, his book is worthwhile reading.

PETER L. HAHN  
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JEREMI SURİ. *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 355. \$29.95.

Contemporary history often seems hamstrung by artificial barriers. There has been plenty of valuable work done in political and diplomatic history, and plenty



more in social and cultural history over the last four decades. Rarely, however, are these strands linked. Thus the question usually asked of the protests of 1968 is "how did they change culture or societal norms?" Jeremi Suri's engaging book poses a more difficult question about the effects these protests had on global politics.

The book begins at the close of the Cold War's first phase, as Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Konrad Adenauer, and Nikita Khrushchev looked for ways to temper the threat of nuclear destruction. Pulling back from the brink, they sought to recover international stability (albeit a hostile stability). Without the promise of imminent victory on the world stage, they instead offered economic progress and attention to core values. Other leaders—Charles de Gaulle and Mao Zedong—employed slogans of national pride and popular mobilization to muscle their way into the superpower club.

In all these societies, greatly expanded universities became instruments of the Cold War; the rise of mass higher education provides Suri with the key link between great power politics and social change. Both nuclear hegemony and charismatic leadership limit what can actually be achieved. Dissatisfaction with economic progress and weakened values (socialist, liberal, or other) crystalized at the universities. Vietnam, naturally, became a focal point for protest. This combination of structural strains and contingent international events leads Suri to a competent summary of the events of 1968. In contrast to most who have written on this era, he incorporates China's Cultural Revolution into the usual Berkeley-Paris-Berlin-Prague story quite well, drawing attention to the similar constraints facing both Mao and Western democratic leaders.

World leaders, Suri shows, responded to protest by changing course, seeking to "normalize" international relations through detente. (Suri seems unaware that this cynical term, used by several of his protagonists, was also the term used by Gustav Husák to describe his post-Prague Spring policy of repression and economic reward.) Willy Brandt, upon becoming chancellor in 1969, cast aside his earlier rhetoric of change through rapprochement for an *Ostpolitik* that tacitly accepted the division (and the repression) of Europe. In Beijing, Richard M. Nixon and Mao compared notes on their troubles with unruly youth and agreed to disagree. Arms control, trade, and mutual respect gave world leaders the resources to manage and contain dissent at home.

This is a remarkable story well told. Suri seems more comfortable with the story of diplomacy than with that of protest. But his book breaks out of the box on two fronts: first, the political leaderships of the postwar world are shown not in isolation but either in reaction to one another or in relation to patterns of the Cold War. Second, and more important, Suri has made a vital connection between protest and power—even for protesters who, as he notes, lacked the resources to

bring about the changes they sought. It is easy, especially after the drama of 1989, to repeat slogans about "people power," far harder to determine what difference protest actually makes. Suri's story hangs together and should force us to think about 1968 in a new way.

Suri's book disappoints in one way, however. Transnational links among protesters or the powerful, although an essential part of the story of the late 1960s, are rarely shown. When Rudi Dutschke speaks of staging Berkeley-style protests, or Czech students watch their Western counterparts, or Polish reformers call their ideological opponents "Red Guards" (*hunwejbini*), we need to know much more about what ideas are being transmitted across borders and how they are received and translated. Suri's account of 1968 is largely six parallel stories; it should not be.

Another transnational story left frustratingly incomplete is that of Vietnam. Suri mentions the February 1968 Vietnam Congress in Berlin, but surely what the thousands of protester-participants had to say to each other affected their agenda and that of political leaders. Suri further suggests that Vietnam was a quagmire for the Soviet Union and China as well as for the United States, but he provides no evidence. This book, then, is excellent international history, but it is not the transnational history it could be.

Suri's account ends rather abruptly with the reassertion of authority and stability through detente. Yet this era of power only spawned a new resurgence of protest within just a few years. The 1975 Helsinki Accords (which Suri does not mention) were both a prime example of the international detente regime and an opening for dissidents East and West to use the language of human rights. Thus, while the detente era saw a decline of popular trust in politicians, Suri overstates the cynicism and alienation of the 1970s. The interaction between power and protest continued at least through the end of the Cold War.

PADRAIC KENNEY

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NIGEL J. ASHTON. *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War: The Irony of Interdependence*. (Contemporary History in Context.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xiii, 288. \$78.00.

This fine study of foreign policy during the early 1960s focuses on elites (white males in government) jockeying at conferences and in high-level communiqués. Nigel J. Ashton's book sloughs off trendiness in favor of a nuanced and fascinating (albeit traditional) look at a complex topic.

To be sure, Ashton is aware of new angles in diplomatic history. He briefly delves into the hidden layers of the relationship between President John F. Kennedy and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. Hamburgers served at the White House during discussions over Laos showed Macmillan, who disliked "meat sandwiches" (p. 3), that a cultural gulf separated the

two nations. Transatlantic communications, furthermore, were helped by the advent of the scrambler telephone, which allowed for more fluid discussion, although because Kennedy never figured out the technology and constantly interrupted Macmillan, the common bond of English was never fully realized. Gendered language is addressed fleetingly, but the power of emotions is ever present in the book. Surprisingly, trade and financial issues—underlying factors in the Anglo-American relationship—appear only in passing, but commercial considerations receive provocative treatment in passages regarding nuclear arms when Ashton elucidates the style of aggressive American competitive impulses. More such revelations might have coaxed critical cultural historians to admit that diplomatic history has relevance, but they are not Ashton's concern.

His interest is to investigate the so-called Anglo-American special relationship at the top level as a means of determining the bilateral balance of power. Ashton disposes of the "special relationship" (a supposed Churchillian fraternity of the English-speaking peoples) fiction by choosing eight case studies to explore U.S.-British dealings, warts and all. The theme is indicated in the book's subtitle: Anglo-American relations of the times were shaped by an irony in perceptions of interdependence. For Kennedy, interdependence meant American control over the Western alliance; for Macmillan, it came closer to the Gaullist notion of a partnership of equals, with the United States even depending on Britain for technological help and crisis management advice. Ashton dissects the crises in Laos, Berlin, Cuba, and the Congo, and policy in the Middle East, Britain's European Economic Community application, nuclear weapons concerns, and the Test Ban Treaty—all of which he argues formed a "crisis of interdependence" in the winter of 1962–1963. His is an authoritative account weaving political, diplomatic, and bureaucratic considerations into a seamless theme exploring the vagaries of interdependence.

The irony is evident in every discussion, for the British, while insistent that they were not the weak partner in a patron-client relationship, could do little but wheedle and whine their way through Macmillan's sometime effective, oftentimes languishing attempts to assert their interests. Ashton succeeds in injecting Britain into U.S. diplomacy despite America's whip-and-over events. On the big issues, Macmillan made little headway in changing Kennedy's course of action, although he, and the influential Ambassador David Ormsby-Gore, a Kennedy intimate, had an occasional bearing on policy, or at least on its all-important public dissemination. Thus, Macmillan shored up Kennedy's confidence in opposing an invasion of Cuba while he was nearly sucked into a quagmire in Laos. Over Berlin, both leaders cynically believed that the wall provided a means to avert superpower conflict, but Britain again served in a passive role of shoring up Kennedy. Macmillan also met defeat, adhering to a

usual stance of negativity, in the face of American dynamism, arrogance, and power. He was humiliated, for instance, when JFK withdrew the Skybolt missile deal, and his efforts to mediate the Congo crisis crashed in the U.S.-run United Nations. The British confronted American obstacles to their bid to join the Common Market, to disengagement in the Yemeni civil war, and, initially, to ceasing nuclear testing. Interdependence was more than a rhetorical device, but whatever substance there was behind it existed because of American forbearance.

Ashton is to be applauded for his measured approach. He shoves aside nationalistic biases and goes to the heart of each nation's interests. Oftentimes, it seems he is too critical of British policy, which turned out (nuclear disarmament, involvement in Southeast Asia) to manifest a long-term prescience that outlived both leaders and the Cold War to boot. Yet he gets the nub of the issue about right. There was ultimately no special relationship, only power, before and after the superpowers laid down their arms.

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PETER BUSCH. *All the Way with JFK? Britain, the US, and the Vietnam War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 240. \$45.00.

In this provocative and well-researched study, Peter Busch draws from archival materials in Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States to show that British involvement in Vietnam did not end with the French collapse at Dienbienphu and the ongoing Geneva Conference in 1954. The British co-chaired the International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICC), joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), established the British Advisory Mission (BRIAM) in Saigon, advocated a counterinsurgency program based on its experiences in Malaya, and supported U.S. policies toward the Ngo Dinh Diem regime—including the selective economic pressures that British counterinsurgency expert Robert Thompson correctly termed a "straight invitation to a coup" (p. 164).

In focusing on the period 1961 to 1963, Busch convincingly argues that the major objective of Harold Macmillan's government was not to halt communism in Vietnam but to secure U.S. support for the creation of Malaysia as a means for preserving Britain's great power position in Southeast Asia. The British sought to prove themselves a capable ally of the United States in the expanding Cold War as a means for maintaining their influence in the region's noncommunist nations, particularly Australia and New Zealand. The neutralization of Laos in mid-1962 appeared to forecast a similar fate for South Vietnam. Over Indonesia's opposition (*konfrontasi*), the British sought to build a federation of their former colonies in Southeast Asia

that would secure their hold on Singapore as their most vital military base east of Suez and the key to their contribution to SEATO. In August 1962, they entered an agreement with Malaya that led to the creation a year later of the Federation of Malaysia, comprised of Brunei, Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak, and Singapore. The British ambassador in Saigon, the author pointedly observes, "betrayed less concern about western cold war interests and more about Britain's national interest" (p. 64).

The United Kingdom sent counterinsurgency specialists to South Vietnam and assured the Kennedy administration in the spring of 1963 that the strategic hamlet program would bring victory. Busch shows, however, this was not the Delta Plan patterned after that used by the British in Malaya and now advocated by Thompson. The U.S. Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) opposed the Delta Plan because it considered the area above Saigon more important than the delta provinces and warned that Thompson's call for a major war executive committee would give Diem operational command in the delta. Thompson satisfied MAAG's objections by revising his plan to maintain a unified military command and became so confident of victory that he recommended a U.S. withdrawal of a thousand military advisers by the end of the year.

Busch sharply criticizes the British government for not acting as peacemaker in Vietnam and too readily falling in line with what he terms the U.S. belief "that a communist victory in South Vietnam had to be prevented by military means" (p. 197). Like the United States, the British opposed a negotiated settlement, supported a discreet but escalated military involvement, and blamed North Vietnam for the crisis in the south. To conceal the military buildup, they advised the White House to keep the ICC uninformed of the dispatch of additional soldiers and war materiel, and they exerted pressure on India's commissioner to ignore U.S. violations of the Geneva cease-fire agreements.

Busch's conclusions should be taken with several caveats, most notably President John F. Kennedy's oft-stated belief that only South Vietnam could win (or lose) the war, his staunch opposition to the use of American combat troops, and his growing doubts by the spring of 1963 about achieving what the author calls a "military victory in Vietnam" (p. 206). Recently disclosed records reveal that a year earlier, Kennedy directed Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to draft a plan for a phased military withdrawal from Vietnam that aimed at restoring the U.S. mission to its January 1961 level by the end of 1965. The Macmillan government was not aware of this plan, of course, and thought it was following the president's wishes by adhering to a rigid military policy. Busch closes his work with a severe and somewhat unwarranted criticism: "Britain did nothing to steer Washington away from the path that led to the Vietnam quagmire" (p. 206). In the tumultuous aftermath of the assassinations

of Diem and Kennedy himself, could the British or anyone else have altered the U.S. course in Vietnam?

HOWARD JONES

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PIERRE ASSELIN. *A Bitter Peace: Washington, Hanoi, and the Making of the Paris Agreement*. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 272. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

The Paris negotiations and resulting 1973 peace agreement have been among the most hotly debated of Vietnam War topics in recent years, and Pierre Asselin's slim monograph is a valuable contribution to this ongoing controversy. It uses North Vietnamese as well as American sources and is carefully crafted and admirably even handed, a good example of the so-called "new Vietnam scholarship."

The coverage is narrow, and much of the ground covered is familiar. Asselin dismisses as insignificant the sporadic and unproductive diplomatic contacts between the United States and North Vietnam before 1968; he devotes but one chapter to the period 1969–1971. He focuses on 1972, emphasizing the importance of the heavy losses suffered by all sides in the Easter Offensive and the continued military stalemate as reasons for both North Vietnam and the United States to begin substantive negotiations. He discusses in depth the near-agreement of October 1972, aborted when South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van Thieu balked at U.S. concessions, another near miss in early December when only the status of the demilitarized zone stood in the way of an agreement, the infamous Christmas bombing, and the subsequent rush to a settlement.

The book sheds important light on these events. North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry archives remain closed (as do U.S. State Department files and Henry Kissinger's papers for this period), but Asselin makes excellent use of scattered North Vietnamese archival material, published statements and speeches by top members of the Hanoi government, memoirs by participants, and studies by Vietnamese historians. These sources permit him to provide a fuller and ultimately more nuanced and convincing account of the negotiations from the North Vietnamese side, making clear, as he puts it, that "Vietnamese parties were active agents in the war and the negotiations and exercised a degree of initiative comparable to that of the Americans" (p. 248). He demonstrates, for example, the extent to which in 1969–1970 the impact of President Richard M. Nixon's Vietnamization program, especially the heavy losses suffered by revolutionary forces in South Vietnam, led North Vietnam to put a higher priority on diplomacy and open secret talks with Kissinger in Paris. He shows how the enormous costs of the Easter Offensive and the failure of the Soviet Union and China to provide firm diplomatic support in response to U.S. escalation led to the North Vietnamese concessions that finally produced substantive talks. He



demonstrates that in 1972 and 1973 North Vietnam's concern for its nascent industrial base, reconstructed at great cost after cessation of the U.S. bombing in 1968, created a desire to settle. A most interesting revelation is that after the breakdown of the October 1972 agreement and the resumption of talks in Paris, North Vietnamese negotiators urged acceptance of the revised agreement but were rebuffed by the Politburo, a fateful decision.

In an argument that will be hard for many "doves" to swallow, Asselin sees the Christmas Bombing—a "cruel necessity"—as the key to an eventual settlement (p. 165). Its ferocity stunned North Vietnamese leaders, and it had a huge economic impact, threatening the very survival of the socialist revolution and forcing Hanoi back to the conference table. It also provoked outrage in the United States and in the world, compelling Nixon to settle before Congress took the war out of his hands.

Asselin disagrees with both hawks and doves in assessing the agreement itself. He seems to reject Larry Berman's argument that Nixon cynically regarded it as a means to continue the war. The president's hopes that, despite its obvious flaws, the agreement would somehow work were "genuine" but misplaced. However, Asselin flatly rejects Nixon and Kissinger's contention that they had negotiated a workable peace only to be undermined by Congress. The agreement was in fact conditional on Congressional and public support they had not even sought, much less attained. Thus they were as responsible as Congress for the outcome. The agreement failed, the author concludes, because it was "vague and largely unworkable" (p. xi). It was not in fact a peace treaty but an "expedient solution" that each of the parties "needed or had to accept at the moment. When that moment passed, each felt free to act as their interests dictated without regard to the agreement" (p. 185).

This book is as good an account of the 1972 negotiations and the resulting agreement as we are likely to get until there is full documentation on the U.S. and Vietnamese sides.

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MUHAMMAD QASIM ZAMAN. *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*. (Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 293. \$29.95.

Deciding how to translate key religious concepts that span the boundaries of civilizations often presents exceptional difficulties. It is hardly surprising, therefore, when attendant problems are deferred rather than resolved by adopting the indigenous lexeme as a foreign loan word. The term *ulama* is a particularly engaging instance of such a semantic Trojan horse because, while it refers broadly to a timeless category of learned Muslims, literally "scholars," it also conveys a diffuse, indeed, contradictory array of potent ideo-

logical claims and counterclaims concerning authority that continue to defy uniform definition.

Many leading historians in the West have not hesitated to liken Islam's *ulama* to Christian clergy, but this comparison was seldom welcomed and often refuted by Muslim counterparts preferring to emphasize differences rather than similarities. Furthermore, as various parts of the Islamic world underwent the dramatic changes that define modern times, bringing substantial social upheaval and cultural disorientation, the *ulama* were often seen and treated by those in power as reactionary remnants of a passing age. There were degrees of such marginalization, and some exceptions, especially in the Arabian peninsula, but overall, the birth of independent nation-states in the Middle East brought with it a mindset that confronted the *ulama* with "reforms" that progressively deprived them of their institutional autonomy and pressed them to submit to demeaning political and economic realities.

Muhammad Qasim Zaman has taken up the complex topic of what has happened lately in this encounter, writing with a magisterial command of both the internal discourses the *ulama* use among themselves and the dynamics of national and international developments. In addition, he builds his arguments with an extraordinarily rich mix of relevant examples, rarely seen and well-referenced documentation, plus discerning support from other researchers, theorists, and commentators.

The author works out three central themes that constitute a contemporary history as much as an analysis, concentrating on Pakistan and India, although an expressly comparative agenda is brilliantly developed in later chapters. He begins by describing certain unintended consequences of the sharp distinction between religion and worldly pursuits, especially in the areas of law and education, imported by colonial administrations and inherited, indeed, often elaborated, by the native ruling elites that succeeded them. By this process, a new rhetoric of rationality came to permeate Muslim societies that had the effect of creating a domain specifically identified with religion and hence the *ulama*. Within this realm, the *madrasa* or religious school served as the basis for the cultivation of a moral and intellectual project which brought these scholars, now regarded as "religious experts," to see themselves and their work as the indispensable core community of believers.

Zaman's second point, signaled by the book's paradoxical subtitle, explores the often subtle ways the *ulama* adapted themselves and their institutions to the challenges of modern structures and technologies. With admirable clarity, insight, and economy of expression, given the notoriously recondite and verbose idiom under scrutiny, the author expounds the ideological landscape, the major contentions, and the rival strategies with refreshing attention to how authority is constructed and displayed through scholarly and polemical discourses. Taking the implementation of the *shari'a* or Islamic law as a centerpiece, Zaman traces



out numerous fascinating subplots, such as tensions between the Deoband and the Nadwat al-'Ulama or conflicts between Sunni and Shi'a, to demonstrate convincingly that the *ulama* are not only deeply involved in reshaping the tradition they embody, but they behave in ways that promote the maintenance of their own corporate identity as a primary objective.

Zaman's third point, which may be the most original, at least in its application, addresses recent tendencies toward political activism, pointing notably to ways in which "the salience of objectified understandings of Islam in the public sphere . . . have contributed . . . to reducing the distance between Islamists and the 'ulama'" (p. 146). Here the author examines the localized effects of such macro-phenomena as labor migration; international patronage; the impact of sustained violence, such as in Afghanistan or the Hindu-Muslim sectarian conflict; and the blurring of once rigid ideological commitments to help explain nascent convergences of so-called modernist, fundamentalist, and establishment orientations long hostile to each other. The rise of the "Taliban," for instance, whose name reveals its members' affiliation as *madrasa* students, is examined from the unusual perspective of the discontinuities between Pakistan and its *ulama*. The author ends this very significant study with a compelling and eloquent epilogue that looks ahead not so much to predict the future as to reformulate his initial questions. Here Zaman offers what amounts to a new working definition of the *ulama* that locates them not at the edge but at the center of discussions charting the course of Islam in the next century.

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## ASIA

LUCILLE CHIA. *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, number 56.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass.; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 2002. Pp. xxi, 442. \$50.00.

Lucille Chia has provided us with the first focused investigation of the book trade in Jianyang, a small and remote city located in northwestern Fujian, from the early Song through the late Ming dynasties. In so doing, she joins the expanding number of scholars in both the West and elsewhere who are developing the history of printing in China and making an important contribution to our understanding of China's cultural and technological heritage. She is to be commended for her exhaustive exploration of the Jianyang trade in such a readable, lavishly illustrated book. As Chia conclusively demonstrates, throughout the centuries in question Jianyang was one of the most important centers of Chinese publishing.

Chia, who styles her inquiry a "social history of the

Chinese book" (p. 14), breaks her text into three primary sections: an introduction, including an overview of the Minbei region of which Jianyang is the economic and demographic core as well as a general introduction to the book trade itself; a survey of the development of the Jianyang trade through the Song and Yuan dynasties; and a parallel survey of the trade during the Ming dynasty, with a focus on the period after 1500, when the trade experienced its greatest era after a period of relative quiescence in the early Ming.

Within the framework Chia defines, her study is a triumph. She focuses on the physical product, the book itself. She is eager to dispel the traditional image of the Jianyang book as routinely shoddy, difficult to read, unimpressive to behold, and therefore marginal to the history of printing. Without denying the reality of the so-called *mashaben*, as Jianyang's inferior product was known, she is very successful, both through her detailed textual discussion of the texts and the impressive array of illustration with which she supports it, at challenging the notion that *mashaben* define the genre. Even in the late Ming, when Chia admits that "[p]roportionately fewer extant Jianyang imprints . . . match the beauty of the finest examples from the Song" (p. 194), she shows that high-quality books with elegant calligraphy printed on excellent paper were still produced.

For all her successes, however, Chia raises at least as many questions as she answers. In focusing on the physical product, she fails to consider several issues that strike me as relevant to a social history of the book—a failure that she implicitly acknowledges in her concluding discussion of suggestions for further research. What, for example, does the Jianyang trade say about literacy and the reading public? In her exhaustive discussions of the product, she surveys its topical content at different times, which one might think could have led to such a discussion, but there is none. What can be said about the distribution of books? Chia points to hints of links between Jianyang publishers and those elsewhere in China and even suggests that these are promising links to explore (pp. 260–61), but she does not do so. She observes, "It should be possible to gain a better understanding of the cultural life of the region" (p. 260), but she does not follow through. She makes passing references to ties between printers and men who succeeded in the imperial examinations (rarely were they the same), but despite several excellent charts exploring family trees, she does not exploit the topic. In what strikes me as the biggest omission, however, Chia appears totally to neglect the parallel between the rising and falling waves of the Jianyang trade and the wider pattern of ups and downs that define Chinese history through the centuries in question. Is it irrelevant that the initial apex of the Jianyang trade in the mature Southern Song corresponded to the peak of China's first great commercial revolution, that the quiescence of the early Ming corresponds to the retrograde policies of the dynasty's founding emperors, and that the last great

wave of the late Ming corresponds to the cultural flowering of that same time? I doubt it, yet the parallels and what they might say about the Jianyang trade are ignored.

Although her tendency to give topics such as these short shrift may call into question her characterization of the study as a "social history of the book" and perhaps points to topics for her own future work, it does not detract from the important contribution Chia has made. This is an important study that should not be ignored.

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S. C. M. PAINE. *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895: Perceptions, Power, and Primacy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 412. \$55.00.

It may well be that one "can't tell a book by its cover" or even by its title. While S. C. M. Paine protests that her book is not a military history (p. 19), there is much to recommend it as such. Paine may not have had access to the concise reports from the battlefield by neutral military observers for which researchers pray. However, her gleaning of contemporary reports available to the Western press in the region greatly increases the general understanding of numerous battles and how the two sides conducted their warfare.

Using details extracted from British, American, French, and Russian newspapers from 1894 through the end of hostilities on May 8, 1895, Paine concludes that Japan's winning the war was less significant than how China had lost through gross errors and ignorance. Beginning with the sinking of the British-owned, unarmed troopship, the *Kowshing* (*Gaosheng*) led by Chinese generals too unseasoned to see their folly against three Japanese warships, the reader is introduced to Chinese blunders. The fact that the *Kowshing* had to be rented out from British taipans Jardine and Matheson also reveals modernizer Li Hongzhang's failure to create an imperial, steam-driven merchant marine. The Japanese strategy for modernization had included incentives to the private sector, resulting in the sixty-ship Mitsubishi merchant fleet that carried Japanese troops to the Korean and then Chinese battlefronts. While the Chinese defeat at Weihaiwei, Shandong, is rightly featured, this reviewer was more impressed with what Paine exposes at the prior Pyongyang siege in Korea. There, China's apparent advantage of having a line of twenty-seven forts constructed with moats and trenches along a river should have blocked the Japanese crossing. According to Paine, this was one of the strongest Chinese efforts, replete with cavalry charges and continuing fire from superior rifles and modern field guns by some of the best of the foreign trained forces. However, the four Chinese commands involved were unable to collaborate and allowed the Japanese to feint a frontal assault while crossing the river upstream unopposed. Staying on the defensive limited Chinese options in this war, as

did Qing punishment for failures by demotion or decapitation. Chinese leadership often seemed frozen into nonaction. Paine also reveals that Chinese planners ignored the need to intercept Japanese troop shipments on the sea, bottling up their best warships with superior cannon within vulnerable fortified harbors. Details on the battles make this work a welcome contribution despite the author's disclaimer, perhaps to anxious uninformed editors. She argues convincingly that although historians might prefer that wars could be ignored, "wars matter" (p. 370). Wars expose weaknesses and strengths and are expressions of civilizations.

Through numerous examples, Paine highlights the chaotic lack of Chinese unity against Japan, even after Japanese troops invaded Chinese territory. Readers can experience the high cost paid that forced Chinese elites to imagine the need for a modern nation-state for survival. The Manchu/Chinese division was highlighted in the paucity of Manchu support to Chinese troops in the field. After Pyongyang, the glaring inattention demoralized Chinese troops, who thereafter thought about retreat rather than diehard resistance. During the retreats a pattern of Chinese abandonment of supplies and firepower emerged. In numerous instances, the Japanese, whose long supply lines from home were problematic, could simply live off the largess left by defeated forces. Chinese naval fiascos added to the new Japanese fleet Western-built Chinese warships, ten at Weihaiwei alone. At that defeat, Chinese orders to scuttle their ships were obstructed when their sailors mutined, an occurrence also experienced earlier on the *Kowshing* and then in the breakdown among Chinese troops at the modern fortress of Port Arthur. These defenders looted their city *before* it fell to Japan. Paine has sifted through a mountain of reports, providing the reader with glittering nuggets. This is also the case with the truce and peace settlement at Shimonoseki.

Although Paine also disclaims the book as a diplomatic history, she provides a wealth of detail about the long truce negotiations and Li's shrewd encouragement of the tripartite intervention to check Japan's appetite for fruits of battle. Also included throughout the book is much on Russia's eastward obsession and the intricacies of Western strategies. Exposing the various prewar and postwar Western perceptions of China and Japan while blaming Confucianism for China's debacle seems less effective by comparison. Targeting Confucianism as the primary cause of intellectual obstructionism ignores the Confucian concern for self-improvement and moral reform that stirred Kang Yuwei and then Mao Zedong.

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CHARLES A. LAUGHLIN. *Chinese Reportage: The Aesthetics of Historical Experience*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture,

Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 334. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

In modern journalism, fact and fiction represent two divergent ends that ought to be kept far apart. But in this well-researched book, Charles A. Laughlin shows us that, in modern China, there has developed a unique literary genre, or "reportage literature" (*baogao wenxue*), in which the presentation of factual events and figures not only dovetails congenially with literary embellishment but also achieves a special, better resonance with readers. Moreover, Laughlin tells us that this genre is not an entirely Chinese invention (although he seems tempted to make such a claim) but had existed in some European countries and was also practiced, to some extent, in Japan (p. 13). He traces the development of Chinese reportage literature from its origin in the late Qing period to the 1950s, with a focus on how it was favored and promoted by left-wing and communist writers. He avoids the 1980s, when reportage literature experienced its heyday in China through Liu Bingyan and Su Xiaokang and he treats it simply as a literary genre (a decision with which I agree), glossing over Liu's opposite claim without showing much interest in engaging a serious debate (p. 264).

Laughlin has done a commendable job. His book begins with travelogue writing at the turn of the twentieth century, discussing briefly the works of Liang Qichao, Qu Qiubai, and others. It proceeds to describe the emergence of reportage writing in the 1930s and discusses its role in inciting patriotic sentiment against foreign, imperialist aggression and exploitation and propagating revolutionary ideas. In the 1940s, the book shows, reportage literature experienced a rapid growth, thanks to its effective coverage of the war with Japan. Left-wing and communist writers were prominent in turning this unique genre into a popular literary form, favored by writers and readers alike. Its popularity derived from the fact that reportage writing covered the war and its impact in two ways: through vivid description of the terror and devastation of the war, and through heroic presentation of communist guerrilla warfare against the Japanese invaders. The book ends with the 1950s when reportage writing entered a new phase under state communism. It underwent, Laughlin states, "a substantial change in the structure of experience" and became a "utopian rhetoric," aiming to extol the success of communist practice (p. 223). Yet the war (this time the Korean War) remained attractive, as evidenced by the reception of Wei Wei's *Who is Most Worthy of Our Love?* (1952), which celebrated Chinese volunteer soldiers in Korea. Laughlin offers a coherent reading and organization of his material, demonstrating an admirable knowledge of the rise of left-wing and communist literature in modern China, which is an area of study often insufficiently covered by standard texts on modern Chinese literature in the West.

As a book intended to present a history of reportage

literature in China, however, its discussion of the origins of this genre needs further consideration. Laughlin rightly disputes the claim that it began with Liang Qichao's travel essays, but his own search for its origin in Qing evidential scholarship remains casual and inconclusive. Since works of reportage literature were written mostly in vernacular Chinese, readers might expect him to discuss more its link with the New Culture Movement as well as its connection with foreign precursors and counterparts. If Laughlin wants to place reportage literature solely within the Chinese tradition, it would be more useful for him to analyze the ambiguity in the Chinese attitude toward the distinction between history and literature, as exemplified by Sima Qian's long-lasting influence on both. The rise and growth of reportage literature in modern China seems to depend on this ambiguity. It demonstrates, thanks to Laughlin's informative study, that literary means might help, rather than hinder, the delivery of facts—a Confucian idea that resonates well with postmodern critics of history and literature.

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GEREMIE R. BARMÉ. *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898–1975)*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 471. \$60.00.

In this evocatively written biography of artist and writer Feng Zikai (1898–1975), Geremie R. Barmé explores the nature of Feng's art, the course of his career, and his relationships to other artists and intellectuals. Feng was chiefly known for *manhua*, simple line brush drawings portraying people and everyday activities, primarily from the 1920s into the 1940s. Feng's sources of inspiration varied. In the beginning of his career, his best work was inspired by traditional Chinese poetry, most often only one line from a poem. A devoted father, Feng went through a period in the 1920s where children and childhood were his chief focus as subjects for his drawing. His 1927 conversion to Buddhism infused his drawings with a "sympathetic heart," producing "a message about permanence and worth, a subdued warning about the threats of mindless progress and mass culture, as well as the pitfalls of heedless plenty" (pp. 371–72). Overall, Barmé concludes that Feng's "graphic artistic vocabulary" fit well with the increasingly vernacular culture from the 1920s on. In grappling with how to build on traditional forms in order to create a modern artistic medium, Feng created "a visual style that revealed the customary through a vision that was extraordinary" (p. 114). He stressed the essential nature of "taste" and "sensitivity" (*quwei*) in the artist, a stance that elicited repeated attacks during his career from leftists. Although Feng was touched by many political events, he never became politically active.

The book's title conveys something much broader than being removed from one's home. Barmé sees Feng as part of a generation that came of age at a time



of multiple exiles, a period when traditional culture and politics were left behind with no certainty about new destinations. Such a break with the past created all sorts of questions and debates in the artistic world about the nature and meaning of contemporary art as it related to that past. The Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) forced a literal exile for Feng, his family, and many others. Indeed, Feng's first public exhibition occurred while he was in exile in Chongqing in 1942. Artists and intellectuals went into an internal exile in the first decades of the People's Republic with the repressive nature of the Communist party-state. Barmé notes that, by the 1940s, Feng's work had begun to lose some of its vibrancy, seeming more "reticent and studied" (p. 264). But it was the political repression of the Beijing regime that effectively ended much of Feng's production of *manhua*. His 1952 self-criticism was tragically equivalent to a total repudiation of his life's work, and when the state-controlled magazine *Manhua* redefined *manhua* in 1950, "it precluded any place for [Feng] in revolutionary culture" (p. 300). He lived as a cultural bureaucrat in the People's Republic, serving as head of various art organizations. During the Cultural Revolution, he was pilloried.

Barmé's goal is not simply to elucidate Feng's biography but "to provide a history of an era as seen through the perspective of one life in literature and art" (p. 13). One approach to providing such a history is to spend considerable time discussing Feng's contemporaries and the artistic and political issues of the times. As examples, Barmé spends time discussing the career of Feng's teacher and role model, Li Shutong; he devotes considerable space to the derivation of the term *manhua* and even its Japanese roots *manga*; and he takes five pages to discuss playwright Yang Jiang's *Washing in Public* in order to show how intellectuals had to accommodate themselves to the party-state. Although some of these things may not always relate specifically to Feng, it can be argued that their inclusion makes the book much richer and allows us better to see the contexts of Feng's life. They also, in my opinion, at times tend to give rise to a certain diminution of focus.

There were other times when I wished that Barmé had told us more about certain things, especially Feng's nonprofessional life and concerns. We do know that he was a great family man. We see a rather grotesque *manhua* of his daughter, who died at age three in 1925, but we are not told about Feng's specific reaction, and the author provides no commentary on this *manhua* as he does on others. Barmé notes (p. 353) that there were "splits" among Feng's children from the Cultural Revolution on, but we are not told what these were about or how they may have affected Feng in the last years of his life.

But these are minor quibbles. Barmé's book is a compelling analysis, well written and engaging. He has

masterfully achieved his purpose of displaying the larger canvas of Feng's world.

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STIG THØGERSEN. *A County of Culture: Twentieth-Century China Seen from the Village Schools of Zouping, Shandong*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2002. Pp. 310. \$52.50.

Against the backdrop of China's shifting political and economic policies during the twentieth century, Stig Thøgersen examines education issues in Zouping County, Shandong, as a way to understand the dynamic between society and state in the making of a modern nation. While suggesting a "bottom up" analysis of educational reforms in Zouping, this volume essentially follows a periodization derived from the narrative of China's nation-state building experience emphasizing political shifts at the top. Stressing continuity in local goals, Thøgersen finds no significant analytical differentiation in place-based views of educational issues in the last century. With the state as the primary agent of change, rural society is understood as a confounding and inhibiting element in national modernization strategies rather than as a voice struggling for its own coherence and alternative place-based vision.

As different local groups vied to capture control of the funds and benefits of new educational programs, plans sent down from the center inevitably were applied and misapplied according to the dynamics of local politics. Throughout the evolution of educational institutions in Zouping, families with greater resources managed to make the new policies work for them no matter what other benefits or costs the reforms brought. Thøgersen attributes the convoluted and unexpected turns that educational programs took from the perspective of national policy makers to the tenacity of rural expectations that education should be open to all, should be a means of improving social opportunities, should involve general learning rather than vocational training, and should follow classical methods of teaching (namely memorization and a teacher-centered classroom). Ideological goals of the state such as inculcating socialist ethics in the citizenry often met with resistance. The extent to which an alternative view of society or antimodernism informed rural perspectives is not clear from this study, which circumscribes rural voices by the national narrative. Instead Thøgersen sees a movement toward educational modernization begun in the late Qing that reached a high point in the Republican era 1928–1937, only to be undone during the following decade, which began with the Japanese occupation in 1937 and ended with the civil war of 1947–1949. Thøgersen finds that it was only during the 1950s and 1970s that rural primary education became truly popularized in terms of both class and gender and that the period of the Cultural Revolution was one of gain for rural education in Zouping.



He also notes that programs to provide vocational training generally failed because agricultural skills were not accepted by the rural population as goals for formal education. Loss of general knowledge in this area resulted from the state's unwillingness to work with this popular expectation and support vocational skills by other means.

Thøgersen's choice of Zouping among hundreds of possible counties for this study is based on the prominence of two Zouping residents, Fan Zhongyan (1889–1952) and Liang Shuming (1893–1988), both well-known educational reformers. Liang's Rural Reconstruction Movement begun in the 1930s sought to build on Fan's notion that the classical scholar is responsible to society as a whole. Thøgersen sees the link between Fan and Liang as evidence of continuity in the "Confucian" heritage stressing education in general and creating a particular "county of culture" in Zouping. Both the uniqueness of Zouping and the basis for comparison with other counties are rendered problematic by this method. The assumption of a continuity of views on education from the tenth century to the present is also problematic and can only be achieved through a sleight of hand that plays loose with the concept of culture by essentially divorcing it from political context. While Fan was attempting to shore up a political system dedicated to bureaucratic agrarianism with its implied limits, the economic structures and political philosophy that made Fan's goals possible were not an option for either Liang or Mao Zedong.

This book takes an historical approach to the reception of educational policies in one locale and contributes to our understanding of the play between state formulated educational goals under different political regimes and the efforts of those at the village level of society to capture and remake state policies within the parameters they deemed possible and desirable.

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MAURIZIO PELEGGI. *Lords of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 232. \$19.95.

Maurizio Peleggi's book describes how the Siamese (Thai) royalty reinvented itself through contact with Europe during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868–1910). In this endeavor the royal elite achieved both of its goals: to become "members of the fraternal order of world royalty" (p. 13) and to appear as a civilizing, modernizing force within the domestic and international arenas. We find Thai royalty acquiring a Western (i.e. Victorian) lifestyle through the consumption of Western luxury goods. The importance of state dinners and the growing popularity of banquets promoted the use of Western silver, dinner, and glass wares. The need to appear "modern" led to the disappearance of older hairstyles and dress. And the camera changed the way in which royalty presented

itself. Instead of an aloof, distant monarchy, royalty now promoted its contacts with its subjects and its images in photographs, coins, stamps, and postcards.

European education became favored over all other forms, and European travel helped to make both monarchs and gentlemen. Thai royalty sought to become participants in European culture as patrons of European art, artists, and architecture. European ideas about urban design contributed to the planning of the royal city of Bangkok. Dusit Park, the new royal area, was laid out in a modern grid pattern with space set aside for the opulent residences of the king and his numerous sons. A large public plaza, the Phra Lan, backed by the Italian-designed and built Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall, was the site of the equestrian statue of King Chulalongkorn and the location of many public spectacles. Among these were the celebrations of King Chulalongkorn's return from his trip to Europe in 1907 and the fortieth anniversary of his reign. After the king's death, the plaza served to memorialize him.

The royal government, desiring to present itself as a fully civilized state, participated in several international expositions: Paris in 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900; Chicago in 1893, where Thai women were first represented in response to an American request; St. Louis in 1904; and Turin in 1911. The Thai designers of these various exhibits followed a careful balance between showing off their own exotic culture and the modern achievements so important to their newly created identity. The West responded to the Thai presentations. An American publisher proposed an English language edition of Chulalongkorn's letters about his trip to Europe (later published in Bangkok as *Klai Ban* [Far From Home]). Cambridge University presented the king with a doctorate in civil law in acknowledgment of his achievements in modernizing his country. Chulalongkorn, a Buddhist monarch, donated funds to support the English translation of Buddhist texts at Oxford, one way of recognizing the work of European scholars in the field of Asian religious studies.

Peleggi's monograph follows recent patterns in academic publications; it is short, accessible to a popular audience, and marketable. It deals with a single subject: the acquisition of a Western lifestyle by Thai royalty during the fifth reign. Other aspects of the monarchy, its importance in Thai society, and the preservation of the Buddhist religion are not considered. Issues such as the high cost of supporting a Western lifestyle in an agrarian society, the absolutism expressed in the new identities, and the overriding emphasis on private projects as opposed to public municipal ones are touched on only briefly. There are few references to any Thai censure of the royal Western lifestyle. Yet early journalists, among them T. W. S. Wannapho and K. S. R. Kulap Kritsananon, published criticisms of the elite's adoption of a Western lifestyle during Chulalongkorn's reign. Siam (Thailand) was never a colony, and that its royalty should

become so greatly involved in the aesthetics of "late Victorian consumer culture" (p. 34) is highly ironic.

The presentation does raise a major historiographical concern. How does Peleggi view the phenomenon of globalization? Here it is apparently seen as Westernization. But globalization travels in many directions. Many European scholars and artists were influenced by Asian civilizations, and there is a history of Asian influence on European culture. The nineteenth century was one of scientific exploration and interest in non-Western societies. At this time, the major European libraries and museum collections of materials from Asian societies were established. The intellectual and scientific interests represented in these endeavors extended far beyond colonial concerns with power and economics. The processes of cultural exchange and influence are far more complex than the direct copying presented here.

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AMIYA KUMAR BAGCHI, editor. *Money and Credit in Indian History: From Early Medieval Times*. New Delhi: Tulika Books. 2002. Pp. xli, 228. Rs. 450.00.

The eleven essays in this volume were contributed to a panel of the Indian History Congress of 2001. They cover a wide spectrum of themes from finance in early medieval times to the portrayal of a twentieth-century Bengali banker. In his introduction to the volume Amiya Kumar Bagchi stresses the contrast between relationship banking, which predominated in India, and the system of public credit as it first developed in the Italian city-states and then in England and the Netherlands. Discussing the Indian money market, he mentions its segmentation but also points out that the segments were linked from the joint-stock banks at the top to the village moneylender at the bottom. He explains the phenomena of discrimination and credit rationing inherent in the Indian system. These account for divergences in interest rates as the "discriminating" creditor, while contracting credit by means of high rates for some, may still be willing to lend at favorable rates to other reliable clients.

The first essay, by K. S. Shrimali, defends the Marxist idea of the correlation between limited money circulation and feudalism against those authors John Deyell, André Wink) who have tried to prove a greater circulation in medieval times. Subsequent essays by Om Prakash, Najaf Haider, and Shireen Moosvi are devoted to the credit system of Mughal India. They portray a rather sophisticated system in which deposit banking and the wide circulation of bills of exchange (*hundis*) prevailed. In such a system, banking money could be generated that—theoretically—could have solved liquidity problems when the flow of specie dwindled. But the evidence provided here indicates that such banking money tended to increase liquidity when specie was also available. If specie was scarce,

banking money was also reduced. Interest rates reflected regional disparities in India but also changes in the global supply of precious metals.

Anand R. Kulkarni's survey of money and banking under the Marathas supplements the papers on the Mughal system. The Maratha rulers were obviously less able to control the mints and the circulation of various types of coins. Gold played a more prominent role here than in northern India. Under the rule of the Peshwas, a new group of Brahmin bankers emerged who gave ample credit to the Peshwas—a good example of relationship banking.

The remaining essays deal with India under British colonial rule. Rajat K. Ray discusses brokers and commission agents and points out that the use of *hundis* as negotiable instruments and the operations of the *arhatias* who stored produce and used it as a collateral for obtaining credit so as to refinance their moneylending activities gave rise to a booming futures trade that expanded from 1858 to 1929. Dwijendra Tripathi contributes an interesting sketch of the rise of the Bank of Baroda, founded in a princely state in 1907. The Maharaja of Baroda generously backed this bank but also interfered occasionally with its business.

The Great Depression interrupted the banking business rather rudely. Forward trading almost disappeared, and prices not only fell precipitously but showed striking regional variations. Aditya Mukherjee's essay, which deals with the Depression years, does not take all this into consideration but focuses more narrowly on the Indian capitalist's critique of British monetary and financial policy. He discusses in detail the rupee-sterling link and the ratio controversy. In this context, he also refers to the resignation of the governor of the Reserve Bank, Sir Osborne Smith. Actually this expert Australian banker, who had been selected for the post by the governor of the Bank of England, Sir Montagu Norman, was sacked because he defended the independence of the Reserve Bank against the government of India. Norman eased him out with a golden handshake, and Smith had to promise that he would not reveal the true reasons for his departure. Mukherjee's arguments would have added strength if he had taken note of this background.

The agrarian aspect of the Depression is taken note of by Manzur Ahsan's discussion of rural credit in Bengal. He highlights the contribution of the Fazlul Huq ministry. In fact, the most comprehensive legislation was introduced before that ministry came to power. The Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935 also tackled the problem of arrears of rent. This was crucial, because under the tenancy laws occupancy tenants forfeited their rights if they did not pay their rents for three years. Ahsan does not deal with this aspect; instead he highlights Fazlul Huq's Bengal Moneylenders Act of 1940. The provisions of this act were more or less the same as those of the British Moneylenders Act of 1927. In fact, the 1935 act could have served as a model for British India, but most

provincial governments obviously felt that it was too radical.

With Sunanda Sen's essay, "Money and Finance in the Periphery: A Tool of Expropriation in Colonial India," the transition is made from colonial to postcolonial (neocolonial) finance. Sen examines the instruments with which the British dominated Indian finance (control of the currency, council bills, etc.) and exacted a tribute from the subject people. She argues that the operation of "dominant finance" in a global context resembles this colonial mode, although the instruments have changed.

The final essay, written by Indrajit Mallick, is a tribute to a remarkable Bengali entrepreneur, B. Dutt, who was born in Comilla in 1910. In 1930, he founded the New Standard Bank of Bengal. In 1950, he merged several banks to form the United Bank of India. He became a leader in tea financing and then established links with the Birlas and Tatas. As Mallick states, much of Dutt's business could be termed "relationship banking," but he could also think ahead and even recognized the need to nationalize the banking sector.

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GREGORY A. BARTON. *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 34.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 192. \$55.00.

Here is yet another book on the evolution of forestry in colonial India, but one with a twist: far from the passion of Henry David Thoreau and Aldo Leopold, well removed from John Muir and the Sierra Club, the real roots of environmentalism lie with the "hard-headed environmentalists" (p. 1) of the British Empire. Call this the first neo-conservative interpretation of the movement.

In this brief volume, Gregory A. Barton argues that progressive administrators of British India, at the height of the Raj, realized the many benefits of protecting the vast forests of India. Under the guidance of the Benthamite directors of the East India Company, the government of India developed a plan that evolved into the multiple-use policy that guides forestry in the contemporary United States. Barton sets up the environmental historians Donald Worster and Richard Grove as his straw men. He singles out Worster for romanticizing environmentalism in *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (1995) and Grove for a failure to define environmentalism in *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism 1600-1860* (1995). Barton believes that environmental histories, particularly those studies covering the nineteenth century, have been weakened by a liberal strain of anti-imperialism. With this in mind, the author focuses instead on the guardianship of the servants of empire as exemplifying the true roots of the environmental movement.

Oddly, after castigating Grove for his lack of a definition, Barton narrowly defines environmentalism thus: "Environmental thought before the 1960s revolved around forests and their preservation" (p. 9). So much for the Public Works Department in India, which debated the propriety of a vast network of dams and canals across colonial India, or, for that matter, David Brower and the Sierra Club's pre-1960s campaign to stop the damming of Echo Park. Barton needs this narrow definition, however, because it forms the parameters of his entire argument: utilitarian imperialists in India gave birth to the environmental movement. Barton gives us a standard history of the rise of the Forestry Department in India. Conceived by Lord Dalhousie, the great utilitarian governor-general of India, the department, through the genius of German inspectors-general, developed a scheme to set aside and reserve forests for the state. While many of these reserves were set aside for logging, there was a keen awareness of the relationship between forests and climatic issues. The author follows the Forestry Department to Indian independence, wistfully noting how the reservation scheme has been plagued by corruption since the British left. The complexities of aligning peasants' rights with forest reservation are ignored or denigrated; the Chipko (tree-hugging) Movement, an extraordinary peasant resistance that brought the issue of peasant disenfranchisement to world attention, is dismissed as a "subversion of the Forest Conservation Act of 1980" (p. 152). All in all, this is a pretty standard colonialist account; pesky peasants are part of the problem, while European foresters are the true heroes.

Barton shows more originality when he details the influence of Indian forestry on the rest of the British Empire. Trained at schools specifically developed by the British to spread public works across India, foresters used the Indian model in British colonies in Africa, Australia and New Zealand, and Canada. By 1939, he claims, empire foresters managed half the forests of the world. Nor does he stop at the boundaries of the empire. Barton argues that three early foresters in the United States—Franklin B. Hough, Charles Sargent, and Gifford Pinchot—were influenced by empire forestry in their deliberations as to the status of American forests. Indeed, the U.S. Forest Service's slogan "land of many uses" could have been penned by empire foresters. As Barton argues in his conclusion, "Environmentalism . . . sprang from industrialism and imperialism and owes its origin to authoritarian, imperial, Christian, often racist Victorians of Anglo-Saxon and German heritage" (p. 165).

Within his narrow definition of environmentalism, it is a persuasive argument. In terms of policy (as opposed to practice), the Forestry Department's influence spread throughout the British Empire and beyond. That such a relatively small group of administrators could determine forest policy for over half the forests in the world confirms the author's premise that empire forestry had a universal impact. The weakness in this study appears when Barton strays from this



central theme. Ironically, Barton can be criticized on the same grounds that he criticizes earlier environmental historians. The author argues that the field of environmental history has been weakened by a number of important authors who are blinded by their romantic and leftist biases. Yet in the end, Barton's biases make him myopic as well. In his conclusion, Barton argues that "perhaps the utilitarian approach to nature . . . could reclaim for Africa and India the environmental gains they inherited from imperialism" (p. 166). This is a different strain of romanticism, but it is romanticism nonetheless.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

KENNETH M. MORRISON. *The Solidarity of Kin: Ethnohistory, Religious Studies, and the Algonkian-French Religious Encounter*. (SUNY Series in Native American Religions.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002. Pp. x, 243. Cloth \$65.50, paper \$21.95.

This collection of essays, written over an extended number of years, explores Catholic missionary relations with several northeastern Algonkian peoples during the seventeenth century with the aim of arriving at a cross-cultural understanding of their history and giving due weight to the Indian side of the story. Kenneth M. Morrison holds that scholars, not understanding Amerindian religious life and judging it by non-Indian standards, have not appreciated that it had "a relational, pragmatic character all its own" (p. 31), and have consequently long misrepresented it in their histories. He argues that Amerindians, aware that missionary teachings were challenging their identity and social solidarity, turned to their own traditions and rituals for guidance in assessing Christian claims. He sees it as inappropriate to classify the changes they accepted as "conversions," as some traditions (defined as "a dynamic consensus about reality" [p. 6]) were retained and are still followed. Using folklore as an example, he cites the continuing presence of the mythic Gluskap, even as the tales also reveal a gradual, but not uniform, adaptation to Christianity. He sees the "explosion of uncertainty" (p. 4) created by the Christian message as leading to deep rifts in Algonkian societies, whose collective goal had traditionally been kinship solidarity.

Principal subjects of this survey are the Wabanaki (Abenaki, including Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Kennebec), Mi'kmaq, Montagnais, and Ojibwa. The author selected these northeastern Algonkians because of the wealth of contemporary documentary sources left by the French, such as the *Jesuit Relations*, especially the accounts of Father Paul Le Jeune, superior at Quebec from 1632 to 1639. The Montagnais were the first to feel the full force of French missionary initiative; they were the ones who would

establish Sillery, Quebec's first mission village. According to Morrison, the Jesuits owed much of their success to acting in ways that "the Algonkians could recognize within their own cultural terms" (pp. 76–77).

He also points out that understanding the variables that occurred during contact calls for taking into consideration the great distances that existed between European and Indian cultures at the time. Where European societies were comparatively large in scale, those of the northeastern Amerindians were small scale; European politics were authoritarian, the Amerindian consensual; European economies were based on profit, the Amerindian on sharing; European traditions featured the dogmatic, while those of the Amerindians were experientially oriented. Not rising to the challenge of dealing with these differences has meant that scholars failed "to understand Algonkian religious life in its own terms" (p. 171). The result has been a "long tradition of ethnocentrically misinterpreting Algonkian religious life" (p. 166). Morrison quotes Calvin Martin: "The traditional historian colonizes the Indian's mind" (p. 17).

In his survey of this complex scene, the author proceeds by analyzing the approaches of well-known historians in the light of his own extensive research. He takes issue with Bruce Trigger for apparently viewing the interaction between Europeans and Indians as one-sided when he wrote of their encounters "as shaped by 'what happened' to Native American peoples, rather than as mediated by their ability to discern contact events in terms meaningful to themselves" (p. 32). Of James Axtell's study on conversion, Morrison comments that not only did it fail to display an understanding of Indian thinking, it concentrated on the missionary side of the story (pp. 155–56, 159). Ake Hultkrantz, for his part, got it wrong when he exalted the supernatural over the natural in Ojibwa and other Native American religious systems, when in reality "the Great Spirit did not attain theistic dominance in the Algonkians' religious view of the world" (p. 41). Morrison's critical reviews continue in impassioned detail.

Meticulously researched and written with great conviction (if not always with great clarity), Morrison's study opens doors that have been closed for too long. Only when this book is itself subjected to critical analysis, and the results of the new research it calls for are published, will its long-term effects on contact historiography become fully evident. But in the meantime, it will certainly give rise to questions about the standard historical approach to early missionary activity in the Americas.

OLIVE PATRICIA DICKASON  
University of Ottawa

GEORGE EMERY and J. C. HERBERT EMERY. *A Young Man's Benefit: The Independent Order of Odd Fellows and Sickness Insurance in the United States and Canada, 1860–1929*. (McGill-Queen's/Associated Medical Services [Hannah Institute] studies in the History of



Medicine, Health, and Society, number 7.) Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 184. \$55.00.

"Odd Fellows"—the words evoke Jackie Gleason's antics as Ralph Kramden, exalted member of the Loyal Order of Racoons. Many have regarded fraternal orders, festooned with exotic rituals and encumbered with folksy insurance, as something of a joke. Little wonder they collapsed during the twentieth century. In 1989, however, I contended that the rituals exerted a powerful hold on many men (*Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*). But I had assumed, along with most scholars, the unsoundness of fraternal insurance, which, devoid of actuarial principles and administered by lodge officials, inevitably succumbed to the rationality and efficiency of the modern insurance corporations.

The authors of the present volume, George Emery and J. C. Herbert Emery, held similar assumptions but chose to test them. They focused on the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in the United States and Canada. The Odd Fellows, with over two million members, were the largest of the orders that provided sick (disability) benefits, and by 1920 the order had substantially eliminated its insurance system. (The Freemasons, a more powerful and influential order, provided no systematized insurance.) The authors culled data from government reports and scores of lodge records on membership, premium payments, and benefits. These they subjected to a battery of econometric tests, some of them quite elegant.

Several revelations emerged. Fraternal insurance was no joke. On the contrary, it proved to be effective partly because of its folksiness. Members constituted an effective and unpaid "sales" force, and social bonds discouraged submission of false claims and promoted prompt payment of dues. The Odd Fellows did not employ actuarial pricing, but neither did the commercial insurers of the day. The authors concluded that the Odd Fellows provided "an efficient delivery of working-class sickness insurance that commercial insurers could not match" (p. 66). Why did lodge officials eliminate an effective and competitive insurance system? More puzzling still, those who dismantled the sickness benefit system had paid the most into the system, and were, as older members, more likely to become ill. Why did an aging cohort of Odd Fellows eliminate an insurance from which they were most likely to benefit?

The authors conclude that the sickness benefit was chiefly used by young members—thus the book's title. Sickness benefits, administered by "friendly societies," had evolved in England in response to the industrial revolution, which by weakening apprenticeship systems and other traditional familial bonds, left young men vulnerable if they became sick or injured. Lacking savings as well as the potential income of older children, young breadwinners in England joined "friendly societies"—voluntary associations—that pro-

vided disability insurance. In the United States, fraternal orders emerged and provided, in addition to their elaborate initiatory rituals, disability insurance. During the early twentieth century, as fewer young men joined, the increasingly elderly Odd Fellows, given the choice of raising fees or eliminating the benefit, chose the latter. As mature men, they had little need for a "young man's benefit."

This study puts the discussion of the function and meaning of the fraternal orders on much firmer footing. But the main conclusion—that young men joined the Odd Fellows chiefly to take advantage of the benefit system—rests on deductions that resist statistical confirmation. From 1890 to 1920, the Odd Fellows experienced a "spectacular" growth in membership. Yet the expansion coincided with the dismantling of the benefit system. Why would young men join the Odd Fellows to take advantage of a benefit that was being eliminated? And why, if young men joined because of the insurance, did lodge officials choose to eliminate it?

Lodge officials were acutely conscious of the need to attract new members. The orders required an infusion of younger men not only to sustain the benefit fund but also to provide initiates for the elaborate pageants that constituted the chief activity on lodge nights. Veteran Odd Fellows evidently came to regard their insurance system, however effective, as a hindrance in recruitment. They chose instead to emulate the Freemasons, who had become influential by disdaining insurance. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Odd Fellows, young and old, had little interest in the insurance system. Officials concluded that if the order was to survive, it would do so because members valued its social activities and rituals. The problem was that, after 1920, a new generation of men did not. The authors concede that Odd Fellows did not join "solely on the basis of insurance considerations" (p. 25). It is "tricky," they add, to draw conclusions about motivations from statistical data (p. 25). This study, by demonstrating the effectiveness of fraternal insurance, shows the revelatory power of well-conceived econometric applications to historical materials. That the folksy insurance of the lodge was efficient and competitive provides yet another proof that the cutting edge of modernity is duller than we think. But that salutary caution applies, too, to econometric analysis. Numbers provide an invaluable means of compressing, amalgamating, and comparing human behavior; but they do not always, or perhaps ever, explain why we do what we do.

MARK C. CARNES  
Barnard College

DAVID GAGAN and ROSEMARY R. GAGAN. *For Patients of Moderate Means: A Social History of the Voluntary Public General Hospital in Canada, 1890–1950*. (McGill-Queen's Associate Medical Services [Hannah Institute] Studies in the History of Medicine, Health, and Society, number 13.) Montreal and Kingston:

McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 268. \$49.95.

This book introduces the reader to some of the major themes in Canadian hospital history. David Gagan and Rosemary R. Gagan build on the previous work of David Gagan in *A Necessity Among Us: The Owen Sound General and Marine Hospital* (1990), which remains one of the better individual hospital histories available. Together the Gagans are able to broaden the perspective of the earlier work, and the themes that emerge here will be familiar to historians of American medicine. What makes their study different, however, is the knowledge that health care in Canada took a different turn. The passage of the federal Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act in 1957 was the Canadian solution to the problems in hospital care detailed in this book.

The book consists of six chapters. The first three are chronological, focusing on the voluntary general hospital and its origins, through a short but "golden age" of expansion, to the need to reconfigure hospital financing. Chapter one begins in the late Victorian period when hospitals, which had long been agencies of charity, began to be viewed as institutions of health care, a result of the emergence of "scientific" medicine and the inability of many middle-class families to care for their sick within the home. Chapter two examines the expansion of hospitals during the early decades of the new century. For their managers, hospitals were institutions for paying patients; indigent patients were discouraged even though by law they had to be treated. Administrators' hope of balancing the expansion and implementation of scientific medicine with revenue generated by paying patients was difficult to achieve and by the end of the 1920s looked increasingly unlikely.

The cost of running a hospital outdistanced its revenues, a situation that seemed to have no solution. The Depression of the 1930s made the problem impossible to ignore, and chapter three traces the final failure of hospitals for "patients of moderate means." Middle-class Canadians who had once looked to the hospital for care could no longer afford to pay for that care. Due to private and voluntary medical insurance schemes, there was a resurgence of patients in the 1940s, but after years of retrenchment hospitals were hard pressed to respond and when they did it was in a way that differentiated between the care and treatment of those with health insurance and those without. This was a situation with which Canadians were uncomfortable, and government responded with the beginnings of state medicine, which is still very much at the heart of the way many Canadians define and distinguish their culture from that of the United States.

The last three chapters are more thematic in approach. Chapter four examines physicians, in particular their advocacy of scientific medicine, which divided the profession into those with hospital privileges and those without. The Gagans trace the efforts of doctors

outside the hospitals to gain privileges within so they could continue to treat their paying patients. They advocated and hoped for a "medical democracy" where they could work in a collegial atmosphere. But it was a short-lived dream. By the 1940s, hospitals retrenched against private practitioners in order to control expenditure, limit hospital liability, and respond to a new elitism/specialization emerging in the profession.

Chapter five examines nurses and their exploitation. In the efficient running of hospitals, patients, doctors, and administrators had long been dependent on the work of student nurses who were underpaid and overworked under the pretense of quality training. Only with the need to have a "professional" image were hospitals willing to pay nurses a living wage and that did not occur until World War II. Chapter six investigates patients and their role. As the Gagans point out, it is difficult to assess how successful hospitals were in caring for and curing people. Hospitals tended to see patients through the lens of bed vacancies and length of stay. Nevertheless, through the demographics of patients and their experiences in hospitals the Gagans have been able to give their study a human face.

This book is the new benchmark for anyone doing Canadian hospital history. It provides a structure of development that future historians will need to address. At 188 pages, excluding appendixes, however, it leaves much room for more detailed examination.

WENDY MITCHINSON  
University of Waterloo

LAWRENCE J. FRIEDMAN and MARK D. MCGARVIE, editors. *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 467. \$40.00.

More than four decades after the publication of *American Philanthropy* (1960), an ambitious new volume aspires to supercede Robert H. Bremner's durable but brief and dated history of the subject. This collaboration among two editors and eighteen essayists draws on the recent work of scores if not hundreds of scholars, stretching its subject far beyond the limits that Bremner set for himself. Collections of essays are almost always uneven, and this one is no exception. The merits of individual contributions are secondary concerns, however, in assessing a work that attempts nothing less than a new synthesis of its topic. If the book leaves some loose threads (and it does), it nevertheless offers both historians and professionals in the not-for-profit world a valuable new account of the origins and development of the amorphous segment of American life that is neither commercial nor governmental.

Historians who have not been paying close attention may be surprised to learn that philanthropy and related topics have attracted substantial scholarly interest since 1960. Sometimes caricatured with the image

of Lady Bountiful, philanthropy hardly seems at first glance a compelling concern for a generation of scholars more likely to be interested in the powerless and oppressed than in wealthy benefactors. The greatest merits of this collection grow out of its redefinition of its subject to incorporate questions of race, class, gender, and ethnicity that historians of philanthropy might once have considered out of place. Whereas Bremner reported on the activities of philanthropists, all of them white, most of them male, Protestant, and acting alone, the new synthesis is much more complicated. It makes room for Jews, Catholics, and people of color, women as well as men, beneficiaries as well as benefactors, to an extent that the earlier volume did not. It is also an account of institutions no less than individuals. Indeed, central to the story is the development from charity as an individual enterprise to the creation of formal organizations, most of them voluntary associations, in the early nineteenth century to the establishment of philanthropic foundations, the first of which took shape after the Civil War. Although Bremner paid some attention to reform initiatives, the new synthesis allots much more space than he did to civic betterment activities. Individual chapters on such subjects as civil rights, the political influence of the women's movement, and international relief during the Cold War suggest the extent of the contributors' interests and the sweep of their story. The new synthesis is not narrowly confined to almsgiving; it is an account of initiatives for the public good with both initiatives and the public defined very broadly.

Weaving a synthesis on so big a subject from the contributions of eighteen essayists is no easy task, and the book occasionally misses a beat. In a valuable introduction, editor Lawrence J. Friedman capably draws out the themes that connect the collection's many articles, and the essayists also take pains to link their contributions to other pieces. Some readers will, however, look in vain for discussions of subjects of special interest to them. For the most part, Asians, Hispanics, and Muslims are missing in action. Cultural institutions such as museums, symphonies, private schools and colleges, historical societies, and public broadcasting rarely receive more than passing mention, although they would easily fit into the collections' expansive intellectual framework. The volume also has an orientation toward the northeastern United States, stinting the rest of the country.

In addition to these lacunae, at least three issues more conceptual in nature require attention. Like most historians, the contributors to the volume deal better with change than continuity. Indeed, the institutional model for charity that the essayists collectively suggest, culminating in the development of modern, rationalized, bureaucratized foundations, implies the creative destruction of earlier organizations as they became dated. But what of those institutions that have survived in a changing philanthropic world? The American Bible Society, with its impressive headquarters in Manhattan, and the Shriners, with their impor-

tant network of hospitals for burn victims, are examples of old institutional forms updated to contribute to a modern world. The book begins with an epigraph from the *Book of Mormon*, but the Latter-Day Saints are also missing in action, although the church's extensive social service work offers an important example of the faith-based philanthropy that President George W. Bush has promoted. Historians of philanthropy will need to give further thought to how institutions of many kinds have transformed themselves to meet new needs.

Non-profit executives in the trenches will recognize the absence of another vital theme: the inevitable need to establish priorities. From the eighteenth century, when individuals apologized for their inability to match the example of the Good Samaritan, to the nineteenth century, when missionary societies and orphanages defined their objectives in by-laws and charters of incorporation, to the present, when foundations specify their interests in statements of purpose, philanthropists have tried to accommodate their activities to their resources. The need to set priorities has been central both to philanthropic practice and to philanthropic rhetoric, a fact that any synthesis of the subject ought to recognize.

Finally, this collection pounds the last nail into the coffin of social control, the cynical thesis that self-interest was necessarily at the root of public service. If one dismisses social control as a naïve explanation for these initiatives, though, what replaces it? A few contributors touch on the question in passing, and it is at the heart of Stephen J. Whitfield's account of Jewish initiatives, but the collection does not have an answer for the question. In view of the diversity of the activities the new synthesis includes, this is a complicated issue, but complexity makes it no less important.

The foregoing comments suggest the exciting opportunities that this book offers its readers. Like all productive syntheses, it opens as many questions as it answers. The next generation of historians of philanthropy will be the beneficiaries.

CONRAD EDICK WRIGHT

*Massachusetts Historical Society*

CHARLENE MIRES. *Independence Hall in American Memory*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 350. \$34.95.

The building we know as Independence Hall was built in 1732, at the edge of town in Philadelphia, as the Pennsylvania State House. The Second Continental Congress began meeting there in May 1775, and in July of the following year members adopted a resolution declaring independence from Great Britain. Eleven years later, delegates met in the same room to draft what became the United States Constitution. The Pennsylvania Assembly continued meeting in the building, sometimes at the same time as these national gatherings and in opposition to them. After Pennsylvania moved its capital west in the 1790s, the structure



housed Charles Willson Peale's museum of art and natural history. The city of Philadelphia bought the old state house and refurbished the first-floor "Hall of Independence" for the Marquis de Lafayette's 1824 return to America. Thus historical commemoration became one of the building's formal uses, but it did not displace other uses for many years. The building served as a U.S. courthouse, where fugitive slave hearings sent at least one Philadelphian back to bondage, from one floor above the national altar of freedom. Philadelphia's city councils remodelled the courtroom after the Civil War and met there until the 1890s. For the past century, its uses have been historical.

Charlene Mires sets out to inquire into the role of buildings in defining and propagating public memory. Histories of preservation frequently take structures themselves as the central story, without inquiring too deeply into their meaning for people. Mires looks at Independence Hall as a subject, recounting the stories that contemporaries told in reinterpreting history and the building's role in it. She looks at it as a site, controlled or contested by the state, the city, patriotic and other groups, and now the National Park Service. She looks at it as an artifact, edited and embellished by these groups both for practical purposes and to communicate particular messages. And she looks at it as an icon, examining its changing use in the service of national and local identity and in commercial advertisements.

The scale of historical turf at Independence Hall has expanded over the years. In the 1820s, the "Hall" was the room where the Declaration was signed. By the 1876 centennial, "Independence Hall" meant the whole building, and Philadelphians began to impute sanctity to all of "Independence Square" (originally called the State House yard). In 1954, demolition began for Independence Mall, clearing three blocks to create a vista of Independence Hall from the north. Independence National Historical Park razed much of the three blocks to the east. The Society Hill urban renewal project preserved nearby buildings but erased the traces of generations who had lived in them. Each jump in scale brought erasures, usually of the nineteenth-century city.

The fabric of the building itself saw considerable editing. Remodeling for Lafayette's 1824 visit created an interior far more elaborate than the original. After the city councils left in the 1890s, the Daughters of the American Revolution created a new Colonial Revival interior, asserting over this building a control their elite families had lost in the city around it. In the 1920s, restoration architects made a first essay at greater accuracy in recreating the eighteenth-century interior. The National Park Service in the 1970s completed a restoration that corrected many of the errors of previous efforts. This story ought to inspire humility among restorers. Mires intends it also to make another point: that public memory is not only the story of what we keep but also of what we discard, and the erasures may be the more illuminating part of the story.

Mires also tells the story of the Liberty Bell, which in the late nineteenth century came into its own as a distinct icon. Unlike Independence Hall, it was conveniently available for road trips away from Philadelphia—to the Chicago Columbian Exposition as well as several reconciliation tours of the former Confederate states. The Liberty Bell became the embodiment of abstract ideals of freedom, distinct from the particular historic events that had taken place in the old state house. As time passed, Independence Hall no longer spoke of the immediacy of the revolutionary past but rather of its distance from modern life.

This book is important to preservationists who wish to understand the movement's larger context, and to public historians who may better understand the ways the environment itself serves as a medium of communicating historical interpretations.

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University of Colorado,  
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LUCY G. BARBER. *Marching on Washington: The Forging of an American Political Tradition*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 323. \$34.95.

Scholars of American public opinion have long been troubled by political protest as a mechanism for the communication of popular sentiment. How are we to think about rallies, demonstrations, and marches when they are typically messy and highly idiosyncratic? Marches are one of our most obvious "bottom-up" forms of opinion expression, along with petitioning, strikes, and political theater, and so we are attracted to them as organic phenomena in sync with the most glorious forms of political participation. Marches are—more vividly than many other means—one form of public opinion expression that matches tenets of classical democratic theories most closely. As a result, students of public opinion will always be attracted to these public displays, and now Lucy G. Barber adds her own valuable insights to this tradition in an elegantly written and highly engaging book.

Washington, D.C., Barber argues, was established as the geographic manifestation of representation itself, a grand city built as a meeting place for great men who would come together to decide the nation's collective future. U.S. citizens send people to Washington in their place, but until the early twentieth century, they did not expect to go there themselves. Even Mr. Jefferson Smith, of Frank Capra's masterful *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), saw the capital for the first time not as a tourist but as a replacement U.S. senator. Before that, Washington was a distant and fantastical place, for Mr. Smith, his boy rangers, and the citizens of his unnamed far-western state.

The nature of Washington, D.C., as a monument to democracy, populated primarily by elected representatives, began to fade in the late nineteenth century with the first real march on Washington, that of



Coxey's Army in 1894. Jacob Coxey and his marchers (the Commonweal of Christ) sought to persuade Congress to enact a variety of measures that would alleviate the suffering of the poor through the creation of jobs and other federal programs. Coxey's Army, as it was called, walked hundreds of miles from Ohio to Washington and attracted much criticism. The Commonweal marchers were labeled "tramps" by many journalists and observers and did not succeed in their legislative goals. As Barber points out, "looking like Coxey's Army" became an American expression for labeling "a ragtag, dirty, disorderly group." The march, while a failure, did alert Washington's elite that protests of this sort could become a danger. But no other group dared the mockery and shame of trying to march on Washington until the woman suffrage procession of 1913. In her book, Barber vividly describes Coxey's Army, the 1913 suffrage demonstration, the Veterans' Bonus March of 1932, the cancellation of the 1942 Negro March on Washington, as well as the 1963 Jobs and Freedom March and the 1971 antiwar "Spring Offensive."

This is not a book with a grand overarching argument, and in fact Barber is careful to scrutinize each of the marches on their own terms instead of trying to push them into a larger theoretical framework. She deftly uses a variety of constructs and theories about public space, but is not in thrall to any of them, so Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas, and others appear but never overshadow the marchers themselves in all of their diversity. Through her exploration of marchers' motivations, organization, battles with authority, hesitation and debate about strategy, we learn a tremendous amount about the history of political protest and the changing nature of public space.

My only complaint about this splendid book concerns a lack of sensitivity to the changing nature of the mass media, which is a phantom hanging over the arguments and analyses of the marches. There are a few brief notes referring readers to media textbooks and tracts on journalism history, but the truth is that media radically changed the context in which marchers marched. Perhaps sustained attention to the evolution of journalistic norms and practices would have made this a much lengthier book, but it also would have made it a richer one. For no matter how much we focus on the struggles of marchers and authorities (trying to control marchers), journalists will shape the events and legacies, either knowingly or unknowingly, bringing the demands of their own institutional structure to coverage of the marches.

Relatedly, the book feels a bit quaint in that it focuses on one—albeit vital—physical space. With the diffusion of television in the 1950s and 1960s, political space became increasingly electronic. Indeed, the electronic nature of political activism intensifies yearly as activists use the internet to form community, exchange ideas, motivate voters, and plan demonstrations. So while this is a terrific look at late nineteenth and early twentieth-century protests, some thoughts about the

appearance of visual electronic space in the mid-twentieth century would be welcome.

This is a fine book for scholars and students of public opinion who are interested in the nature of expression and the physical manifestation of political emotion. Barber should be commended for the elegance and provocative nature of the volume, which adds tremendous depth to our understanding of public opinion communication in the United States.

SUSAN HERBST  
Temple University

JANE T. MERRITT. *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2003. Pp. vi, 338. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

As remembered by late nineteenth-century Scots-Irish communities of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, a Native American woman played an important role in welcoming their ancestors to what would become Craig's Settlement in 1728. By recounting their past in this way, they also embraced an Indian past and became heirs of the country in which they now lived, in the process shedding their status as immigrants and becoming truly American. Jane T. Merritt shows that not only was there a grain of truth in this peaceful remembering of past Euramerican-Native relations but that, equally, it erased the more horrific coming of age of another group of Scots-Irish. In 1763, the Paxton Boys, as they later became known, surrounded the Lancaster workhouse where a group of peaceful Conestoga Indians had taken refuge and killed and mutilated at least fourteen men, women, and children. In doing so, the Paxton Boys cast all Indians as racialized others at the same time that they criticized the provincial government and claimed full inclusion in the expanding British Empire. As illuminating as these stories are, they form only two ends of a spectrum of experiences in Merritt's insightful examination of interactions between Native Americans and whites in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, in which she further complicates our understanding of the "middle ground" in the mid-Atlantic region. Employing an innovative research methodology, including extensive research in German Moravian records, Merritt charts the complex relations between Natives and newcomers, among Natives themselves, and especially among particular groups within these sets: among, for example, the Delaware, Shawnee, and Iroquois Indians, Natives and missionaries, and new settlers, Natives, and provincial and imperial authorities. Through her examination of these shifting sands of renegotiated relationships, Merritt's main argument unfolds and mirrors the book's opening vignettes: the cooperation that marked early interactions between most groups, particularly in the Delaware and Susquehanna River valleys and the Indian mission towns of eastern Penn-

sylvania, gave way to growing conflict in the mid-eighteenth century—greatly exacerbated by the Seven Years' War—as nationalist identities emerged within both white and Indian communities and differences between the two were increasingly characterized in racial terms.

In developing this argument, Merritt takes us along neglected paths to bring us to the many crossroads of her title, where most interactions between Natives and newcomers took place. In her carefully plotted opening chapters especially, she explores the social, cultural, economic, and political forces at play in the mission towns that helped bring Native Americans and Euramericans together in the first half of the eighteenth century. She pays particular attention to the roles played by gender relations, kinship and community networks, and religion and the Indian Great Awakening in building bridges between communities. Merritt is at her best in exploring the micro-world of Moravian mission towns, building up a picture of interdependence, adaptation, and the adoption of new, sometimes mutually beneficial strategies by diverse groups seeking to survive in a world in flux. Thus, in the 1730s and 1740s, Delawares, Nanticokes, and Shawnees found themselves in new alliances with English, Scots-Irish, and German settlers against the machinations of Pennsylvania's provincial government and the ever-present Iroquois Confederacy.

But Merritt's wonderfully nuanced readings of pre-Seven Years' War relations in eastern Pennsylvania also raise concerns about her postwar discussion. For example, Merritt seems to want to make the Seven Years' War a crucial turning point in relations between Natives and Euramericans. Yet her own evidence also points to growing fractures between Indian and white communities prior to the war and suggests that the conflict only accelerated a process that was perhaps inevitable as more and more Euramericans flooded into the region and the balance of power shifted between groups. However, Merritt's postwar discussion takes a step back from the details of life in the mission towns, as she shifts her focus to imperial relations, the languages of diplomacy, and analyses of ideas of race and nation. This treatment is no less insightful than the first half of the book, but it raises different questions. Although it is clear that Indians and whites were erecting cultural and even physical barriers between their communities by the 1760s, Merritt's own research suggests that some still traveled unseen roads to reach across these isolating walls.

These are, of course, only minor questions of emphasis in a work that will stand as a rich contribution not only to several lively schools of work—on memory and history, gender, language, Native American syncretic religion, race, and nation—but also to the burgeoning body of innovative scholarly work on the middle ground of Native American relations with

Euramericans in the mid-Atlantic region and the Ohio Valley.

MICHAEL A. McDONNELL  
University of Sydney

SIMON P. NEWMAN. *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. 211. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$18.95.

The study of the lower sort in urban colonial America has received considerable attention over the past several decades. Inspired by the new social history that emerged in the 1960s and led by Gary B. Nash, Billy G. Smith, John Alexander, Marcus Rediker, and others, these historians convincingly argued that understanding the ways in which society treated its poor offered considerable insight into the discrepancy between the promise of America and its reality.

Simon P. Newman's book fits into this tradition. It focuses on various bodies from the perspective of middling and upper-class Philadelphians who criticized and attempted to reform the poor, and it explores the ways in which life experiences were inscribed on the bodies of the poor, who earned their livelihood from bodily labors. Newman examines the bodies that were placed in late eighteenth-century Philadelphia institutions—the almshouse, Walnut Street Jail, and the Pennsylvania Hospital For the Sick Poor—and runaway, seafaring, and dead bodies. He seeks to illuminate the struggle between middling and elite folk on one side, who judged and attempted to mold the bodies of the lower sort, and the poor, who refused to yield control over their own lives.

The almshouse and jail were imagined and governed by remarkably similar impulses. The poor inhabited both, and authorities in each institution claimed that the poor had committed the crime of poverty. While some poor bodies, ravaged by disease or broken with age, entered the almshouse to die, most came to heal or revive. But like the jail, the almshouse incarcerated these bodies. Authorities in both institutions also assumed that the people housed inside should not be passive recipients of aid or confinement. Almshouse residents who were physically able worked as part of their eventual reformation; jail inmates received discipline along with a program intended to refashion them. Both institutions hid their populations from view, hoping to protect society from the threat they posed to good order.

But if these characteristics describe the almshouse and jail from the vantage point of the authorities who designed and administered them, they fail to capture how the poor used these institutions for their own ends. Some relied on the almshouse for their seasonal retreat. They entered in the frigid winter months but escaped as soon as the weather turned warmer, returning to their former haunts and avoiding the regimen of work or the mandatory lessons in morality. Others, like Hugh O'Hara, exchanged their rags for clothing that

they promptly sold. Jail inmates also had occasion to resist by defying prison rules against socializing with each other, or maintaining communities that "transcended color lines" (p. 58).

The sick and injured bodies inside the hospital reflected the common suffering of Philadelphia's lower sort. Admittance was restricted to the deserving poor and to those who were not carriers of infectious disease. Both the almshouse and the hospital cared for the sick but the hospital did not function like a prison or workhouse; it was dedicated to the care and treatment of its patients.

Runaway advertisements suggest the harshness of servant and slave labor or testify about why some chose to abscond. Masters' descriptions also reveal defiant bodies: individuals who drank too much, refused to look them in the eye, or declined to answer questions directly. They speak to the runaways' intention to join family, to disguise themselves with clothing, or to melt into anonymity in Philadelphia. Seafarers' bodies carried the most specific marks, not just from injury and disease, to which they were prone, but in the tattoos they displayed on their hands and arms. These works of art expressed pride of labor, of family, or of religion.

The ways in which poor bodies died provides the final vantage point from which to view life on the margins. Imbedded in the statistics on mortality was a running commentary on the immorality of the poor. The poor died younger, succumbed more often to infectious disease, and had to endure society's critique.

Simon pulls diverse material together, and his focus on the physical body, although not new, is innovative. He goes much farther in trying to understand what it was like to experience poverty. However, I do think Newman missed an opportunity to break out of the paradigm of social historians who have preceded him. He works within the same dichotomy that posits societal control over poor bodies on one side and the agency of the poor in the form of response on the other. What Simon has done then is to make fuller what we know rather than to ask whether we might rethink the project of social history.

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GEORGE M. MARSDEN. *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 615. \$35.00.

Committed to depicting Jonathan Edwards "in his own times and in his own terms" (p. 2), George M. Marsden brilliantly clarifies his life and thought by locating him in multiple contexts: the international Reformed Protestant movement, the intrigues of the British Empire, the conflicts of colonial Massachusetts, the strife of rural villages, and a set of bafflingly complicated relationships within his larger family. This book is analytically rewarding, but it makes its points by telling a story, rich with detail, grounded in solid research,

and informed by mastery of the period and by appreciative, although not uncritical, sympathy for the subject.

Because of Edwards's frequent exchange of letters with Scottish pastors, his admiring comments on continental theologians, and his debates with British moralists, historians have long recognized his place within an international network of Reformed clergy. Marsden further illumines this Reformed heritage by situating the New England revivals within their international setting and by analyzing Edwards's close yet distant relationship with the revivalist George Whitefield, whom Edwards supported, although with a greater willingness to criticize than Whitefield sometimes liked. The book also captures the breadth of Edwards's Reformed theology, accentuating especially his preoccupation with millennialism throughout his career. For Marsden's Edwards, millennial themes interpreted the sweep of history, the colonial religious awakenings, and the dilemmas and disappointments of village life.

The millennialism found expression especially during the wars in which the British and French empires collided on the North American continent. These imperial clashes immersed the Edwards household in chaos more than once during the seven years that Edwards catechized the Mahican Indians in the tiny outpost of Stockbridge. Edwards followed with close attention the outcome of the imperial struggles, not only because they sometimes threatened his village and his family but also because of their bearing on his millennial speculations.

The detail is richest when Marsden describes the daily life of a colonial minister in New England villages bubbling with rivalries, disputes, jealousies, economic tensions, and family squabbles. Edwards disliked conflict and yet spent his life buffeted by it, partly because of his own inflexibility and aloofness in matters of principle. Marsden nicely analyzes the struggles over revivalism, church membership, baptism, salaries, and social mores that led to Edwards's dismissal from Northampton and his subsequent troubles at Stockbridge. Edwards's efforts to discipline some of the boys of Northampton for passing around a book on midwifery—efforts that have sometimes stereotyped him as an overwrought prude—take on a somewhat different meaning when we learn that the boys were all in their twenties, that they took delight in embarrassing and ridiculing young women with their newfound knowledge, that they had recently joined in a piously public renewal of the covenant, and that they used the occasion to decry, with ample scorn and scatological humor, the village's assumptions about social deference. In a similar manner, Edwards's troubles in Stockbridge make more sense when we see them as rooted partly in his anger at English exploitation of the Native Americans whom he hoped to convert to Christianity and at the self-interested economic ambitions of the Williams family. And each of the several local conflicts that drained Edwards's energies occurred within a broader field of struggle between



revivalists and antirevivalists, eastern and western clergy, liberals and conservatives.

Marsden is unusually helpful in sorting out the family issues. He makes a plausible case that Edwards's father, Timothy Edwards, was more important for him theologically than his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard. He displays the multilayered dimensions of Edwards's relationship to his wife, Sarah Pierpont, who not only assumed religious leadership in the family but also stabilized the troubled household economics of the Edwards family. And, above all, Marsden delves into the tangle of rivalries and resentments that disrupted the relationships between Edwards and his close relatives, the Williamses. From the Northampton years to the Stockbridge interlude, the Williams clan was always there, sometimes as allies but more often as bitter enemies, opposed to Edwards's theology, his hopes for the church, and his goals as a missionary.

Part of Marsden's purpose in telling his story is to argue that "people like Edwards"—proponents of an exclusive, evangelical form of Christianity—need to have a larger place in the telling of the American story (p. 9). No single biography can lay out the evidence for that assertion, but Marsden's account succeeds in showing how Edwards left an imprint on the intellectual and religious life of both his own time and a later era. The book does what a good biography ought to do: it illumines a life and a culture. It will endure as the standard account.

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DOUGLAS A. SWEENEY. *Nathaniel Taylor, New Haven Theology, and the Legacy of Jonathan Edwards*. (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 255. \$45.00.

In this work, Douglas A. Sweeney asserts that the intellectual origins of Nathaniel William Taylor and other New Haven theologians can be attributed to the legacy of Jonathan Edwards and that Taylor's contribution to New England theology should be understood within the context of Edwardsian Calvinism. As one of the most influential theologians of the antebellum period, Taylor provided a vigorous and innovative defense of Calvinist doctrine, one that provided a basis for the Second Great Awakening and fueled a series of controversies within the Congregational and Presbyterian communities. Through all of his controversies, Taylor insisted that he was remaining faithful to the Edwardsian tradition, with only minor modifications to make the old theology more defensible to a nineteenth-century audience, and Sweeney argues that we should take the New Haven protestations seriously.

Sweeney displays an impressive knowledge of antebellum theology and its origins within the Protestant tradition. He provides lucid, thoughtful discussions of many of the important theological debates. His understanding of the complex personal and professional

relationships is equally important to understanding the antebellum religious culture. He frames this study as a yes or no proposition, in that he argues that Taylor and his New Haven colleagues were truly within the Edwardsian tradition. He loosely defines Edwardsian culture as focused on Edwards's distinction between moral and physical ability, plus the insistence on immediate repentance (p. 31). The bulk of his book is devoted to exploring the ways in which the Edwardsian heritage was manifested in such diverse areas as original sin, the moral government of God, and the nature of regeneration.

Although his points are always well taken, such an approach causes Sweeney to concentrate upon the Edwardsian aspects of New Haven theology while giving scant attention to the ways in which Taylor departed from his Edwardsian heritage and the reasons for these departures. Sweeney's definition of an Edwardsian culture groups Edwards together with his later followers such as Samuel Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, the younger Edwards, and especially Timothy Dwight. In so doing, Sweeney short circuits the substantial body of scholarship that describes how Edwards's followers subtly undermined the visionary aspects of Edwards's theology. The effects of influences outside of the Edwardsian tradition receive far less attention. Taylor once commented that Edwards and Joseph Butler were the two greatest influences on his theology, yet Butler receives four very quick mentions. Similarly, the role of Common Sense realism and the role of nineteenth-century psychology receive only passing mentions. Sweeney gives a few sentences to the "Woods 'n Ware" debates and notes that Taylor's work was largely intended as a refutation of Unitarianism (p. 70). Yet he does not explore the underlying appeal of Unitarianism, nor does he fully explain how Taylor's refutation of Unitarianism led to charges that he compromised the essence of Calvinism. To be sure, Sweeney is a careful scholar who never completely neglects contrary evidence; rather he chooses to focus on those aspects of New Haven theology that reflect the influence of Edwards.

Toward the conclusion of the work, Sweeney asserts that Taylor "stretched the Edwardsian culture so far that he eventually tore it apart" (p. 129). Yet the reader may be left to wonder why the controversies were so bitter if Taylor remained faithful to the Edwardsian tradition. Despite his solid research and lucid exposition, Sweeney fails to consider all of the nuances of New Haven theology.

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FRANK LAMBERT. *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 328. \$29.95.

The "central paradox of religion in America," Frank Lambert maintains, inheres in the contest between two historically embedded views of the United States. The



first—"belief in the superiority of one faith as the foundation of a moral nation"—energized New England's Puritans, while the second—a free society's desire for "unfettered religious liberty"—guided the "Founding Fathers" (p. 23). Controversialists on all sides of contemporary culture wars over church and state polemically conflate the Saints with the Framers, Lambert contends, whereas the two groups in fact stood on opposite shores of a sea change in thinking about religious liberty. Holding axiomatically that public worship should conform to a single scriptural standard which would ensure political stability, churches' seventeenth-century "nursing fathers," Virginians as much as New Englanders, sought to bind religious freedom in conformity's service. Such efforts collapsed during the eighteenth century as immigration increased denominational diversity while revivalists touting converts' ability to obtain grace outside their establishments and deists extolling conscience's natural rights affirmed that religious affiliation was a matter of personal choice, not state imperative. The American Revolution solidified the shift from a "regulated religious economy" to the "free marketplace of ideas." Allied with evangelical dissenters, the Constitution's rationalistic authors created a secular polity far different from Queen Elizabeth's Erastian state.

Lambert traverses familiar ground to good purpose. He carefully delineates the overlapping yet antagonistic conceptions of America as a Christian nation and a haven of religious freedom. Delimiting the Great Awakening to the 1740s, he rightly asserts that it radically contravened the parish system and urged laypeople to obtain salvation outside their establishments without claiming that it also increased "individualism," fostered "democracy," or instigated the revolution. Instead, the revival exposed the difficulty of regulating religion in a pluralistic society and predisposed evangelicals to accept constitutional protections for their (and thus others') faith. Adverting to an "American Revolution of Religion," Lambert cleverly intimates that ensconcing religious freedom within America's primal law mimicked (and is thus as historically significant as) settling Protestantism in the Church of England. The election of 1800, treated perceptively as a referendum on how members of a secular state should debate religious issues, culminated this revolution. In supporting Thomas Jefferson notwithstanding his "infidelity," evangelicals spurned Federalists' attempt to impose an extraconstitutional test on political candidates, ratifying religious liberty at the ballot box.

Persuasive as far as it goes, Lambert's analysis is also overly neat and sloppily presented. He misdates events like the passing of Virginia's Statute for Religious Freedom and botches details: neither New Jersey nor Delaware established the Church of England, although Georgia did. In electing to make the origins of religious liberty an essentially eighteenth-century story, he overlooks or misconstrues earlier developments. In the 1630s, Roger Williams introduced Rhode Islanders to

principles of religious liberty that Virginians would discountenance for another 150 years, while in Maryland Lord Baltimore mandated tolerance of and equal civil rights for both Catholics and Protestants, a position from which the province's eighteenth-century Anglicans retreated. Although acknowledging that Pennsylvania operated very differently from Virginia or Massachusetts, Lambert nonetheless states that William Penn's "noble attempt to unite Christians of all faiths" deteriorated into "political factionalism often drawn along sectarian lines" (p. 121)—as if such partisanship, which resembles Federalists excoriating Republicans more closely than it does Puritans hanging Quakers, better exemplifies a "regulated" religious economy than the far freer conditions that actually prevailed. Immigration, the Great Awakening, and the Enlightenment—Lambert's trinity of causes for catalyzing the free market—do not explain why three seventeenth-century colonizers, having turned the other cheek to their own persecutors, rejected uniformity in concept.

By contending that the First Amendment alone "embodied" the Framers' "religious settlement" (p. 205)—thereby neglecting their sufferance of state establishments—and trumpeting religious freedom's "triumph" (p. 14) in the revolution, Lambert tells a narrowly political, quasi-celebratory tale that neglects cultural context and Americans' continuing depiction of their land as a Christian (read "Protestant") nation. The Constitution was ratified in a society so certain of the perfect congruence between its fundamental law and Protestant moral values that, six years after passing Jefferson's statute, Virginia could enact a Sabbatarian bill with no sense of incongruity. Identifying the United States as the Lord's favored nation increased during the nineteenth century as Americans sang hymns about grace being shed upon their fruited plains, declared proselytizing the heathen to be their manifest destiny, and invoked God against Yankees or Rebels with homicidal facility. Meanwhile, Protestant particularism manifested itself in popular and official intolerance. The First Amendment prevented neither a mob from burning Boston's Ursuline convent in 1834 nor Congress from blackmailing Mormons into renouncing polygamy as the price for granting Utah's statehood. That, even in the twenty-first century, armed personnel must guard Jews attending High Holy Day services suggests how even the most competitive marketplace does not foster religious freedom absent widespread popular endorsement of its worth.

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BERNARD BAILYN. *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2003. Pp. x, 185. \$26.00.

Bernard Bailyn's extraordinary power of expression invests particular words with totemic power, and these

words are always in motion. "Transforming" is the most famous, as in *The Transforming Radicalism of the American Revolution*, the original title of Bailyn's best-known book. In the book under review, itself in many ways an aperçu of themes Bailyn has developed in the past half-century, the catch-word is "ambiguity": the ambiguity of American provincials, caught between the cautious admonitions of the old world and the unlimited possibilities of the new; the "ambiguities of freedom" that bedeviled Thomas Jefferson, at once an exploiter of slaves and the prophet of equality; the ambiguities of "reason and idealism in American diplomacy," that is, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams in Paris; the ambiguities of the Federalist papers, polemical political essays turned prescriptive judicial texts; and the ambiguity of the American Revolution in the Atlantic world, where, for example, North American federalism became the vehicle of South American nationalism.

Bailyn deftly connects the first and last of these ambiguities, the founders' provincialism and their federal constitution. It was Americans' simultaneous experience of an imperial parliament and provincial assemblies that educated them to the possibility of dual sovereignty. It was the provincials' experience of the expansion of political representation to match the physical growth of the colonies that led them to unite classical republicanism with expansive nationalism, to "expand the sphere," in James Madison's famous formulation.

"The Ambiguities of Freedom" that beset Jefferson make for more contentious reading. Bailyn portrays Jefferson as a person of protean reach and therefore inevitably ambiguous, a Whitmanesque American, inconsistent because he contained multitudes. A "natural politician" and an "efficient administrator" nonetheless possessed by "radical idealism" (p. 46), Jefferson was also at once a Virginian and an American, capable of inspiring both John C. Calhoun and Abraham Lincoln. In so Janus-faced a figure, Bailyn implies, there was no necessary connection between the public and the private, between the statesman and the man. In suggesting that Jefferson's hypocrisy about slavery, his duplicity about slander, and his political opportunism were no more than "the ambiguities of freedom" (p. 59), Bailyn discounts much serious historical work and, in the process, reminds his readers that Jefferson exemplified the politician's capacity to deny inconvenient facts, however public.

Meeting Franklin in Paris, Bailyn encounters not so much an embodiment of ambiguity as "a chameleon on plaid." Winningly, wittily, he brings iconography to the aid of history. To suit the political weather, Franklin changed his image as other men change their clothes, but it was only in Paris that the old shape shifter found artists equal to his inventiveness. Several of the most effective portraits were sculpted. Rich though Bailyn's illustrations are, two dimensions cannot do justice to the penetration of such a portrait bust as Pierre Houdouin's Franklin. In the round, Houdouin's life-

sized bust is surprisingly small, its visage remarkably shifty, even sly. This is Franklin as provincial politician, the "ward heeler of real talent" that his fellow Pennsylvanians would have recognized. Franklin preferred Jean-Jacques Caffreri's grandfatherly, almost majestic, figure (so does Bailyn), but it was Houdouin's Franklin that Adams deplored. Adams personifies idealism, just as Franklin does realism, for Bailyn. (To be effective, for Adams gets short shrift here, the contrast demands a viewing of Bailyn's penetrating pen portrait of Adams in *Faces of Revolution* [1990].) Franklin's realism and Adams's idealism were alike essential ingredients in securing French recognition of American independence, exemplifying Bailyn's conclusion "that America's successes, its great historical moments, have occurred when idealism and realism were combined" (p. 96).

Both were on display when "The Federalist" enriched the debate over the ratification of the federal Constitution. Again, Bailyn reminds us that the fears of the founders—that, as in Britain, so in the United States, the constitution would be corrupted by fiscal and military power—produced prescient prognostications. For example, "Brutus" denounced the potential for a "national debt so large as to exceed the ability of the country ever to sink" (p. 112). The Federalist response was Alexander Hamilton's conception of "concurrence" between conflicting jurisdictions, a benign balance incorporated in the new, federal, "mixed" Constitution. With its adoption, the work of the revolutionary generation—"intelligent, well-educated provincials" (p. 131)—began to reshape the politics of the Atlantic world. From Norway to Brazil, from Prussia to Venezuela, Bailyn calls up examples of the impact of the federal resolution of the American Revolution. One after another, new or liberalized states warmed their bodies politic at what Jefferson called "the sacred fire of freedom and self government" (p. 149). That fire was kindled, Bailyn reiterates, on the culture hearth of American provincialism, "on the far marchlands, where constraints were loosened and where one had to struggle to maintain the forms of civilized existence" (*Voyagers to the West: A Passage to America in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* [1986], p. 4). Elegant and eloquent, this book explores the ambiguities of the revolutionary generation, by no one as effectively encountered or fully realized as by Bailyn himself.

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DAVID J. SIEMERS. *Ratifying the Republic: Antifederalists and Federalists in Constitutional Time*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 292. \$55.00.

If the life of a constitution were measured in decades, not years, the American Constitution of 1787 would just have attained its majority. In retrospect, it seems remarkable that the infant survived its perilous first year of "constitutional time," the tumultuous decade

of the 1790s. Early disagreements over domestic and foreign policy quickly escalated into disputes over the proper meaning of the constitutional text, demonstrating that for Americans constitutional interpretation was simply a continuation of politics by other means. For the Constitution, the “terrible twos” came precociously early, as the organization of political parties and the bitterly contested election of 1800 released surprisingly deep passions in the body politic.

David J. Siemers uses the notion of “constitutional time” to rethink some familiar questions and problems of early constitutional history. A political scientist by training, Siemers is not interested in compiling a compelling narrative of these events. Nor does he offer fresh readings of essential texts, a chapter on “The Unbearable Transience of Federalist #10” notwithstanding. Rather, his project pursues two other aims. First, he asks how the Constitution, once it was legally ratified, quickly acquired a legitimacy so pervasive and embracing as to amount to an “apotheosis” that transcended a merely political “acquiescence” and thereby turned the text into “a nearly unassailable entity.” Part of the answer to this question hinges, as might be expected, on the way in which the opposition leadership of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison subjected Hamiltonian policies to sustained constitutional critique. But the more original element of this argument rests upon Siemers’s appraisal of the Constitution’s opponents. Anti-federalists could have used the events of the 1790s, which frequently confirmed their dire predictions of 1787–1788, to discredit the Constitution itself. Instead, they seized on the assurances that they had originally elicited from its Federalists supporters to argue that constitutional landmarks were being blatantly ignored. It was the sincerity of the Anti-federalists’ original engagement with the Constitution that converted them into adherents of the opposition party. Far from being “men of little faith” (to borrow the late Cecilia Kenyon’s famous characterization), Anti-federalists became James Wilson’s most faithful adherents, clinging to his doctrine that the Constitution was an express grant of limited powers.

Siemers does not restrict his analysis to Anti-federalists alone. Left to their own devices, they could not have fashioned an effective political opposition to Hamiltonian policies. But of course they did not labor alone, for the latent differences between Madison’s original agenda for constitutional reform and Hamilton’s had to emerge at the point in “constitutional time” when the common cause of ratification gave way to the fashioning of actual public policy. Hamilton’s success in pursuing those policies led Madison to abandon the “transient” logic of Federalist 10, which was supposed to explain why a faction could never seize durable control of the national government. Madison’s sense that the Federalists of the 1790s were ignoring constitutional landmarks fused with Anti-federalist concerns to establish the dual components of the Republican alliance.

Siemers’s appealing emphasis on the neglected problem of legitimacy illustrates one of the benefits of having familiar episodes in political or constitutional history viewed through the analytical lens of political science. His account should encourage historians familiar with these events to think more critically about the process of instituting a constitutional regime, rather than dwelling on the dynamics of early partisan conflict. Still, Siemers’s account would be more persuasive had he better developed his notion of “constitutional time.” The term recurs throughout the book but is never adequately defined, or insofar as it is, it simply reinforces the distinction between a legal act of ratification and the unfolding of the political processes required to turn a written Constitution into a working constitution. Siemers might also have considered the incentives that the Constitution gave to protagonists on both sides to escalate their disagreements over policy into tests of constitutional principle. Those incentives were inherent in the text and structure of the Constitution as well as the memories of the promises and pledges of 1787–1789, for there was more than enough ambiguity in its untidy distribution of powers to encourage both sides to treat the line between the constitutional and the political as permeable.

Historians reading this book will also have occasion to reflect on what might happen to the writing of political history should our field migrate (as some of us worry it might) away from our discipline and into departments of political science. Siemers writes with a wooden keyboard, and although the book is filled with some striking insights into the nature of constitutional politics, his account lacks the grainy texture of exploring the contingencies of events and personalities that historians naturally provide. I am also embarrassed to say that the author has not been well served by Stanford University Press, which allows him to engage in excessive use of the first person and fails to correct some curious word choices, such as “flaunt” for “flout” (pp. 34, 45, 87, 88).

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CHARLES KROMKOWSKI. *Recreating the American Republic: Rules of Apportionment, Constitutional Change, and American Political Development, 1700–1870*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xxxii, 451. \$70.00.

Charles A. Kromkowski sets out an ambitious agenda: to bring together the methods of history and political science to explain when, why, and how rules of apportionment change. The problem of change in rules of apportionment can be simply stated: since existing rules of apportionment by definition favor those who currently hold power, what circumstances can lead such beneficiaries to instigate a process of change, whose outcome is at best uncertain? Kromkowski identifies three specific instances—the American Rev-



olution, the replacement of the Articles of Confederation with the Constitution, and the Civil War—that resulted in significant changes in rules of apportionment. For each of these instances, he sets himself the goal of providing “analytically rigorous and historically realistic accounts of several creations, transformations, and breakdowns in the American political order.”

In order to accomplish his goal, Kromkowski presents a discussion of the context in which each rule change occurred, a “micro-level” analysis of the roles specific actors played in the rule change, and then a game-theoretic look at each change, followed by a consideration of the ways in which the apportionment rule change became institutionalized.

Each of his context discussions considers interpretive perspectives (basically the historiography of the period in question). He then examines the economic, demographic, institutional, and ideological conditions that influenced the rules change in question. His contention is that these conditions do not prompt the changes; rather the changes are the result of changes in the expectations of politically relevant actors.

Generally speaking, the book’s historiographical sections are extremely weak. Kromkowski evinces a tendency to set up straw historians against his own interpretive perspective. For example, in his discussion of the origins of the Civil War, he claims that historical accounts of the causes of the war follow one of two “general logics” (p. 315): the irrepressible conflict or the blundering generation. He claims that followers of the first logic disregard human agency and that those of the second completely ignore structural differences. This crude bifurcation and reductionism describes a Civil War historiography stripped of all its subtlety, complexity, and nuance. Similarly, in discussing the interpretive perspective of the period leading up to the Constitutional convention, Kromkowski states “existing interpretations rarely provide credible accounts of the process of constitutional change that ultimately yielded *both* an increase in national governing authority *and* a change in the national rule of apportionment” (p. 206, emphasis in the original). Since this statement is not elaborated on, either in the text or in a footnote, it is impossible to guess exactly what he is referring to. Much contemporary historical analysis is devoted precisely to the relationships among conceptions of liberty, power, and representation and provides rich and detailed accounts of why issues of national governing authority and national rules of apportionment would be bundled together in the process of constitutional change.

This brings us to a curious lacuna in Kromkowski’s analysis: although he pays specific attention to ideology (and, to his credit, attention to both British and American ideological developments in the period leading up to the American Revolution), he devotes almost no analysis to the concept of republicanism that has been so influential in the historiography of the American Revolution and the early national period. Of course, with a net cast as widely as Kromkowski’s, it is

inevitable that gaps will exist. However, he asserts that his analysis undercuts claims that structural, economic, demographic, institutional, or ideological changes account for changes in rules of apportionment. Given the fact that his accounts of the changes in each of these areas for each rule change are fairly cursory (for example, his survey of economic conditions in the period 1790–1870 runs from pages 317 to 319), it is hard to see how this level of analysis could in fact provide either support or lack thereof for any proposed causal explanation of change.

Any attempt to provide an account of three such major phenomena as the American Revolution, the origins of the Constitution, and the Civil War that is both rigorous and realistic, all in the space of 433 pages, is doomed to failure. Kromkowski’s achievement is to raise the issue of the nature and causes of change in the rules of apportionment within a consensual constitutional system. He concludes that such change is caused by “changes in political expectations concerning decision-making capacities and governmental authority” (p. 425). The question that remains is why Kromkowski seems to believe that this conclusion must be an alternative, rather than an addition, to explanations grounded in broader social and intellectual forces.

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JUDITH L. VAN BUSKIRK. *Generous Enemies: Patriots and Loyalists in Revolutionary New York*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. 260. \$35.00.

In a nicely written and well-argued volume, Judith L. Van Buskirk discusses the strong ties that overrode political concerns and bound friends, family, and acquaintances to each other despite the American Revolution. The work fits in with recent historiography on revolutionary New York, including Joseph S. Tiedemann, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763–1776* (1997) and Richard M. Ketchum, *Divided Loyalties: How the American Revolution Came to New York* (2002). Tiedemann explores the difficulties faced by New York’s heterogeneous population in reaching a consensus on how to oppose British imperialism, while Ketchum comments on the almost religious zeal that swept up patriots who then engaged in the savage persecution of Loyalists. Van Buskirk addresses some of these issues, but rather than concentrating on societal divisions, she emphasizes the factors that drew people together. Personal ties, argues Van Buskirk, more than ideology often led Patriots and Loyalists to put aside political considerations and maintain amicable contact. She believes that war in New York City “saw two communities operate in close, sustained proximity, each testing the limits of military and political authority . . . They learned to survive on their own terms and in so doing became generous enemies” (p. 7).



To support her thesis, Van Buskirk offers some persuasive arguments, among them the fact that not all Americans, or even a majority of Americans, supported the war, while even those who termed themselves Patriots often changed their allegiance. After the British occupied New York in the summer of 1776, the Loyalists there settled in for a stay of some seven years. Loyalist support of the British wavered as British regulars and German mercenaries became unruly and demanding. The situation in New York City was exacerbated as Loyalist refugees from surrounding states poured into the city. With most supplies, including food, coming from Europe, the resultant shortages in New York City undoubtedly led many Loyalists to appeal for aid to friends and relatives in nearby Patriot-held states.

Neither did the war stop social visits or trading, even when the heads of households were prominent civil and/or military leaders. Van Buskirk points out that the Patriot general Lord Stirling's wife and daughter visited another Loyalist daughter in New York City, while New Jersey governor William Livingston's son, Henry Brockholst Livingston, traded with the enemy. Robert Livingston, the lord of the manor, "embrace[d] his Loyalist relatives" (p. 54), including the well-known lawyer, William Smith, Jr., who remained at Livingston Manor for the duration of the war.

Many people moved freely during the war. Van Buskirk points out the success of the "female network," whose members spread news, gossip, military information, and rumors. Women, much like slaves, were deemed incapable of holding "a serious political belief, nor endowed with the power to act on it, [which] encouraged men to talk freely with the ladies" (p. 55). Slaves, inspired by Whig rhetoric that stressed freedom, fled their white masters to seek refuge among the British in New York. Equally mobile were captured officers on both sides, who were usually granted paroles that gave them the freedom to move between the city and nearby communities.

The British and Loyalists in New York believed the British would put down the rebellion until the battle of Yorktown. After news of Yorktown arrived in New York on October 24, 1781, some 30,000 Loyalists left the city for Canada, the West Indies, or England. The property of most New York Loyalists was confiscated by the government, in accordance with a state law passed in 1779. If the Loyalists expected assistance from the British in recovering their losses after the war, most were cruelly disappointed. The 1783 Treaty of Paris merely recommended that states return Loyalist property, a recommendation that was easily ignored.

The book is interesting throughout and contains much of value even if it downplays the hatred and anger between Loyalists and Patriots. While lines of communication were fluid at first, positions solidified as the war progressed and did not immediately soften at war's end. As Van Buskirk notes, American Whigs were divided in their attitude toward Loyalists after

1783. Some favored reconciliation, but others "saw danger in making room for former enemies" (p. 155). Those who feared the Loyalists prevailed in 1784 when the New York Assembly disenfranchised and banned from the holding of public office any person who had served the British military or remained behind enemy lines. Although Van Buskirk concludes that the Patriots took a "moderate line" (p. 188) with this action, surely disenfranchisement reflects a lingering distrust and seething anger toward Loyalists. Most of the 30,000 refugees who left New York after Yorktown did not return because they recognized the hostile reception that awaited them in America. One might argue with Van Buskirk's closing statement that "those bridges" between Patriots and Loyalists "had never been destroyed during the war" (p. 195). While that was true for some people, it most likely was not true for all. Despite its downplaying of bitterness caused by the war, the book sheds light on how the ordinary as well as the extraordinary citizen dealt with the chaos and disruption brought by warfare, a lesson that concerns us to the present day.

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IRA BERLIN. *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. 374. \$29.95

In this study, Ira Berlin fulfills his radical revision of the static and time-frozen views of American slavery that tended to dominate scholarship in the generation following World War II. Berlin's new book builds bridges between his masterly and prize-winning *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1998), which portrays slavery largely from the slaves' point of view, and Berlin's earlier leadership in reconstructing African Americans' central role in the Civil War and in helping to define the meaning of their own emancipation. Inevitably, this means some repetition of the themes, arguments, and examples of *Many Thousands Gone*, although Berlin has drawn impressively on the vast flood of recent scholarship. What especially distinguishes Berlin's present approach is its geographic breadth (including the North, Florida, and the Old Southwest), emphasis on the markedly different experiences of five "generations" of African-Americans, and focus on slaves' agency, initiative, and skill at constant negotiation.

Although the life experiences of slaves could hardly have been more different as "Atlantic Creoles" of the "Charter Generation" gave way in the eighteenth century to the "Planter Generation" and the "Revolutionary Generation," and then, in the nineteenth century, to the "Migration Generation" and the "Freedom Generation," Berlin highlights the continuity of slave negotiations with owners that mitigated some of the most destructive effects of exploitation and created an expanding (or shrinking) space for a slave culture that could not be eradicated even by the disastrous breakup

of families as at least one million slaves were transported from eastern eighteenth-century settlements south and westward in an aptly-termed "Second Middle Passage." As Berlin vividly shows, this coercive migration, reinforced by the institutionalized physical violence that always undergirded slavery, was probably as uprooting and dehumanizing as the original shipment from Africa.

Berlin's theme of negotiation helps to explain why the slave economy could be so extraordinarily productive, efficient, and profitable, although Berlin only implicitly accepts that economic conclusion when referring to the great wealth of the planter class. We learn, for example, that planters "were willing to pay slaves for the additional labor necessary to jump start the cotton economy"; that the "opportunity for 'overwork' expanded the slaves' [own] economy, even as the master enlarged his own sphere"; that slaves "enjoyed a near monopoly control over the [public, outdoor] market in the rice ports [like Charleston], and they carried their independent productive activities to the upcountry" (pp. 132–33). With regard to such incentives, many readers will be surprised to learn that despite numerous protests, many owners followed their own economic self-interest by allowing slaves to "hire out" their labor for specific tasks and by permitting slaves to accumulate their own livestock, chickens, and other property and then bequeath it to descendants. As Berlin puts it, "the pattern of inheritance and larger kin relations grew as [slave] lineages expanded" (p. 135).

The southern slave economy clearly benefited from the growing hierarchy as more male slaves acquired positions of leadership or artisan skills and as female slaves served not only as privileged domestics but even as midwives for some planters' pregnant spouses. Berlin is especially candid and perceptive in his discussion of the importance of class and color distinctions among slaves: distinctions that whites could exploit and that persisted into the post-emancipation world as some African Americans looked with contempt at the huge number of their brethren who yearned for schools, literacy, religious uplift, and a kind of dignity that could not be monopolized by whites.

According to Berlin, no negotiations between masters and slaves were "more revealing of the new [nineteenth-century] contest than matters touching upon the slaves' spiritual world." In no other part of the Americas did a slave population become so thoroughly Christianized, as blacks overcame their initial suspicions and as a majority of planters "took up the Cross" (p. 206). By the 1830s, slaveowners not only welcomed and paid missionaries "to tutor their slaves in the Bible, visit the sick, attend funerals, and even perform marriages. Some built plantation chapels for their slaves . . . [and] even encouraged slaves to take to the pulpit" (p. 206). Berlin emphasizes that both slaves and free blacks created their own version of "oppositional" Christian culture. One can argue that religion

became a two-way street that deeply influenced the northern abolition movement and provided a groundwork for later faith in achieving civil rights. Although many free blacks in the Deep South, like those in the Caribbean, tended to identify with the slaveholding class, the free African Americans in the North not only identified with slaves but helped to transform and radicalize the abolitionist movement.

As a relatively brief survey of the entire history of African-American slaves, ending with highly useful demographic tables, this book is especially ideal for America's classrooms.

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EVELYN NAKANO GLENN. *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 306. \$39.95.

Why, in a country supposedly committed to ideals of freedom, equality, and opportunity, has inequality along the lines of gender and race remained so intractable? Evelyn Nakano Glenn examines this quandary, arguing that rather than being aberrations of American ideals, racism and sexism fundamentally undergird beliefs about citizenship and economic opportunity. The insistence that democracy depended on virtuous and independent citizens who could make rational political choices for the common good enshrined a definition of citizenship based on whiteness and maleness. Women were by definition dependent on men, while slaves were neither virtuous nor independent, excluding both groups from full citizenship. Moreover, definitions of citizenship were bound up in ideas of economic opportunity and labor. Initially, suffrage was limited to property-owning white men, later to those who at least controlled their own productive (and reproductive) capacities and acted as breadwinners over dependents. Unable to own their own labor, a requirement of independence, racial minorities and women were denied what had become the hallmark of political citizenship: the right to vote. Consequently, America enshrined a form of citizenship for women and minorities that did not include full political rights and that shaped and was shaped by their status as coerced labor.

Glenn's book is a work of synthesis, bringing together recent scholarship about race, gender, citizenship, and labor. Her first chapter establishes a conceptual framework illuminating how race and gender work together as mutually supporting forms of subordination. In the following two chapters, she examines how race and gender structured ideas of citizenship and labor over time. She then explores how race and gender "worked on the ground" between 1870 and 1920 in three regional contexts: the American South, the Southwest, and Hawaii. In each of these regions, racialized and gendered definitions of public power and occupational categories served to entrench the

power of dominant white men, despite the efforts of marginalized groups to protest their treatment and carve out places of dignity and autonomy.

As a synthetic work, much of Glenn's argument will be familiar to historians of the three regions. The value of this volume is its examination of the three regions side by side, allowing for easy comparison across regional lines. It becomes abundantly clear that depriving minorities and women of economic opportunity and independence, often in the form of land ownership, not only created a cheap, exploitable labor force but served to "prove" the supposed inability of racial minorities to act as independent citizens. Comparing regions also provides evidence that racial categories were largely arbitrary. In all three regions, the definition of whiteness became increasingly narrow, preserving the power of white elites over the rest of society. Examining ideas about citizenship and labor both nationally and at the local level, moreover, allows Glenn to explore how larger policies could be both supported and subverted at the local level. For example, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War in 1848, promised that Mexicans who stayed in the Southwest would enjoy the full rights of U.S. citizenship, seemingly granting them status as whites. At the local level, however, their treatment varied. Some state constitutions granted full citizenship status to "white" citizens of Mexico but not to those Anglos determined as "mestizo." Many southwestern states enforced antimiscegenation statutes for black-white intermarriage but not for white-Mexican intermarriage. Yet Anglo attitudes about Mexican Americans as an inferior, tainted race nonetheless appeared in policies that allowed Mexican Americans to swim in public pools only on the days before the pool was cleaned (p. 163). Federal policy about citizenship might count for little at the local level precisely because individuals policed daily behavior to ensure that nonwhites were treated as inferiors.

Importantly, Glenn also examines how women and racial minorities resisted efforts to consign them to a permanent inferior status. In the American South, the Southwest, and Hawaii, marginalized groups including women seized on education as a tool with which they could demand greater rights and opportunities. They realized that subverting white male efforts to marginalize them economically also enabled them to demand greater political and civil rights. Their efforts did more than demand an expanded understanding of which races, ethnicities, and genders qualified for full citizenship; they also contested a notion of citizenship founded on, among other things, individual rights. By creating autonomous communities that focused on the uplift of the group as a whole, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans in Hawaii encouraged an understanding of citizenship that refocused attention on an ideal of the common good.

Glenn explores "the intricacies of how race, gender, and class relations and meanings are formed and contested at the local level even while being influenced

by institutional structures and cultural forces at the national level" (p. 190). It is an ambitious task, and she succeeds admirably in drawing together powerful scholarship in several diverse fields.

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MARTHA SAXTON. *Being Good: Women's Moral Values in Early America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2003. Pp. x, 388. \$30.00.

Reading Martha Saxton's book brought to mind the well-known nursery rhyme: "Sugar and spice and everything nice/That's what little girls are made of." Have little girls always been made of everything nice? What has it meant for girls to be good in America? What kind of moral values have they internalized? Saxton explores these questions by looking at three different historical periods and regions: Puritan New England in the seventeenth century, Virginia in the eighteenth century, and St. Louis, Missouri, in the nineteenth century. The author uses these case studies to make her analysis of the shifting meaning of "being good" concrete.

Not surprisingly, Puritan conceptions of what it meant to be a good woman were steeped in Christian doctrine. Girls and women were trained to be obedient to their fathers, their husbands, and, ultimately, God. Puritans valued chastity above all else for girls, although once married, sexual intimacy was to become an important part of married life. Puritans saw marriage as an institution designed to maintain a godly society. Becoming a wife meant submission, as John Winthrop's famous quotation details: "A true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom and would not think her condition safe and free but in her subjection to her husband's authority" (p. 52). Obedience to one's husband was central, but Saxton concludes that while women were the subjects of their husbands, they could find a kind of moral authority by living up to this ideal and being good wives and mothers.

Moral authority for white women in Virginia was not so closely tied to religion. Although women here were taught to be obedient (this virtue remains unquestioned in all three regions), they were also raised to be attractive to men, encouraging a female focus on appearance, dress, and the cultivation of female friendships. A large percentage of the Virginia population consisted of African-American slaves, and Saxton includes a discussion of what being good meant for slave women as well. White interpretations of morality were often formed against a negative reference point provided by women of color, including Indians. Even in slave runaway notices, for example, descriptions of black girls and women emphasized their depravity and bad character, while those they ran from were depicted as morally pure and innocent of misconduct. Saxton recognizes that women of color had their own moral codes but that they have been largely obscured by the



institution of slavery, racism, and the power whites had to define morality.

The section on nineteenth-century St. Louis is the most original of the three, and it is here that one of Saxton's larger points about female morality is highlighted. Using Carol Gilligan's concept of relatedness, articulated thirty years ago, Saxton argues that by the nineteenth century white women were encouraged to pursue their destinies, their friends, and their husbands. If, in earlier eras, women defined their moral worth in terms of their closeness to God (in Puritan New England) or through their submission to their husbands (in both New England and Virginia), by the nineteenth century, women's self-worth could be expressed through the relationships they cultivated with friends and family. Gilligan suggested that women addressed moral questions by putting their responsibilities first and insuring that no one got hurt, while men tended to apply universal rules to moral dilemmas, regardless of who might suffer. Whether or not one agrees with Gilligan's interpretation of gender dynamics, nineteenth-century white women created a culture of sensitivity, dependency, and relatedness that became their own moral imperative; the maintenance of intense reciprocal friendships, display of sexual restraint and modesty, and obedience in marriage were what "good girls" did.

The later period distinguished itself from the colonial one in that "as wives and mothers were increasingly cut off from the moral questions and intrusions of economic and village life, their moral compasses responded to smaller, more personal dilemmas. Self-worth and self-definition depended more and more on the quality of a few relationships" (p. 274). Saxton concludes that, by the nineteenth century, moralists' prescriptions for women—especially white women—had made their world very small indeed. Women of color had little opportunity to engage in the conversation, and "being good," at least as far as the moralists were concerned, came to be a quality associated with white women only.

Saxton's approach invites comparison between the three distinct sections, but generally she treats them discretely. Those reading the book episodically (undergraduates in a class, for example) may miss chances for comparative analysis that Saxton's case studies might otherwise allow. For example, we learn in the New England section that Massachusetts outlawed wife beating in 1641, and that violent spouses of either sex could be fined. Later, in the section on eighteenth-century Virginia, we see domestic violence handled much differently; husbands could legally beat their wives, although the practice was not encouraged. Obedience to one's husband characterized marriage in both regions; yet at least in New England women were not expected to defer at any cost. Here and elsewhere, a more comparative, integrative discussion might have offered readers a fuller understanding not only of

women's lives in these historical settings but more broadly of women's experiences in early America.

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CAROLE SHAMMAS. *A History of Household Government in America*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2002. Pp. xv, 232. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.50.

Carole Shammas likes to think big, and in her most recent book she thinks in more wide-ranging and innovative ways than ever. A past scholar of long-term economic, social, and legal change in England and the United States, she now uses her considerable knowledge to illuminate the history of public policy with regard to the care and control of legal dependents. In this book, Shammas argues forcefully that modern sensibilities about who should comprise a household and what their power relationships should be found expression in the United States during a forty-year period in the middle of the nineteenth century, roughly 1840–1880. It was during these years that male household heads lost their right to control the property and labor of wives, children, servants, and slaves. During these same decades, institutions for care of the poor, orphans, and the mentally ill arose in response to concerns about the ability of household heads to govern them properly at home—only to become suspect in turn when the Catholic Church proved more adept at institutional care than its mainstream Protestant competitors. The result was a return to household care for many of those in need and the rise of the modern welfare system.

Explaining how and why these dramatic changes occurred in such a brief period of time is the focus of much of the book. Shammas argues, for example, that contrary to many historians' assumptions, the political ideas of the revolutionary era had little to do with the attitudes that fostered rising egalitarianism at home. More important was the absence of mechanisms enabling parents to control the marriage choices of their offspring. By the second half of the eighteenth century, American children wooed and bedded where they would, with relatively mild repercussions. The result was a high rate of bridal pregnancy and out of wedlock births. Shammas's statements of fact are supported by the necessary data and summaries of statutes and case law. Then she makes an important leap of interpretation that may prove controversial, although I found it convincing. It was largely fathers' unwillingness to give their children property at marriage that led to the independent sexual behavior of American youths. By retaining control over their estates until they died, and with no cloistered, celibate lifestyle to impose on wayward daughters or even an established church to help them in governing their families, fathers lost control over the marriage choices of their children. The result was a diminution of their power within the family.

These arguments are fascinating and speak to the



ingenuity of Shammass's perspective. Daughters who learned to be independent of their fathers did not make submissive wives. They wanted to control their own property, help manage their children's education, and, if unsuccessful at negotiating for a satisfactory division of power within the family, exit their marriages with their estates and custody rights intact. In a shockingly short space of time, women got all of these things. Rebellious children, it would seem, matured into citizens who could accept both independent wives and legal change. Those who disliked the shape of the new family sometimes found refuge in the alternative lifestyles offered by freethinkers, including Joseph Smith, John Humphrey Noyes, and Albert Brisbane. Shammass's work thus offers a useful new explanation for why a significant minority of Americans joined utopian communities in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Servants and slaves benefited from the increasing commitment to household egalitarianism. Shammass argues that slavery became anomalous in part because the rights of women and children were rising. "If white antebellum household heads had not been in a downward spiral regarding control over the labor and household formation of their sons and daughters and the bodies and property of their wives, they would not have had such a difficult time justifying the chattel slavery of their African American servants" (pp. 125–26). In this scheme, egalitarianism in the household becomes the hallmark of nineteenth-century modernism even more than industrialization or urbanization, and it was primarily the inability of southern patriachs to adjust to the demands of modern family life that set them on a collision course with the North.

I hope Shammass's book will find a wide readership. Her use of pictorial evidence (a discussion of changes in family portraiture), her conversational writing style, and her sarcastic (and amusing) asides will help advanced undergraduate and graduate students negotiate the complexity of her arguments. The point with which Shammass concludes her study—that minor children are the only legal dependents left in the household and that it is high time they rebelled against their subservience—seems especially likely to prompt a lively classroom discussion.

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KIM M. GRUENWALD. *River of Enterprise: The Commercial Origins of Regional Identity in the Ohio Valley, 1790–1850*. (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 214. \$39.95.

This monograph by Kim M. Gruenwald "seeks to explain the changing meaning and role of the Ohio River in the lives of three generations of valley settlers" (p. xiii). Labeled a "new model of regional development," its thesis is that commerce played "the central role . . . in the expansion of the United States"

(p. xv). Development strategies on both sides of the river revealed linkages between town and hinterland growth. This "three stage process of regional development" (p. 156) also identifies ties that existed before internal improvements created a state rather than regional focus. "As they turned their backs to the river, Ohioans allowed the spread of abolition to erect a barrier between North and South at the river that had once functioned as the lifeblood of all westerners" (p. 156).

The book has three parts. "Across the Mountains" examines Marietta and southeastern Ohio in the late eighteenth century. Settlers were born while Great Britain and France struggled to secure imperial hegemony. Part two, "The Western Country," covering 1800–1820, comprises well over half of the book. Settlers in this era were born during the revolutionary era. The last section, "The Buckeye State," explores 1820 to 1850, when settlers were "the first generation of American citizens to come of age west of the Appalachian Mountains" (p. xiii). Gruenwald concludes by describing the Ohio as a unifying force in the national imagination.

The story is principally told through the careers of two merchants—Dudley Woodbridge, Sr. (1747–1823), who moved his hardware and dry goods business from Connecticut to the Ohio Company settlement of Marietta in 1789, and his son, Dudley, Jr. Business records and family correspondence of the Woodbridge family are heavily used. Farmers and merchants had divergent but complementary goals and strategies. Woodbridge Sr. helped build Marietta—mostly by encouraging craftsmen to become established—and made the town part of a large economic network.

The second part concentrates on Woodbridge Jr. (1778–1853), who extended the reach of the business by helping to create a subregional hub connecting the hinterlands of the Ohio with the Atlantic seaboard. Little did he know that "the solidarity between those living on both sides of the Ohio River had reached its peak in the early 1820s and would never be as strong again" (p. 117). The third generation of Woodbridges did not carry on the mercantile business, but John Mills, whom the younger Woodbridge trained, succeeded him as Marietta's leading merchant.

This short monograph promises more than is delivered. The fewer than 150 pages of text focus on Marietta and its immediate region, and the story of Marietta fades as this work unfolds. How and why downstream Cincinnati grew and Marietta did not needs a more systematic examination. Comparing and contrasting the stories of other settlements would have helped—including those downriver from Louisville (which the author, like most scholars, ignores). The thesis of this book is hardly new, as it echoes Frederick Jackson Turner and Malcolm Rohrbough, among others.

Careless labels weaken the study. All northern newcomers are labeled Yankees. All opponents of slavery are abolitionists. Some important details, moreover, are mishandled. Most canals and early railroads were

oriented to the Ohio, and consequently some river towns grew and developed and others did not. The familiar theme of the railroads killing off river towns is repeated here. To be sure, in a relative sense the southern Midwest declined in importance. But why did Cincinnati, Evansville, and Louisville become metropolises?

In addition, Gruenwald underemphasizes divisions before 1830 and continuities thereafter. Awareness of the river as a dividing line was amply evident, for example, in the accounts of early travelers, and most early residents north of the river made it quite clear that they did not want slavery. Strong economic and cultural ties persisted, as shown by Cincinnati's relationship with Covington, Louisville's with New Albany and Jeffersonville, Evansville's with Henderson, and Paducah's with Metropolis. Why, for instance, were bridges built at these places? If the Ohio River was in fact a dividing line, why was the Civil War not fought along it? The Ohio's commercial importance grew after the Civil War, moreover, aided by civic and business leaders on both sides of the river who sought river improvements—notably a system of locks and dams completed in 1929.

Gruenwald's book, in short, is a brief study of two merchants in Marietta, Ohio, over a sixty-year period. Its subtitle is misleading. Although offering valuable insight into the Woodbridges' world, its broader claims reflect a fairly traditional approach to what happened along the Ohio by 1850, and its conclusions are questionable.

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THOMAS A. CHAMBERS. *Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth Century Mineral Springs*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institutions. 2002. Pp. xxi, 282. \$39.95.

Part of a growing body of literature on the history of American vacation places, Thomas A. Chambers's important book takes an explicitly comparative approach to the study of northern and southern mineral springs. Chambers analyzes Saratoga Springs in New York and the springs of Virginia (primarily but not solely White Sulphur Springs) as places where the nation's elite created and defined itself. Chambers argues that class and status were more important than region in this process and that the similarities between these two premier American resorts were more significant than their differences. By examining the comparable role each site played in creating a "distinctive leisure class," Chambers hopes to "demonstrate the remarkable similarity of nineteenth-century American culture, North and South" (p. xx).

In Virginia, the springs were usually located in isolated, rural areas and were independently owned by a person or family. Saratoga, by contrast, quickly became a small town that invited a number of entrepreneurs to open businesses and hotels. Despite the

difference, proprietors in both regions pinned their hopes on building a tourist industry that would commercialize and commodify leisure. In order for the resorts to survive and prosper, proprietors needed to find sources of capital, keep labor costs down, and hope for the improvement of transportation networks.

The search for health and the desire to partake of the allegedly curative powers of the mineral waters were critical to the development of the springs in both the North and the South. Chambers explains how physicians legitimized the springs as destinations for travellers by publishing both medical tracts that analyzed the waters and guidebooks directing people to various watering places. At the same time, these publications helped to democratize medical practices, allowing the ill or infirm to read the promotional literature and decide for themselves which springs best suited their particular medical needs. While many invalids continued to consult physicians, others traveled to the springs to fashion their own curative regimes.

It was, however, less in the medical than in the social and cultural realms that Saratoga and the Virginia springs had their most significant impact. By the antebellum decades, the springs had become the place where the "fashionable" felt compelled to appear, and what transpired at the springs was more than just frivolous amusement. The daily round of springs activities were specifically orchestrated so that the elite could display themselves as they jockeyed for social position. The drive to the lake at Saratoga and the stroll along the gardens and paths at White Sulphur were prime opportunities to see and be seen. To participate was to mark oneself as a member of the elite. Chambers points up differences between the way this process functioned at the northern and southern resorts. Saratoga, easier to reach by train, attracted a somewhat more socially heterogeneous crowd. As such, elite visitors needed to be more wary of would-be pretenders. The Virginia springs, only reached by a long and arduous trip, remained inaccessible to few but the extremely privileged (or the desperately ill). But at both places the elite endured substandard, often uncomfortable accommodations to indulge in the competitive quest for status. Amongst the numerous "indignities" to which guests submitted was the requirement of bribing the African-American waiters, an apparent necessity if one were to hope for service in the dining halls. That southern slave owners conceded to such practices reveals how important it was for them to participate in the life of the springs.

The elite used the springs as a venue not only to exhibit and define themselves but also to perpetuate themselves. The springs served as a marriage market where America's elite hoped to find suitable mates for their children. This was, Chambers explains, a process fraught with potential dangers. It required the ability to ferret out the pretenders, to differentiate those who had mastered the art of gentility from those who were truly genteel. Moreover, at the springs some of the

rules governing behavior were relaxed, allowing for more lenient and casual interactions between women and men, a situation that left both open to the deceptions of the unscrupulous. At the same time, the society at the springs offered women more latitude in the courtship process.

Chambers maintains that the springs in both Virginia and New York remained free of sectional conflict until the 1850s, when regional politics began to erode the shared common culture that had characterized the springs during the first half of the century. While Chambers's evidence clearly shows that before 1850 the issue of slavery did not intrude itself into the culture of the springs and that northern merchants and southern planters often enjoyed sharing meals, billiard games, and other pleasures, much of his evidence also points to marked and important differences between the northern and southern springs experience. What makes this such a fascinating book is less its depiction of the creation of a national elite at these summer watering places than its careful and nuanced discussion of the differences between the northern and southern springs and the means visitors used to establish and maintain class identities within these varied settings.

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SHARLA M. FETT. *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 290. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

Health and medicine as an arena for social life under the slave system of the antebellum American South is the focus of Sharla M. Fett's thoroughly researched and persuasive study. In giving primary attention to how African-American slaves defined their own health and the means for protecting and restoring it, Fett's book contributes to an important shift in the historical understanding of slave sickness.

As in other fields within the history of medicine, the biomedical perspective held sway for a long time in the history of slave health. Historians such as Todd L. Savitt, Kenneth Kiple, Virginia Himmelsteib King, Richard Steckel, William Postell, and others gave primary attention to identifying and describing the disease entities that likely counted for much slave sickness. In this rich and still important historiography, slaves were seen largely in the aggregate, as populations at risk, and the parameters of their health were circumscribed by powers beyond their control: weather, diet, their owners' whims, and a general ignorance of infectious diseases.

Fett builds on this foundation but convincingly stakes out new ground for understanding slave illness and its social context, as well as the diseases that afflicted people under slavery. That is, Fett seeks to understand the subjective ways in which people experience being sick and to explain how slavery helped to

structure the expectations of both masters and slaves with regard to health care. She begins tellingly with a discussion of the white concept of slave "soundness," a concept that served a master's interests by defining slaves' health in terms of their potential usefulness and marketplace value. In short, this view of sickness denied slaves' sense of their own well-being. Nevertheless, as Fett shows in the first part of her book, slaves in the region of her principal focus (the Atlantic seaboard South) developed complex material and spiritual systems of diagnosis, therapy, and cure that pushed against their being defined as objects and reasserted the importance of their subjectivity.

Using both black and white sources in subtle ways, Fett shows how slaves short-circuited masters' legal and financial power by, in part, defining health as resting on African Americans' superior knowledge of the natural and spiritual worlds. Slave healers abounded in every plantation and neighborhood, constructing a general knowledge of medicinal plants and waters. Slave midwives developed local knowledge of pregnancy and childbirth. In the realm of spirits, women and men skilled in the art of conjure grappled with what many today might call psychosomatic illness. As Fett shows, this world of medicine comprised a deep and powerful social current among slaves in any given neighborhood: healers bore information, gossip, forecasts of doom, words of hope, and remedies. The best of them were remarkably well versed in botany, anatomy, and human psychology. Even the quacks among them, like the charlatans among white healers, contributed to the overall sense among antebellum southerners that all sickness, including that defined by M.D.s, lay in the personal and domestic realm of understanding.

Certainly slave owners and other whites were acquainted with the activities of slave healers and acknowledged that they had authority and even a certain legitimacy. And yet, although respected by whites in some ways, the power of slave healers, as Fett argues in the second part of her study, was more often than not the focus of conflict between owner and worker. She shows how, even when masters respected the work of a slave healer, s/he nonetheless was suspected of furthering the patient's interests over the master's. Who was "really" sick and who was fooling whom, therefore, became central features of slave-master relations in matters of healthcare. In a particularly good discussion, Fett explores the fact that slaves, more than any other groups of patients, were examined by white physicians with the expectation that they were faking their symptoms and their suffering.

The enormity of this assumed deceit, Fett implies, says as least as much about owners as it does about sick slaves, and doubtless she is right. And yet, by way of criticism, Fett may place too much emphasis on conflict at the bedside and not enough on how the worlds of whites and blacks overlapped in ways that created a regional synthesis of health care—uneasy and tenuous though it was—in somewhat the same way white and



black religion in the South may be seen as bringing the races together as well as dividing them. In any case, this is an important study of illness and care giving that deserves the wide readership it is sure to have.

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STEWART WINGER. *Lincoln, Religion, and Romantic Cultural Politics*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. pp. viii, 271. \$38.00.

In this book, Stewart Winger provides an informative and provocative interpretation of Abraham Lincoln's religion and politics. He seeks to shed new light on the sixteenth president's thought by placing it in historical context as a combination of nineteenth-century Whig politics and Romantic Protestantism.

Winger begins his book with a fresh look at Lincoln's "Second Lecture on Discoveries and Inventions," an obscure speech delivered in 1858, ostensibly on the topic of scientific progress. When placed in its proper cultural and political milieu, however, he shows that it is actually a Whig satire of Young America: an antebellum movement dedicated to the principles of "literary nationalism," "manifest destiny," and "modernist capitalism" (p. 19). One of the chief expositors of this movement was George Bancroft, the renowned nineteenth-century historian and a leading public intellectual of his time. Bancroft's Romantic vision of American destiny exalted the will of the people as an infallible expression of the will of God. In the strongest section of the book, Winger traces the influence of this vision on the Democratic Party, and on Stephen Douglas, whom Bancroft served as a close advisor. Winger correctly shows how the Young American movement extolled an ideology that justified policies of imperialism and slavery extension (p. 107).

Lincoln's political theology may be seen in this context as a romantic response to the triumphalism of Young America. According to Winger, American Romanticism gave rise to two different potentialities: a more secular strain of democratic idealism represented by Young America and the Democrats, and a more religious strain of Augustinian piety represented by Lincoln, the Whigs, and, subsequently, the Republican Party. "Democrats made it easy on themselves: *vox populi, vox dei*. Whigs questioned this equation and therefore found themselves drawn to history and religion. Thus the *Whig Review* criticized the American way of life on *theological* grounds in a manner antithetical to George Bancroft and the Young American movement" (p. 96).

Winger then traces the confluence between the Whig's rhetoric and Lincoln's political thought. Specifically, Lincoln's devotion to the rule of law, his distrust of plebiscitarian democracy, his effort to guide public opinion, his call for a political religion, and his emphasis upon moral consensus were recurrent themes found in papers like the *Whig Review* (p. 110).

While the Democrats viewed human law as self-legitimizing, the more orthodox Whigs sought to bring it into conformity with a divine law. Haunted by the French Revolution, the Whigs resisted the apotheosis of the American people.

In the final section of the book, Winger provides a thoughtful and sensitive treatment of Lincoln's personal piety. He correctly recognizes that Lincoln was sincere in his religious belief, and that he never fully abandoned his Calvinistic religious outlook, even when he flirted intellectually with the "doctrine of necessity" in his more skeptical moments.

However, throughout his book, Winger advances the questionable thesis that Lincoln inadvertently recast the founders' intellectual legacy in terms of a Romantic Protestantism. He argues that Lincoln and the Whigs revived a more orthodox, Reformed Christianity that had been muted by the Enlightenment (p. 97). Winger thus describes Lincoln's political theology as a "Romantic reappropriation of classical Calvinism" (p. 149). The moral fervor and religious language of this tradition provided the sixteenth president with what Reinhold Niebuhr has described as an "ironic perspective" to judge the nation.

Winger's analysis imposes a number of questionable dichotomies that distort the richness, complexity, and depth of Lincoln's political theology. Instead of allowing Lincoln and the founders to speak for themselves, Winger forces their thought into a scheme of ideological classifications consisting of rigid antipathies: Enlightenment vs. Romantic, secular liberalism vs. Reformed Christianity, faith vs. reason, free will vs. God's sovereignty. The use of these categories leads him to reduce the founders' republicanism to positivism, utilitarianism, and rational self-interest and to conceive of an antipathy between America's secular democratic and sacred religious traditions (pp. 96–97, 194–95). By overlooking the possibility of any integration or combination of these traditions, Winger reaches the dubious conclusions that Lincoln denied free will, rejected unassisted reason, abandoned Jeffersonian liberalism, and inadvertently recast the founding ideals of the regime in terms of a Romantic "reappropriation" of Calvinism (pp. 96, 139, 191, 194, 206–07, 234).

These assertions are at odds with Lincoln's own words and intentions. For example, Winger concludes that Lincoln's "emphasis was not on the liberal value of consent but rather on the more substantive moral program of equality" (pp. 199–201). Not only does this posit a false dichotomy between equality and consent, but it also contradicts Lincoln's emphatic statement that because of equality "no man is good enough to govern another man, *without that other's consent*." Again, Winger argues that Lincoln sought, "to amend (or replace) the Jeffersonian epigram with one of his own devising, one that would be free of libertarian implications" (p. 139). Yet Lincoln himself claimed to be acting in accordance with the view of self-evident truth and natural right affirmed by Jefferson and the founders: "The principles of Jefferson are the defini-



tions and axioms of free society." Finally, Winger argues that, for Lincoln, "morality was not derived from natural reason" (pp. 146, 195). Yet, in addition to revealed truth, Lincoln also relied on natural reason for moral guidance. For example, in response to abolitionists who criticized him for delaying an emancipation, Lincoln explained, "These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain physical facts of the case, ascertain what is possible and learn what appears to be wise and right."

Although one may disagree with Winger, his study of the religious and cultural context of Lincoln's political thought nonetheless adds to the important debate over the crucial role that Lincoln played in articulating the moral foundations of the American regime.

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HARRIET HYMAN ALONSO. *Growing Up Abolitionist: The Story of the Garrison Children*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 409. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

This is a family biography. Harriet Hyman Alonso has mined letters, diaries, speeches, articles, books, and artifacts, many of which were carefully archived by the Garrisons and their descendants, in order to create a picture of life in the household of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, his wife Helen Eliza Benson Garrison, and their children. She describes Lloyd and his wife as unusually attentive and permissive parents who created a loving and stable home life for their children and the Garrison children as affectionate and relatively compliant. The domestic environment that resulted appears to have been exceptionally tranquil.

Five of the Garrison's seven children—George, William, Wendell, Fanny, and Frank—survived early childhood. Alonso says that a number of factors influenced the kind of adults they eventually became. Their social self-assurance and claim to middle-class respectability, she suggests, came from the willingness of wealthy abolitionist sympathizers to help support their family and to provide them with social connections and access to a kind of education that their relatively impoverished parents could not have afforded on their own. The facts that they matured in a home environment rich in drama, emotional security, and intellectual stimulation and that they spent their childhoods surrounded by a network of friends from other prominent reform-minded families, who both insulated them from those hostile to their father's work and nurtured their commitment to social justice and political activism, meant, she argues, that they would grow up to be reformers in their own right.

Family papers suggest that the Garrison children adored their mother and father. They were justifiably proud of the kinds of personal sacrifices that their parents were willing to make in order to promote social justice and seem to have enjoyed growing up in

a household dedicated to such causes as non-resistance, abolition, woman's rights, anti-imperialism, peace, and anti-sabbatarianism. Despite the turmoil that sometimes accompanied their father's public activities, they remembered their early years as relatively serene and their relationships with each other as warm and nurturing. And while, as adults, they did not always agree with each other, they remained a closely knit clan, always willing to support each other both emotionally and financially.

William Lloyd and Helen Garrison were determined to prepare their children to carry on their work, and all five of the young Garrisons appear to have been willing apprentices. But each understood the need to move beyond the long shadow their prominent parents cast over them. George, for example, was unwilling to spend his young adulthood working for his father and writing for *The Liberator*. So he left New England for a short time to seek his fortune in Minnesota and Kansas. During the Civil War, he volunteered to serve in the racially integrated Fifty-fifth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, despite his parents' commitment to non-resistance and peace. While he was in the Union Army, he campaigned for equal pay and equal opportunity for promotion on behalf of the regiment's black soldiers. While her brothers married the daughters of other reformers, Fanny married an outsider, Henry Villard, a German-born journalist and successful businessman. Like her mother, she spent the first years of her marriage caring for her husband and children. But after her children were grown, she devoted herself to such causes as women's education, civil rights, woman's suffrage, and world peace. Her brother William did what he could to promote adoption of Henry George's single tax scheme, supported the woman suffrage movement, and helped to form the Anti-Imperialist League to protest U. S. involvement in the Spanish-American War. Frank was deeply committed to the issue of civil rights. At first a supporter of Booker T. Washington, he eventually switched his allegiance to the more radical W. E. B. Du Bois and became an active member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Wendell worked first for the *Independent*, an abolitionist newspaper, and then for the *Nation*, edited by Edwin Lawrence Godkin. Influenced by Godkin, he was the most socially and politically conservative of the Garrison children. Much to his family's chagrin, he refused to support the campaign for universal suffrage and was unwilling to use his access to public opinion to oppose the federal government's Reconstruction policies following the Civil War. Instead, he carried out his reform impulses by doing what he could to save the abolitionists and their movement from historical obscurity. Toward that end, he and his brother Frank published a four-volume biography of their father.

In this well-written and thoroughly researched book, Alonso successfully explores the complexity of parent-child and sibling relationships in the nineteenth cen-

tury. The result is a welcome addition to the literature on the American family.

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MONICA MARIA TETZLAFF. *Cultivating a New South: Abbie Holmes Christensen and the Politics of Race and Gender, 1852–1938*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xxi, 340. \$39.95.

Abbie Holmes Christensen saw her life's work as that of wife, mother, and homemaker, yet she perceived no conflict between this traditional view and a lifetime of social activism. A white middle-class northern woman determined to improve the lives—and the futures—of southern African Americans, she devoted her energies to the New South during the years between Reconstruction and World War II. Supporting the causes in which she believed (including woman suffrage) through her memberships in major women's organizations, Christensen gave her public, immediate efforts to the black people of South Carolina's Sea Islands. As a young woman, she taught African-American children in Beaufort County. In middle age, she served as a trustee for the prominent Shanklin School, tirelessly raising funds for its support, as well as for the medical clinic and hospital founded by a black nurse in Beaufort.

The study of Christensen's life has given Monica Maria Tetzlaff the opportunity to investigate the constructs of race and gender during a critical period in southern, and United States, history. The book is strongest in the chapters about Christensen's work and relationships with South Carolina's African Americans. Unlike many black people during the years of slavery, those of the Sea Islands had little contact with whites. As a result, they retained numerous cultural features from their West African homeland. With techniques for using natural materials to produce implements and medicines, in artistic expression through religious rituals and the music of spirituals, and more significant, through the development of their own language, Gullah, the Sea Islanders created a unique culture. Their geographical position at the state's edges combined with the post-Civil War economic situation to help them achieve the most thorough land reform in the South.

Among their cultural assets was a body of folklore, first recorded by Christensen but made famous by Joel Chandler Harris and the Uncle Remus tales. If the book's strongest chapters are those about the Sea Islanders, its most engaging passages deal with Christensen's work with their traditional stories. In a time when the systematic study of folklore was only beginning, she became an authority in the developing field. Christensen understood that the folktales operated upon several levels and, to some degree, comprehended their psychological meanings and political

messages. Many of the stories, she realized, were not mere entertainment.

Although her subject is a woman, Tetzlaff's work is better on, and in many ways more sympathetic to, issues of race than gender. She handles the basic information about Christensen's personal life with great skill but, with one exception, provides only a framework for the issues historians have identified as central for understanding women's lives as women. For example, in situating her subject in the "female world of love and ritual" as formulated by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Tetzlaff indicates the importance of female friendships, relatives, and role models in providing the young Christensen the emotional support and the rationale to aspire beyond customary gender prescriptions. By not systematically applying theory to other aspects of Christensen's experience, such as her unusually successful marriage vis-à-vis her personal autonomy, Tetzlaff loses opportunities to illuminate her subject's achievements within, and her significant victories over, the accepted gender conventions.

The book rests on sound research in the primary sources and wide reading in the secondary literature. Less successful are the endnotes, which firmly support the text but fail to amplify it with short explanations or phrases identifying the content of the passages cited from complex interpretative works. The index, too, is only minimally helpful, often omitting significant contemporary terms that are mentioned (and sometimes stressed) in the text or placing them, without cross-listings, under umbrella terms. This arrangement makes important concepts difficult, if not impossible, to locate without rereading lengthy passages. That said, the book is a very well-written and interesting, even compelling piece of scholarship. It reminds us how no one, in Tetzlaff's words, "totally escapes the prejudices of . . . [our] times" (p. 214). Her depiction of Christensen's life, however, helps us to understand the struggles of one individual to do so, and sharpens our personal—and our professional—awareness of how timebound all of us remain.

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GEORGINA HICKEY. *Hope and Danger in the New South City: Working-Class Women and Urban Development in Atlanta, 1890–1940*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 297. \$39.95.

Between 1890 and 1940, Atlanta grew tremendously—and very self-consciously. The city's leaders struggled to balance their enthusiasm for growth and prestige with their determination to maintain Deep South cultural traditions. Scholars have explored these tumultuous decades in Atlanta's history using a variety of windows onto the period, from labor conflict to leisure, from the 1906 race riot to the Leo Frank murder case. In her new study, Georgina Hickey touches on all of these topics and more in examining the city's formative period from the vantage point of working-class women.

Hickey's primary goal is to analyze the ways in which more elite Atlantans utilized images of working women to publicize and grapple with the societal tensions of the day. Historiographically groundbreaking in its "wholehearted analysis of the connection between gender and urban development" (p. 3), this book makes a significant contribution to southern, urban, women's and Atlanta history.

Hickey argues that, with racial tensions muted following the 1906 riot, a space was opened in which other identities could be debated and redefined. Working-class women, dramatically increasing in number and a growing presence in the city's public spaces, came under particular scrutiny. "Controlling the behaviors of working-class women became the means through which the city's middle-classes" labored to maintain Atlanta's "morality" and "respectability" (p. 59). Thus, "For a brief moment," working women "functioned as the ideological territory for the contested work of city building" (p. 6).

In a series of deft and impressively researched chapters, Hickey traces the ways in which middle-class Atlantans continually reconfigured their conceptions of gender to suit their notions of what Atlanta should be. Women could be seen as the city's "best hope" or its "greatest threat" (p. 6), depending on the exigencies of the moment and the interests of journalists, reformers, and labor leaders. The resulting public imagery frequently bore little relation to working women's actual lives but served its purpose in shaping the city's development and circumscribing the behavior of its inhabitants. To promote their vision of female employment as a mere way station between childhood and motherhood, for example, elite Atlantans highlighted the supposed vulnerabilities of single white female workers while disregarding married and African-American women. From this blinkered perspective, there was no need to improve working conditions—women's work was, after all, temporary—or to unionize women, or to restructure a sexually and racially segregated labor system. Middle-class charitable organizations reversed this formula by ignoring single women to focus on working-class mothers, who "represented the best hope against a failing social order" (p. 81) in their role as family nurturers. The goal, however, was the same: to enshrine motherhood as the only legitimate goal for women and to place a wholesome veneer on a sprawling paradox of a city.

Hickey finds similar patterns of public pronouncement and ulterior motive in other areas of urban life. In their attacks on "cheap amusements," reformers cast suspicious eyes on unescorted women but aimed more broadly to "regulate the behavior of . . . crowds . . . and govern the city's image" (p. 66). A nascent public health movement responded to disease epidemics through "public interventions" that "frequently suspended the civil rights of working-class women" (p. 109). As always, however, larger goals were involved: such aggressive policing attested to the city's moral health while at the same time establishing greater

middle-class control over relatively autonomous workers such as black laundresses. Likewise Police Chief James Beavers's highly publicized 1912 campaign against Atlanta's red-light district trained a spotlight on the plight of women driven to prostitution, but newspaper stories about "fallen" women and "white slavery" missed the hidden heart of the conflict, which was a power struggle between Beavers and the city's police committee.

Following World War I, working-class women lost their central place in the city's consciousness, as debates over morality and social problems gave way to a preoccupation with economic development and to a more "masculinized" politics. The Great Depression further marginalized working women amid fears that male unemployment could inspire radicalism and social breakdown. City leaders now saw family as more of an economic than a moral construct, with the male breadwinner—not the virtuous mother—as its backbone.

Hickey's arguments are generally persuasive. The only weakness of the book is its bias toward assertiveness in its subjects. The women we meet here—and it is to Hickey's credit that we meet so many of them—are those who pushed boundaries and defied class and gender hierarchies. Surely there were many working women, especially in this bastion of evangelical Protestantism, who were willing, even eager, to embrace more conservative notions of womanhood. Some attention to women's religious beliefs and practices might have helped to make this clear. Still, no author can do everything, and Hickey does a great deal very well indeed.

STEVE GOODSON

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PETER WALLENSTEIN. *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law—An American History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xii, 305. \$35.00.

With its landmark 1967 decision, *Loving v. Virginia*, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned statutes in sixteen states that outlawed interracial marriage, officially ending three hundred years of what Peter Wallenstein calls the "antimiscegenation regime." Wallenstein charts the history of that regime in his extensive study of the legislative acts and court decisions that dramatically shaped the slave labor system before the Civil War and then race relations through the civil rights movement. This legal history, replete with vignettes of the families that sparked the lawsuits, tells a compelling if twisted tale of race in America.

Wallenstein's main focus is the century after 1865, when each state determined what—if anything—the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment might mean for its marriage laws. Seven southern states loosened their laws for a short time before cracking down again on interracial marriages, and Wallenstein leaves no doubt that inconsistent state court decisions during and after Reconstruction



stemmed directly from the shifting political fortunes of Democrats and Republicans. The U.S. Supreme Court clinched the rollback of Reconstruction innovations with two critical rulings in the 1880s. In *Pace v. Alabama* (1883), the highest court ruled that state antiscegenation laws did not contravene the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause as long as they restricted and punished black and white partners equally. In *Maynard v. Hill* (1888), the Supreme Court placed the jurisdiction of marriage securely within the purview of individual states, making the regulation of marriage not a federal matter at all. Furthermore, as marriage was not a contract protected by the "full faith and credit" clause of the Constitution, states need not accept the marriage laws of other states. By the end of the nineteenth century, southern states had fully regained the ability to outlaw and prosecute interracial marriages.

In the twentieth century, definitions of whiteness became increasingly exclusive. A Virginia law in 1910 altered the allowed amount of "negro blood" allowed in persons considered legally white from less than one fourth to less than one sixteenth. This change created chaos in people's lives. Lucy May's second husband, John Moon, was white when she married him, but he failed to pass under the new one-sixteenth rule. May suddenly found herself in an unlawful relationship rather than a legal marriage, and the two children from her first marriage were removed from her custody to the Children's Home Society. The state supreme court reversed the children's fates, both parents being of "good character," but this did nothing to counter the prosecutor's claim that the law had "changed the status of these Moons from white to colored" (p. 139). Wallenstein points out "how flexible the legal definition was, and how arbitrary was the entire enterprise of legislating identity" (p. 140).

Wallenstein's chapter on *Loving v. Virginia* shows the growing opposition to interracial marriage laws, and how a new line of argument about the right to privacy began to shape legislation. Since the fundamental right to marry involved the freedom to wed the person of one's choice, any "separate but equal" arrangement could not possibly do. The next legal frontier also relied on the concept of privacy: beginning in the 1970s, the *Loving* decision appeared in attempts to legalize same-sex marriages. Wallenstein's book attests that the institution of marriage adapts to new ideas about who makes an appropriate spouse. What constitutes a "real" family continues to change over time.

More national and even international context would have helped this already valuable study on legislative and juridical efforts to achieve "racial purity." The Immigration Act of 1924 (mentioned only in the endnotes) and others like it would have provided valuable national background for the racial laws of individual states. Wallenstein's important but brief discussion of Asian Americans does not adequately show how immigration patterns and nativist xenopho-

bia played into interracial marriage laws that also affected (but may not have initially focused on) African Americans. A substantive discussion of the eugenics movement would also have fit well into this book on the regulation of families.

Wallenstein falls a bit short on his promise to reveal "the social history and individual experiences that lay behind the court decisions" (p. 5). What was it like to be a member of the Dodson family in Arkansas, interracial since at least 1874 and hauled into court as late as 1891? Were couples like the Dodsons accepted by their neighbors, terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan, or both? What event finally prompted the law suit, and who brought it? How can we imagine the world of Sobrina, the black wife of Texan slaveholder, John C. Clark? How were Andrew Kinney and his white wife, Mahala Miller, able to continue to live together in 1880 with their five sons when they had been prosecuted and fined six years prior? Legal and social history overlap, of course, but Wallenstein focuses more on the court cases than on the experiences of the families that created them. Nor is his book a cultural history. There is nothing here on the way people "performed" their racial identities in the courthouse or other public places. But to ask for more social or cultural history is to ask for a different kind of book when this one does its work so well. Wallenstein's study takes the long view of the changeable, sometimes contradictory, and always thoroughly political litigation of racial marriage laws, and it succeeds admirably in presenting this fascinating history.

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CHRISTOPHER WALDREP. *The Many Faces of Judge Lynch: Extralegal Violence and Punishment in America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. x, 264. \$35.00.

Long consigned to a sidebar, lynching is now a central feature of America's history. The story was usually that of a white mob dragging a black prisoner, sometimes several, from a jail or home to the lynching tree. A rope and sometimes fire, guns, and clubs produced a brutal death. Often a photographer captured the dangling body and the faces of the crowd, numbering in the hundreds and even thousands. Legal authorities and community leaders found no reason to condemn or punish the lynchers; indeed, their violence was the will of the sovereign people. Americans repeated this drama thousands of times, mostly in the South but in the North, too. In recent years, scholars have begun to study lynching more carefully, so that now we have a shelf full of fine books on the subject. They add to the conclusion that these tragedies are not anomalies but essential parts of the answer to the eternal question, "what is America?"

White mobs murdering black Americans is the traditional definition of lynching. Christopher Waldrep gives due attention to this feature but ventures far



more broadly through different meanings and across time, from the eighteenth-century beginnings to present-day representation in hate crimes. Waldrep focuses less on the details of this violence and more on the meaning of the word "lynching." It will come as no surprise to historians that the meaning of a single word changed across decades and centuries; what is interesting is the struggle to claim the word and to control its meaning, as Waldrep so carefully analyzes.

Waldrep begins in revolutionary America, particularly Virginia, where the word was probably first applied to extralegal violence against Tories that was sanctioned by claims of popular sovereignty. Pioneers carried the word west to Kentucky, Indiana, and Alabama. Not until the 1830s, however, did the label come into widespread use, when abolitionists sought to claim the term to condemn southern disorder and violence, which they argued derived from slavery. Contrary to abolitionist arguments, however, lynching continued its westward movement and reached a new stage in California in the 1850s. California's vigilante movement developed elaborate justifications, including claims that the formal legal apparatus was ineffective and that the voice of the people spoke in the crowd. Kansas, Montana, and other locales made similar assertions. After the Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan picked up these now American arguments that lynching expressed the will of the people. But the Klan's claim that its kind of violence should be called lynching was countered by others who labeled Klan violence as murder and an outrage: that is, action by a small minority against the community. This struggle to claim the word lynching continued through Reconstruction. Not until the 1880s and 1890s, Waldrep argues, did extralegal violence against blacks in the South gain sufficient community sanction to merit the term. It was then that lynching photographs could be made into postcards. It was then that lynching became racial and southern, built on arguments formed by Americans outside the South.

Just what was a lynching remained contested through the twentieth century because all knew that it was a word of power and influence. Anti-lynching forces differed in the meanings ascribed and changed their definitions to suit political purposes. But what Ida B. Wells, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and others had in common was the goal to change lynching from a local, community issue to a national issue and thereby to condemn it. Waldrep shows how the growth of media coverage made events such as Scottsboro and Emmett Till's murder national, not local stories and thereby moved issues of racial violence onto the national agenda. The will of the people in the local community no longer legitimized such violence.

The most recent addition to the rhetoric was the term "hate crime." Unlike lynchers, who murdered with community support, those committing hate crimes were individuals condemned by the community, as was the 1998 murder of James Byrd, Jr., in Jasper, Texas.

But the word lynching did not disappear. Americans witnessed its enduring power and changing meanings when Clarence Thomas claimed he was a victim of a "high-tech lynching" in his confirmation hearing in 1991. This book makes important contributions to understanding extralegal violence, rhetoric and communication, race, and other key issues associated with the changing meanings and politics of the word "lynching." And because of his broad scope and sharp analytical focus on the word itself, Waldrep provides a framework for future studies of lynching as he moves this once marginal subject further on to center stage.

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STEPHEN J. LEONARD. *Lynching in Colorado 1859–1919*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2002. Pp. xiii, 246. \$24.95.

Lynching stained the historical record of the western region of the United States in a manner different from, yet parallel to, what occurred in the American South. Stephen J. Leonard has uncovered 175 killings in Colorado from 1859 to 1919 that fit the definition established in the 1940s by anti-lynching activists and applied by the southern historian, W. Fitzhugh Brundage. Nearly all the victims died "illegally at the hands of a group acting under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition" (p. 3). In Colorado, the frequency of lynchings changed over time, as did the locations and the causes.

The 175 victims vary, but the majority of them can be identified. Such is not the case for the killers. Newspaper accounts and any legal investigations after the fact typically ruled that death occurred at the hands of persons unknown or unidentifiable. Members of the local community may well have recognized who did the deed, but very few members of lynching parties can be determined from historical records. This limitation means that Leonard's study relies on problematic accounts from newspapers and local histories that recount the assumed crime and how the accused died. About some episodes we have even less information. For example, an appendix that provides a detailed table of "Colorado Lynching Victims" (pp. 165–72) has no name for forty-three of the people listed. Leonard presents his historical evidence scrupulously and tries to explain the motivations of the anonymous lynchers. He writes with a dramatic, and sometimes humorous, touch. He delights in anthropomorphizing the disorganized mobs and vengeful gangs as "Judge Lynch" who prowled Colorado "like a wolf until 1903, after which he rarely found a victim" (p. 8).

As Leonard reports, people's courts and vigilante groups applied a rough, often fatal, form of presumptive justice in the mining camps before Colorado became a federal territory in February 1861. Nearly all the offenders died by hanging, many before large crowds. The year 1860 witnessed thirteen lynchings,

with six of the victims accused of stealing horses and other valuable livestock and five suspected of murder. Other mining camps in other western locations, such as California a decade earlier and Montana a few years later on, had the same pattern of lynch law. By 1890, the four major communities of Denver, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, and Leadville had increased to more than 10,000 residents each and the use of lynching in these places had expired. In fact, it may have never taken root in Colorado Springs. But as Leonard notes, "Lynching lasted as long as it did in Colorado less because it persisted in large places than because of its constant rebirth in new towns" (p. 32).

Even after statehood in 1876, official courts and local lawmen did not expunge illegal executions. "Judge Lynch" did his main work in small towns and rural areas, and he increasingly acted at night. Leonard believes that local citizens approved of lynching because it saved communities the cost of trials and imprisonment and because it avoided the inept actions of the courts. In short, the guilty would not go unpunished, and the people would not pay excessively for providing justice. Up until 1870, many lynchings occurred in daylight, sometimes after a form of public trial. These people's courts did not always deliver orderly rulings, so vigilante groups stepped in and took action. In this early stage of what may be called "law and order" lynchings, a man could die for having a bad reputation and for being accused of threatening someone. In the 1870s and 1880s, serious crimes became the focus of lynch law. After 1884, no one died for stealing cattle or horses. By the 1890s, sex crimes and murder became the main concerns of Judge Lynch, but people of color or of distinct ethnicity still needed to fear his wrath.

Especially gruesome killings befouled Colorado's reputation and created a public uproar. The hanging of a pregnant woman in Ouray in 1884, and the burning of a sixteen-year-old African American in Lincoln County in 1900, resulted in open outrage despite the spirited defense of these acts by local newspapers. Ultimately, Leonard concludes that Judge Lynch thrived in Colorado because lynchers knew "they would be regarded as community protectors rather than community destroyers" (p. 157). He does not find a pattern of economic competition that some scholars of the South believe influenced upsurges in lynch law, but he does note the targeting of specific racial and ethnic groups such as African Americans and Italians. Leonard also observes that opposition never produced an organized anti-lynching movement in the state (p. 158). Some histories of Colorado have reported that Judge Lynch only thrived in the mining camps before Colorado became a federal territory. Leonard's study corrects that assumption and will make others take note of how long Judge Lynch lived on in the Rocky Mountain West. As he states in his book's introduction, although statistics on violence can be easily misinterpreted, nonetheless it is worth recognizing that between 1882 and 1903, "Montana, Wyoming,

Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona formed a kind of lynching belt that outdid most of the South in lynchings on a per capita basis" (p. 7).

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J. DOUGLAS SMITH. *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 411. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This richly detailed study of the "management" of white supremacy in Virginia is a welcome addition to our understanding of the sometimes befuddling race relations in the early twentieth century. Near the beginning of that century W. E. B. Du Bois predicted that race would loom large, and toward its end Cornel West reminded us that race still mattered. J. Douglas Smith's examination of the period between the world wars rests on the same premise. The emphasis of this study is on the ways "elite" whites tried to control or manage their domination of Virginia society.

Smith's work is compelling, but it is not without limits or without flaws. I was puzzled, for instance, by his use of the notion of "elite(s)." There is no coherent definition of the concept. Sometimes we are left with a suspicion that it refers to the FFV (First Families of Virginia), sometimes it seems to refer to the propertied and politically active white leadership, and sometimes to leaders of Virginia's business community. What it did not include was "working and lower-class whites" who had to compete with blacks for "jobs, housing, and seats on buses." Blacks, Smith contends, "openly rejected" the "paternalistic bargain central to managed race relations" (p. 5). The bargain was that, in exchange for total deference, white paternalists would provide a minimal level of basic services, some economic uplift, and a rejection of violence.

Smith explores this "genteel brand of paternalism" through the eyes of a small number of white leaders: people like John Powell, an FFV type if there ever was one, and Walter Ashby Plecker, the director of Virginia's Bureau of Vital Statistics at the time. It also included such paternalistic journalists and historians of the early South as Douglas Southall Freeman and Virginius Dabney, the editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. The first two, heavily involved in the Anglo-Saxon Clubs (an organization committed to the maintenance of the purity of whiteness), were among the most unbending racists identified as "elite." At the same time, they rejected violence as the primary means of racial domination, and they defined their rigid separationism in opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, which never received the support of Virginia's elite, according to Smith.

Plecker's efforts as the head of the vital statistics bureau illustrate the extreme edge of paternalistic racism. Proponents of separationism had to define categories of people to be placed on one side or another of the racial divide. Plecker, ever the racial

purist, embraced the so-called one drop rule. Any evidence of the presence of a black ancestor placed a person among colored Virginians. One problem concerned Native Americans: were they black or white? In 1924, Virginia passed its Racial Integrity Act, which required the registration of all the state's people under the steely gaze of the Bureau of Vital Statistics. A white was defined as a person with "no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian" (p. 87). Some of the elite, however, had the blood of Indians coursing through their veins. Legislators resolved the potential problem with the hilariously named "Pocahantas exception" (p. 88). Plecker was not sympathetic. The point here, however, is that Smith might have provided a deeper historical analysis with a wider historical framework. Virginians had been dealing with problems of racial definition for a long, long time. For instance, in 1806, in *Hudgins v. Wrights*, Judge St. George Tucker tried his hand at definition. The differences between blacks and Indians were clear to him: a "person might as easily mistake the glossy, jetty cloathing of an American bear for the wool of a black sheep, as the hair of an American Indian for that of an African." Definitions might be murky, but it was their implementation that mattered. Smith notes, for instance, that the first conviction under the Racial Integrity Act's prohibition of interracial marriage came in 1926 when a white woman and a mulatto man were sentenced to two years in prison for marrying (p. 220). Did custom do the job of statutory prohibitions before? Smith did not go down that road, but he might have enriched this excellent study if he had. Why, moreover, was Virginia's prohibition so late in arriving? Others acted much earlier. In South Carolina, the Redeemers passed a punitive law in 1879 criminalizing interracial marriage; even clergymen could find themselves incarcerated for a year for performing such a marriage ceremony. Why the differing responses? This is a question that ought to be examined in a future study.

In the end, in any case, it was clear that Virginia's elite were losing their struggle to uphold the paternalistic bargain. Regrettably it is not equally clear why the conservatism of the white elite collapsed. Smith suggests that one element was increasing awareness that the racial cooperation necessary to paternalistic white supremacy was no longer forthcoming, and that the white elite never really knew moderate black leaders. The heart of the matter was that without the "assent" of blacks, the "middle ground long claimed by white elites" simply evaporated (p. 288). Smith could have sharpened his analytical effort at this point with more consideration of black "assent." At the outset he claimed that blacks "openly rejected" paternalism, yet at the end he suggests that the management of supremacy rested upon "assent." Further work here might have brought Smith directly into the contentious debate that began with Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963): "assent" could lead to legitimization.

Was there something similar going on in regard to race in Virginia during the interwar years?

Smith does not plumb deeply into such issues, but he has given us a very valuable study of the efforts of Virginia's elite to maintain a paternalistic domination based on consent. The conclusion of their labor was the unmasking of an empty paternalism mired in such ugly matters as a mean-spirited foot dragging on support for a racially separate beach for blacks. Gentle paternalism was ultimately doomed. With the spread of democracy, that was just about inevitable.

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WAYNE E. FULLER. *Morality and the Mail in Nineteenth-Century America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 264. \$39.95.

In nineteenth-century America, the United States Postal Service was the principal purveyor of the nation's culture. Post riders, stagecoaches, steamboats, and then trains followed the nation's moving population across the continent. Nineteenth-century postal innovations such as stamps and envelopes, free delivery, special delivery, money orders, registered letters, and parcel service combined with cheap postage to help publishers disseminate all sorts of information on a scale unimaginable in the eighteenth century. By 1900, for instance, the postal service annually distributed more than two million pieces of mail weighing more than 450 million pounds. No arm of the federal government was more directly involved in the daily lives of Americans than the postal system. The nineteenth-century communication revolution spawned by the rapidly developing and innovative postal system helped bring both moral and immoral products of popular culture into Americans' homes. Since Congress controlled the postal system, the regulation of the mails was directly related to American politics. Various groups, including newspaper and magazine publishers, free-love advocates, freethinkers, and especially evangelical Protestants intent on preserving America as a "Christian nation," pressured Congress to change postal rules and regulations to their own liking. In this book, Wayne E. Fuller explores the intersection of new publishing technologies, postal service innovations, American politics, and Protestant aspirations to regulate the nation's morality.

Fuller's study begins with an examination of how Congress's 1810 decision to open post offices on Sundays sparked a nearly century-long evangelical Protestant campaign to preserve the sanctity of the Sabbath. Subsequent chapters explore the growth of Sunday newspapers, the expansion of pornography in the Gilded Age, controversies surrounding cheap postage rates that paperback publishers exploited to distribute their novels, and efforts to curb the Louisiana lottery. Throughout the study, Fuller demonstrates how competing regional political interests sometimes



subverted and other times assisted Protestant efforts to regulate the morality of the mail. For instance, the decision to open post offices on Sundays was primarily the result of southern Republicans' efforts to thwart the growing power of New England Federalists in the early nineteenth century. After the Civil War, southern Democrats opposed efforts to outlaw the Louisiana state lottery, not because they thought lotteries were morally acceptable leisure activities but because they were still intent on defending states rights. Sometimes certain evangelical Protestant interests contradicted their own efforts to regulate the mail system. For instance, Protestant periodicals opposed revising certain postal regulations if such changes meant increasing the cost of postage for their own publications, even though higher rates were in part designed to drive more licentious publications out of business.

Fuller's work challenges conventional interpretations of nineteenth-century Protestant moral reform efforts. Many studies of moral reformers typically employ some version of the "status anxiety" theory to explain Protestant campaigns to regulate the public's morality. Other studies emphasize themes of progress, growing tolerance, and democratic sentiments in favor of free speech rights to present a Whiggish view of history in which religiously inspired repression is overcome by more enlightened forces. Fuller's work subverts such interpretations by arguing that Protestant efforts to regulate the nation's mail system were primarily inspired by certain theological and ethical convictions. In other words, Fuller takes the ideas—the theology and ethics—of nineteenth-century evangelical Protestants seriously. He argues, for example, that evangelical Protestants believed that erotic literature was immoral and that the state had the responsibility to keep obscene literature from perverting the nation's youth.

Fuller's study might leave some readers with the impression that only evangelical Protestants were interested in regulating the mail. While evangelicals dominated Protestantism in the nineteenth century, as Fuller notes, they were not the only Protestants, especially in the postbellum period, who wanted to use the growing powers of state and federal governments to regulate public morality. Liberal Protestant voluntary organizations, such as the New England Watch and Ward Society, which was headed by such leading lights of liberal Protestantism as Phillips Brooks, William Jewett Tucker, and George A. Gordon, supported the censorship of the mails. Fuller might have strengthened even further an already convincing argument by examining liberal Protestant efforts to regulate the morality of the mail system.

Nonetheless, this meticulously researched study draws on a wide range of archival sources to make a compelling argument that nineteenth-century evangelical Protestants sought to shape the nation's morality in part through their efforts to control the mail. Fuller's engaging writing style and delightfully puckish sense of humor make detailed information about

changes in postal regulations and technological innovations remarkably interesting. His book, in short, is a fascinating study that makes a substantial contribution to American cultural history.

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ELIZABETH ELKIN GRAMMER. *Some Wild Visions: Autobiographies by Female Itinerant Evangelists in Nineteenth Century America*. (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. pp. x, 211. \$39.95.

Elizabeth Elkin Grammer examines the published autobiographies of seven female evangelists—Jarena Lee, Zilpha Elaw, Nancy Towle, Lydia Sexton, Laura Haviland, Julia Foote, and Amanda Berry Smith—whose lives and careers spanned the nineteenth century. Her book is a work of literary analysis, not history per se, but her insights are well grounded in the social, cultural, and religious history of the period. She opens some interesting windows for historians on the role that reading and the written word played in the development of a female consciousness of self and illuminates the empowerment that women found in the rise of the Holiness movement within evangelical Christianity.

After laying out the religious landscape of nineteenth-century America, Grammer introduces us to the evangelists. We learn that race as well as gender played a role in their lives, as four of them were African American. Grammer acknowledges that white and black women experienced gender discrimination differently and addresses this issue throughout the book. Nevertheless, she is more interested in the women's similarities than their differences, and she emphasizes what their autobiographies and writing styles have in common.

The four central chapters of the book provide a detailed literary analysis of the autobiographies. Chapter one examines how their authors used the motif of homelessness to interrogate the ideology of the "cult of domesticity." As itinerant evangelists, these women abandoned the roles of wife and mother to travel and preach. Knowing that most Americans disapproved of their lifestyle, they took great pains to establish their legitimacy by explaining their decision to forsake domesticity as their only possible response to God's call. Grammer correctly notes that the cult of domesticity was a white, middle-class construction. Nevertheless, all seven women felt constrained by the prevailing attitude that women belonged at home, not on the road, and they made homelessness, both literally and metaphorically, a central theme of their autobiographies.

Chapter two analyzes how the rapid advance of market capitalism in nineteenth-century America affected evangelical Christianity and informed the writers' understanding of their life's work. The autobiographies are largely compendiums of the women's



evangelistic activities—where and how often they preached, how many miles they traveled—and reveal little about their interior religious quests. Unlike earlier spiritual autobiographers, these women spent little time documenting their conversion experience. Rather, they emphasized their efforts to promote the kingdom of God after their conversion. Grammer attributes this focus on “busyness” to the authors’ need to legitimize their work by emphasizing what the larger society valued: “competitive individualism, productivity, and quantification” (p. 76).

Chapter three looks at how these female evangelists turned worldly opposition to their ministry into a sign of success. As Christians, they measured their achievements against a standard not shared by the world. Thus their autobiographies record, almost joyfully, the opposition they encountered from family and church leaders as proof that they were following God’s will for their lives. They were not alone. Jesus Christ, who had also lived on the fringes of society, provided female evangelists with a paradigm for understanding their marginality that surfaces frequently in their writing.

Chapter four is an extended explanation of the disjointed nature of the autobiographies. Grammer classifies these books as “paratactic”: that is, they are not cohesive narratives with a beginning, middle, and end but repetitive lists of the women’s activities strung together with little effort to edit or prioritize the experiences. This structure, she argues, reflects the itinerant nature of the women’s lives and the fact that they were “denied access to more ‘settled,’ authoritative positions within institutional religion” (p. 131). Despite this laundry list approach to writing, Grammer finds deep meaning in these autobiographies. The women who wrote them were visionaries who foresaw the day when their lives would be the norm rather than the exception. Ever hopeful, they wrote “their stories of resistance to the dominant culture’s gender norms [to] strengthen other young women in their efforts to reinvision womanhood” (p. 146).

I found Grammer’s book informative and quite readable. Unlike some literary critics, she generally defines her terms for readers not well versed in literary theory. Her writing is cogent, her arguments persuasive. The strength of this book, however, is Grammer’s ability to contextualize her authors as historical actors and to ground her observations in the realities that emerge when race, gender, and religion intersect. Because she does so, her work adds a fresh dimension to the on-going discussion of domesticity and highlights how women’s spiritual authority and women’s marginality clashed in nineteenth-century evangelical America.

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BONNIE SUE LEWIS. *Creating Christian Indians: Native Clergy in the Presbyterian Church*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 281. \$34.95.

There is an ongoing and often lively debate among American Indians over the question of whether one can be both Christian and Indian. Bonnie Sue Lewis joins the debate on the affirmative side with this book, and she marshals her evidence to demonstrate that Native Presbyterian ministers and their congregations among the Dakota and Nez Perce found Christianity to be a positive and fulfilling part of their lives. They recognized the similarity between their own values of loyalty, hospitality, and responsibility to community members and those taught by Jesus Christ and his apostles, and they found the same spiritual solace in the midst of a hostile environment that early Christians had found during their oppression under the Roman Empire. The acceptance of Christianity was strong among Dakota men imprisoned after what is generally referred to as the Great Sioux Uprising in Minnesota in 1862 and among Nez Percés who were being systematically stripped of reservation lands in Montana.

The Dakota and Nez Perce were also familiar with their own forms of religious revivalism, similar to the highly emotional responses at Methodist and Presbyterian prayer meetings during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Nez Perce had experienced the Dream Dance movement led by the prophet Smohalla. Lewis pushes her argument a little too hard by including the Western Lakota Ghost Dance as an example of revivalism, when it was both later and centered in a different location than the Dakota communities in Minnesota that are the focus of her study. She does make the point, however, that circumstances of poverty and subjection to the will of the United States government gave credence to the Christian doctrine that God would take care of American Indians.

Despite the apparent similarities in the social doctrines of Christianity and the values of Indian communities, Lewis is careful to examine the distinctiveness of Dakota and Nez Perce churches. The most significant difference she points out is the importance of band membership on church affiliation. Although band organization and traditional Native leaders came under attack by both the United States government and the Presbyterian Church, they played an important role in the formation of Native churches well into the late nineteenth century.

Lewis describes the training of New Perce clergy in greater detail than that of Dakota clergy, and there is a very interesting subtext of gender in her chapters dealing with the McBeth mission school. Although she tries to keep her emphasis on the men who were being trained, the women who trained them, Sue and Kate McBeth, Mary Crawford, and Helen Clark, take center stage. Their paternalistic attitudes toward their students seem to be as much a matter of their own frustrations about their status in the church as their concern for Christian mission. These intriguing women deserve more attention than Lewis gives them.

Throughout her study, Lewis emphasizes the ways in which Native clergy melded Christian and Native

values to gain converts to their churches, but she does confront the fact that they also preached against aspects of Native cultural practice, such as dancing, gambling, and witchcraft, which they considered dangers to the Christian soul. Native Christians often identified such practices as “heathen,” “degrading,” and “evil” (p. 98). Their characterizations are understandable when these activities were seen as directly competing with Christianity. But what is striking is that, as Lewis says, “Many converts explicitly conceived of their new lives in terms of a separation from their non-Christian tribal members.” They went so far as to form separate communities. It is at this point of rejection of other community members that the basic impossibility of being Christian and Indian emerges. It was certainly possible for tribes to split along band lines, but when James Dickson explained his “separating myself from many of my heathen friends, even my father,” his rejection of kinship and other social ties was contrary to tribal value systems (p. 97). What Lewis describes as “not so much a rejection of traditional ways as a redefinition of them in the profound cultural upheaval of the era” does not do full justice to the profound impact of Christianity on social structures of kinship and participation in shared cultural experiences in Native communities.

The strength of Lewis’s book is how well she portrays the ways in which the Native clergy negotiated their way through often conflicting value systems and the vagaries of federal Indian policy to bring what they saw as the solace of Christian belief to Native people whose lives had been disrupted by historical forces.

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GRANT WACKER and DANIEL H. BAYS, editors. *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History*. (Religion and American Culture.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2003. Pp. x, 332. \$60.00.

This stimulating volume looks at the foreign missionary enterprise through the “wrong” end of the telescope: that is, it examines the effect of missions abroad chiefly on the society back home. In so doing, the many contributors provide a perspective as rare as it is informative. In the nice phrasing of editors Grant Wacker and Daniel H. Bays, “The essays gathered here offer an introduction to this craggy and barely explored terrain” (p. 9). While much of the terrain may remain craggy, helpful paths have been laid out, with extraordinarily valuable notes offering further guidance along the way.

The book is divided into three chronological parts, with shifting sentiments at home requiring such separations. Part one, “The National Era: Years of Expansion,” takes its rise with the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810; this era is characterized by perfervid optimism and breath-taking ambition. Part two, “The High Imperial

Years of Maturity,” moves from the latter decades of the nineteenth century to the middle decades of the twentieth. Part three covers the post-World War II years, marked by restraint in the mainline denominations and exuberance in the independent, faith-based missions.

Space considerations require that comment be limited to a half-dozen of the essays, these chosen for their contrasts geographically as well as for their particular strengths. Laurie Maffly-Kipp concentrates on Haitian missions and an African Methodist Episcopal female preacher, Amanda Berry Smith. Mining Smith’s prodigious autobiography, along with other sources, Maffly-Kipp illustrates how Haiti became a more promising land for America’s blacks and, at the same time, how it could carry “civilization and education to less advanced peoples in other parts of the world” (p. 31).

Mark Hanley uses the sermons of the American Board of Commissioners to reveal the degree of Protestant triumphalism in the early period. “Aggressive, collective self-confidence flowed freely at [the Board’s] gatherings, reflecting the prevailing postmillennial core of nineteenth-century evangelical mission theology” (p. 45). Because of his sources, Hanley’s analysis rests heavily on the northeastern United States. However, his remarkably detailed notes open many windows to the wider scene.

Edith Blumenhofer tells a most fascinating story of Pandita Ramabai, a female preacher in India of unusual power and magnetic attraction. Turning her attention to the depressed status of women in India, Ramabai saw “self-reliance, education, and native women teachers as the chief needs of Indian women” (p. 157). Her personal charm worked wonders in the United States, no less than in her native land, as she found the network of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union a most convenient vehicle for getting her message across to American female audiences. But Ramabai’s American audiences shifted as her own “spiritual pilgrimage took her from Anglo-Catholicism through middle class moderate Protestantism to participation in radical expressions of holiness and faith” (p. 169). Although she was in the United States only from 1886 to 1889, Ramabai’s influence continued to be felt here until her death in 1922, and even beyond.

William Svelmoe sets for himself the daunting task of explaining the remarkable alliance of the “secular socialist” (President Lázaro Cárdenas of Mexico) and an “evangelical Christian” missionary (William Townsend), who made common cause for the benefit of Mexico and especially of its poor indigenous population (p. 185). The alliance is all the more amazing since Mexico was still in the strongly anticlerical phase of its 1910 Revolution, and Townsend had to contend with a presidential administration that turned farther and farther to the left. He also confronted U.S. oil companies issuing a steady stream of negative propaganda about all developments in Mexico, as did the Roman Catholic Church and, to a lesser extent, even

the U. S. State Department. The achievements of the indefatigable Townsend suggest "that the common stereotype of missionaries as 'behind-the-times' at home and dull purveyors of Western imperialism on the field needs continued revision" (p. 172).

The reader has a real treat in store in following Wacker's careful analysis of "The Case of Pearl S. Buck." Buck, as few may recall, began her career in China as a missionary, but by 1932 (after her second novel, *The Good Earth*, brought her a Pulitzer prize) she along with many others began to question the morality and legitimacy of the foreign missionary enterprise. While the secular press praised her insight and daring, much of the religious press found her an embarrassment. A year later, Buck avoided a messy theological quarrel and possible heresy trial by resigning her missionary post. But her popularity as an author only soared, adding a Nobel prize in literature to her earlier Pulitzer. "Eventually," Wacker writes, "Buck's works appeared in 145 languages and dialects, making her the most widely translated author in U. S. history" (p. 193). But as she continued to bring China to an American audience, she brought less and less of Christianity to China. By the 1940s (she died in 1973), she could baldly state, "I feel no need for any other faith than my faith in human beings" (p. 199).

Finally (of my six examples), Scott Flipse describes the effective partnership between the federal government and voluntary religious agencies immediately after World War II. Much of this partnership derived from earlier decades when "missionaries acted as diplomats, journalists, business operatives, and experts on foreign cultures for a nation slowly awakening to a role beyond its shores" (p. 208). The future for such cozy relationships looked promising, but it all fell apart in the Vietnam years, as the war seemed increasingly costly in human lives on both sides, with no clear moral purpose to be found. Churches and other religious organizations felt that they were being used and their own message muted if not blatantly contradicted. The lessons of this period raise warning flags for the faith-based initiatives of the current administration.

These six guides, along with many other skilled interpreters, provide a high level of fresh understandings. Much can be learned by looking through the wrong end of the telescope.

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W. MICHAEL ASHCRAFT. *The Dawn of the New Cycle: Point Loma Theosophists and American Culture*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 258. \$35.00.

W. Michael Ashcraft offers a long-overdue revisionist analysis of the Theosophists of Point Loma, California, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He joins those scholars who in recent years have

portrayed religious "alternatives" as fully participant in American cultural life. Drawing on R. Laurence Moore's *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (1986) and Mary Farrell Bednarowski's *New Religions and the Theological Imagination in America* (1989), Ashcraft argues that in developing their unique belief system, the Point Loma Theosophists, rather than deviating from some definitionally elusive "mainstream," drew on the same values and cultural categories and addressed the same spiritual questions as did other Americans.

Ashcraft's Point Loma Theosophists, like the white Buddhists of Thomas Tweed's *The American Encounter with Buddhism, 1844-1912: Victorian Culture and the Limits of Dissent* (1992), contained their exploration of esoteric and eastern religion within a "late Victorian" cultural context. Experiencing a spiritual anxiety generated by urbanization, industrialization, and massive immigration and seeking religious certainty in a post-Darwinian world, these white, middle-class Victorians found satisfaction in a cosmos characterized by moral absolutes and a process of spiritual and racial evolution. In their earthly lives, they found assurance in their commitment to universal brotherhood, a "feminized" agenda of humanitarian social work, and conventional middle-class concepts of womanhood and manhood, childhood, education, emotional control, moral character, millennialism, American exceptionalism, and Anglo-Saxon racial superiority. The Theosophists of Point Loma were, in Ashcraft's reading, culturally conservative, opposed to socialism and women's suffrage, and lodged their hopes for social change in "small, local endeavors" and a "gradual global change of heart" rather than in the political activism or government intervention favored by Progressive reformers (p. 40). Alternative religions were not necessarily seedbeds of feminism, since the women of Point Loma combined their respect for higher education and the professions with a belief in firm gender distinctions and an insistence that the concept of home was the basis of women's identity. This conservatism set the Point Loma community apart from other Theosophical groups.

At the same time, Point Loma Theosophists dissented from the beliefs and attitudes of most middle-class Victorians. Their belief in cyclical rather than linear time, karmic law, reincarnation, and the decidedly nondemocratic spiritual authority of a hierarchy of spiritual Masters and their earthly vehicles drew on esoteric and eastern religious traditions and distinguished them from the Protestant majority. While they supported the Cuban cause in the Spanish-American War and contributed humanitarian aid, they opposed warfare as productive of spiritually damaging karmic reverberations at a time when many middle-class men emphasized its physically and spiritually invigorating effects. And while the American flag and the American Revolution symbolized for them a "higher patriotism," they viewed nationalism narrowly construed as an obstacle to international peace and universal brother-



hood. They therefore joined many socialists and radical feminists in opposing American entry into World War I and aroused the suspicions of the federal government.

Ashcraft's emphasis on Point Loma's creative tension with the wider culture provides a necessary corrective to earlier readings of American Theosophy. But still more fruitful readings of Point Loma's engagement with American culture are possible. For instance, Ashcraft's insistence that the Point Loma Theosophists were "Victorian" and not "Progressive" oversimplifies the complexity of historical reality by treating these categories as mutually exclusive. Their commitment to social service, devotion to rescuing children from urban tenements, engagement in the decidedly secular work of providing flood, famine, and war relief, and organization of various national and international "leagues" to promote these agendas suggest other ways of understanding the relation between "Victorian" and "Progressive" currents in American life. Furthermore, Ashcraft's emphasis on the differences between Point Loma and other American Theosophical groups, while duly sensitive to the pluralism that characterizes all religious traditions, results in a study that tells us more about Point Loma in particular than about American Theosophy more generally. Finally, while many scholars have recently questioned the applicability of Victorian gender prescriptions and the notion of "separate spheres" to the actual lives of middle-class Americans, Ashcraft takes them at face value. As a result, his analysis is considerably less nuanced than is Beryl Satter's examination of how an alternative religion became a site for cultural debates and discourses about gender (*Each Mind a Kingdom: American Women, Sexual Purity, and the New Thought Movement, 1875-1920* [1999]). The reader comes away with little sense of the function of gendered imagery in Theosophist cosmology, the function of gender in Theosophy's experiential dimensions, or the implications of these for Theosophy's relation to American culture.

Ashcraft's concern, however, is to illuminate Theosophy not as cosmology or as lived spirituality but as an American social and cultural phenomenon. His is a very important step toward achieving that understanding.

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D. G. HART. *The Lost Soul of American Protestantism.* (American Intellectual Culture.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. xxxiv, 197. \$37.50.

The common contemporary image of American Protestantism as divided between evangelicals (or fundamentalists) and modernists (or liberals) is an oversimplification, argues D. G. Hart. We need to take account of a third important category: confessional Protestants. Hart reminds us that both the evangelicals

and modernists of today derive from the nineteenth-century revivalists, who emphasized the religion of the heart rather than theological rigor and judged doctrines by their practical efficacy. Hart uses the term "pietist" to refer to their kind of religion, which rose to dominance in the United States. The confessional religious bodies, by contrast, rejected nineteenth-century revivalism in favor of traditional definitions ("confessions") of faith. The nineteenth-century revivalists promoted reforms through which they intended to build the kingdom of Christ in America, ranging from antislavery and public education to temperance and sabbatarian regulations. Only around 1912 did this pietist reform impulse bifurcate into liberal and fundamentalist versions. The evangelical and modernist pietists of our own day continue to push their agendas for American society, although of course they disagree over whether to legitimate or ban abortion, homosexual behavior, and common prayer in the public schools. By contrast, confessional Christians are content to preserve their distinctive traditions in a sinful world, to save the souls of their followers by means of those traditions, and to disavow any ambition for reshaping society as a whole. According to Hart, they do not judge the validity of their doctrines as pietists do, by their practical efficacy in winning converts or improving the world. Religious confessionalists are perhaps the only true conservatives in twenty-first-century American society. The evangelical fundamentalists, declares Hart, although carelessly labeled conservative, are in fact antitraditional populists.

The author avows that his brief book is "introductory" rather than "exhaustive," and he treats only a few examples of confessional Protestantism: Old School Presbyterians, the Christian Reformed Church, and Missouri Synod Lutherans. Each of these religious communities is predominantly ethnic in character: respectively Scots-Irish, Dutch, and German (from Saxony in particular). It would have been helpful if Hart had included a confessional group that was less clearly ethnic in character, such as High Church Episcopalians, to whom he does at least make reference. Perhaps the clearest historical examples of "confessional" Christian bodies, in terms of American experience, were the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholics before Vatican II. Their cases are ruled out for treatment by Hart's decision to confine his presentations to Protestants. The absence of Catholicism is less regrettable than it might be thanks to the recent appearance of John T. McGreevy's fine book *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (2003).

One of the conspicuous features of American pietist religion has been its millennialism. Modernists, evangelical fundamentalists, and nineteenth-century revivalists have all seen themselves at times as helping usher in the Second Coming of Christ and his reign on earth; often they have claimed a special role for America in fulfilling this divine promise. By contrast, the confessional faiths have been less quick to see signs of Christ's imminent return and less eager to seize an



opportunity to hasten it. But millennialism is not an aspect of the subject Hart chooses to address.

Hart is quite right that much contemporary commentary on the state of American Protestantism is superficial, and he renders the discussion more subtle and complex by reminding us about the confessional Christians. As dean of a theological seminary, he is entitled to take a position on the merits of different Christian theologies, and to defend, as he does, the confessional, as opposed to the pietist, orientation. He points out that the confessional sects, although "intolerant" in the sense of interpreting their dogmas strictly, are actually "tolerant" in not trying to impose their morality on others. He therefore finds them more compatible with the currently fashionable pluralist, rather than assimilationist, vision of American society. Ironically, he thus ends up making an argument in favor of confessionalism that is based on its practical social utility.

Like all good books, this one raises more questions than it answers. Jonathan Edwards espoused a strict understanding of both Calvinist theology and the administration of the sacraments, but at the same time he preached revivals. Horace Bushnell was probably the greatest critic of revivalism in his age, yet he preferred the theology of the heart to that of the head. Are we to label them confessional or pietistic? However we come down, we can thank Hart for opening up a stimulating discussion.

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TONA J. HANGEN. *Redeeming the Dial: Radio, Religion, and Popular Culture in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 220. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

Tona J. Hangen explores conservative Protestants' use of radio during that medium's golden age and focuses on three exemplary practitioners: Paul Rader, Aimee Semple McPherson, and Charles Fuller. Carl McIntire, an often overlooked but important figure in religious radio and right-wing politics, also garners attention. In her most original chapter, Hangen examines the tensions between conservative and liberal Protestants over the regulation of radio in the 1940s and the emergence of the National Religious Broadcasters. The approach is interdisciplinary, but the popular culture perspective prevails. Hangen makes good use of listeners' correspondence.

Revivalist radio is an important subject. From the 1920s to the 1950s American households with radios jumped from about five percent to about ninety-five percent. In 1948, over 1,600 fundamentalist radio programs aired each week. Hangen concludes that by looking closely at this dimension of evangelicalism, one can better understand the resilience of that movement in America, especially its access to cultural authority, and also how revivalists helped to shape

radio itself, one element of the American cultural mosaic. Religious radio also clarifies how America resisted the western trend of modernization leading to secularization. Sacred and secular programming coexisted in the same medium.

This book also contributes to a reassessment of American fundamentalism. Despite the fact that the Scopes Trial was carried live on radio, which the author mentions briefly, that episode has little relevance to her point, which is that conservative Protestantism gained strength in subsequent decades, and the effective use of radio is one important reason for that success. Her emphasis is congruent with Joel Carpenter's point about fundamentalist vitality after the 1920s and Edward Larson's conclusion that the Scopes Trial's significance was a myth perpetuated by Frederick Lewis Allen and later historians. A more important fundamentalist-modernist controversy began rather than ended in the 1920s: the battle for the airwaves. In this battle, the liberal Protestants were on the defensive, and their numbers would steadily decline. The conservative Protestant dynamic, which offered the gospel promise of eternal life along with moral certitude, not only attracted a wide audience but also generated significant financial support, goals more difficult to achieve for more genteel liberal Protestants. Rather than evolution and liquor, conservative Protestants wrangled with opponents over free or paid time for programming, use of radio networks or syndication of their own programs, policies of the Federal Radio Commission (changed in 1934 to the Federal Communications Commission), and adapting to FM radio technology.

On a different level, Hangen's work dovetails nicely with Leigh Eric Schmidt's recent work on the connections between "hearing" and spirituality. She concludes "that Protestant religion is a religion of the heard word" (p. 5). Her discussions about the dynamics of radio preaching, the preacher and the listener, help readers to understand more about aurality and orality in history. Listening to preaching, although a modern invention, harks back to the premodern era, before the written text became more important. Fuller's Old Fashioned Revival Hour utilized very modern technology. Paul the Apostle declared that "faith cometh by hearing" (Romans 10:17) and he talked about the effectiveness of the "foolishness of preaching" (I Corinthians 1:21). This book helps explain that special role of the "heard word" in spirituality.

The only shortcoming of the book is its lack of precision in places. While Hangen clearly states she is examining conservative Protestants, she still uses the label "fundamentalist" carelessly to describe McPherson, Walter Maier, and Harold Ockenga. Ockenga in particular made a point after World War II of being a "new" evangelical, not a fundamentalist. McIntire was defrocked not for apostasy but for working with an independent mission board. Consulting Michael Kammen's work on American popular and mass culture, particularly radio, would have strengthened Hangen's

arguments about radio's importance in American life. Americans embraced a public medium that they enjoyed in the privacy of their homes. Did the medium soften the fundamentalist message?

For those interested in American religious history, popular culture, and communications, I recommend this work for its fresh insights into religion and how it is shared. In addition, Hangen gives excellent background for understanding the electronic church and evangelical interaction with American culture and politics from the 1970s to the present.

DOUGLAS CARL ABRAMS  
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JAMES L. HUNT. *Marion Butler and American Populism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 338. \$49.95.

This is an exceptionally well-grounded study of probably the most historically neglected figure in American Populism. James L. Hunt's biography of Marion Butler is based on research from a dozen archival and manuscript sites as well as a comprehensive survey of the agrarian press and the relevant pamphlet literature. The endnotes alone are worth the price of admission. Hunt takes a clearly defined historiographical position—the rejection of cultural studies for what he terms “core-level political analysis” (p. 295, n. 5)—and, in place of the celebratory writings of Populist scholars over the past three decades, he adopts a stance of detachment. He questions the depth of research, basic themes, and interpretation found in Lawrence Goodwyn's *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (1976) and the subsequent historical literature influenced by its premises of authentic and ersatz Populism. He exorcises the demonological school of Populist scholarship, and puts in its place the discussion of a complex reality in which political circumstances at the state and local levels often shaped the particular strategies for implementing the movement's ideas and goals. His emphasis is on the Populists' effort to translate reform principles into law; he sees, particularly in Butler's case, a sharpened focus on economic issues and the structure and organization necessary to programmatic achievements.

Hunt demonstrates the multifaceted nature of Butler's motivation, character, and interests. He carefully delineates Butler's step-by-step ascent (which was nevertheless amazingly rapid) through both agricultural and political channels of power. Butler, from a comfortable background and educated at Chapel Hill, demonstrated oratorical powers and political skills from the start of his reform career. At twenty-five, in 1888, he served as an Alliance lecturer, at twenty-seven as an Alliance-Democratic state senator, thence a county and state chairman of the fledgling People's Party, the state and national president of the Farmers' Alliance, United States senator in 1895, and, at thirty-three, the People's Party national chairman. The bare listing, for the vital period of Populism, indicates a

stature within, and importance to, the movement that few others, and none in the South (including Tom Watson), could match. Hunt recognizes Butler's desire for power and control, his fascination with strategy and organization, his urge to speak and, above all, educate the populace: in sum, his role as the consummate political animal. But equally important, he credits him with holding ideas, beginning with the Alliance demands in the 1889 St. Louis Platform, and culminating in the Omaha Platform of 1892, that, however unpopular at the time, he consistently articulated and defended, not only through the presidential campaign of 1896 but in the Senate (1895–1901) and, indeed, through the remainder of his life. Considering the many disappointments he faced, not to say the ostracism and intimidation, Butler's persistence takes on the proportions of high moral courage.

Hunt states clearly the elements of Butler's political economy. That he had a coherent vision of a reform-oriented economic system itself acts to differentiate him from many of the Populist leaders (and renders him more than a politician). But that he made governmental activism central to this political economy identified him as more than an ordinary reformer; he pressed to the edges of permissible (i. e. nonsocialist) discourse and action. Butler called for the public ownership of all natural monopolies; the public issuance of currency, including greenbacks; the regulation, under the commerce clause, of transportation and the transmission of intelligence, which meant, specifically, the public ownership of railroads and telegraphs; and the investiture of government as an agent of the people in areas that affect the public interest. He sought this framework of political economy not to advance socialism but to liberalize economic arrangements (via antimonopolism) so that competition would obtain and the lesser capitalist and rural and urban producer would benefit. Butler advocated additional demands aimed at substantive and procedural changes, which tended to have in common the curbing of private economic power and the creation of responsive political institutions. He was as, if not more, active on the state level, where he worked for the expansion of public education, the regulation of railroads, lower interest rates, and the establishment of farm credits. Even after 1900, when he supported the Republican Party, until his death in 1938, Butler did not abandon the Omaha Platform.

Finally, there is the matter of Butler's position on race. Hunt rightly points out that Butler believed in white supremacy; this is undeniable and has to be the starting place in any further evaluation. However, he makes a categorical judgment about Butler's racism (invariably alluding to a deeper vein of racism when the context may suggest otherwise) that admits of no shadings and omits any analysis of the objective consequences of Butler's statements and actions. It is possible that Butler, like a small number of southerners in the twentieth century, made a pro forma argument for white supremacy as he simultaneously

worked to improve the condition of blacks, protect their voting rights, and improve the educational system. But here supposition is unnecessary: Butler was hated by large numbers of whites in his state because he dared to challenge the one-party domination that provided the political foundation for segregation. Democratic politicians and editors instilled such a climate of racial hysteria, which in turn legitimated the use of terror with impunity, that blacks were silenced even before passage of the disfranchisement amendment in 1900. Butler, from the time he joined the People's Party in 1892, squarely fought against the violence, stolen elections, virulent propaganda, and blatant intimidation that was directed against blacks and poor, nonconforming whites alike. He may have believed in white supremacy, but more important, he specifically and bravely sought to neutralize the race issue: not only to clear the way for the discussion of economic reform, but also because he had a deep respect for the United States Constitution, the rule of law, and the rights of citizenship. Hunt sees as much, yet he compulsively refers to Butler's racism and fails to bring out the character and flavor of repression in, say, the White Supremacy campaign of 1898, in which, as he mentions, Butler lived under the constant fear of assassination. He mentions the Red Shirts in two sentences (p. 150) and does little with the Wilmington Race Riot, which was an immediate outgrowth of the campaign. The test of Butler's racism, perhaps, is this: why embark on a thankless, dangerous course, when, given his talents, he could have been a premier figure in North Carolina and national politics if he had only played along? The same test could be applied to his sincerity on economic questions; there were easier ways to get ahead than by advocating the public ownership of railroads. Conceivably, at some level of analysis we might find not merely a similarity between, but the integration of, his racial and economic views.

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STEVEN L. PIOTT. *Giving Voters a Voice: The Origins of the Initiative and Referendum in America*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. x, 330. \$39.95.

This monograph is a useful resource for those engaged in research on Progressive-era political history, but it is not a particularly interesting book, and, in some ways, it is both an odd and an irritating one. Since this appears to damn it with less than faint praise, let me first emphasize its undeniable utility. Steven L. Piott devotes about six to seven thousand words to each of sixteen states that adopted the initiative and the referendum in the two decades after 1898. He explores how the measures came to be enacted in each state, and historians will find both his accounts of the enactment of the legislation in the various states and the sources he cites useful for their own research on direct democracy in the United States.

One of the oddities of the book is the evident gap

between what the publishers say about it and what the reader will find inside the covers. The cover blurb claims that Piott "broadens his examination to include the unique ways in which twenty-two states came to enact legislation allowing for the statewide initiative and referendum," and it goes on to say that "each state in which the proponents conducted an active campaign to win adoption of direct legislation is studied in detail." However, Piott's detailed appendix, which also lists the measures put on the ballot up to 1918, mentions only twenty-one states as having had provision for direct legislation in this period. Moreover, he discusses just sixteen of them in his book; there is no reference to any of the other states in either the text or the index. The author never explains whether the sixteen states he does discuss were chosen as somehow being representative of all the states that adopted this legislation, or whether there were insufficient primary sources to justify writing an essay on all of them. It would have been helpful if the readers had been told why he chose the states that he did.

The structure of the book is also peculiar. There are brief opening and concluding chapters that explore the general background to the adoption of direct legislation procedures, but they add little to our existing knowledge about that movement. Each of the remaining eight chapters examines two states, but there is hardly any cross-referencing to the experience of other states, either within a chapter or between chapters. In effect, the core of the book consists of sixteen short essays that are linked by a common theme, but the shared, or differing, experiences of the states are not explored at all. The result is that Piott does not address the really interesting questions relating to direct legislation.

For example, given that many western states did adopt the initiative, how do we explain its non-adoption in, say, Minnesota or Wisconsin, states that in other ways had been innovators in political reform? Then again, why was conservative Massachusetts one of the two northeastern states where the legislation did pass—and why did this happen as late as 1918, when the spirit of progressivism generally was on the wane? Piott's half-chapter on Massachusetts details how the legislation came to be passed, but it does not examine, for example, why some of those politicians who supported it actually did so. One of them, Joseph Walker, the former speaker of the state house, had been a fervent opponent of all forms of "non-representative" democracy until about 1910, but then his own political ambitions led him to change his mind. Had he now come really to believe in the types of causes he once supported only for strategic reasons, or were there also aspects of political strategy relating to the matter of direct legislation in 1918? Piott does not throw any light on these kinds of issues.

The absence of light thrown on the Massachusetts case is important because one of the interesting aspects of reform of political institutions from the late nineteenth century onward is the role played in that



legislation by politicians who were not radical reformers. Neither the Australian ballot nor, in most cases, the direct primary would have been enacted but for the support of these kinds of politicians. Piott seems to assume that they were not involved in the passage of state laws on referendums and initiatives, and my belief is that, in many cases, he is probably correct in this assumption. However, it would be helpful to *know* that he is right; unfortunately, the rather restricted way in which he has approached his subject still leaves the matter open to considerable doubt.

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JOHN SEELYE. *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 341. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

The so-called "yellow journalists" have played a prominent role in accounts of what is still mistakenly referred to as the Spanish-American War. The best known of the war correspondents was probably Richard Harding Davis, who reported on the events in Cuba for the *London Times*, the *New York Herald*, and *Scribner's*, and, on returning to the United States, published a book based on his dispatches.

There was no one quite like Davis, a dashing figure of a man, immaculately outfitted for every occasion, even war, and seemingly at ease wherever he might be, in the Palm Room at the Waldorf or with the Rough Riders at the battle at La Guásimas. Davis, arguably the first celebrity journalist, is almost forgotten today. It is to be hoped that John Seelye's book, which follows by a decade Arthur Lubow's masterful biography, will rescue Davis—and his writings—from sinking any further into oblivion.

Davis's forte was as an eyewitness reporter who, no matter who was paying him, spoke his own mind and recorded in articles, travel books, and fiction his often idiosyncratic, always wittily ironic impressions of the places and people he encountered. Whatever the genre, he saw everything through a distorting romantic lens. Rudyard Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Sir Walter Scott provided him with the "model for a new kind of romantic fiction" and a new style of journalism, in which men who looked and acted as he did, who were young, idealistic, well dressed, and well educated acted the heroes in an American "version of the imperial game" (p. 31).

Although he found his inspiration elsewhere, Davis's style resembled that of Mark Twain. Like Twain, Davis was never quite taken in by the mythmakers who had preceded him on his travels. A romantic in search of adventure, Davis had traveled first to the western United States. Hoping that he might be able to chronicle, as Kipling had for the British Empire, the story of a "border cavalry" whose members served "as stalwart

representatives of American military power on the frontiers of empire, he found instead a ragged troop of cavalry men in pursuit of a mirage" (p. 84). That would be the case wherever he traveled. His purported heroes all had feet of clay.

Seelye, whose field is American literature, not history, provides us with a synoptic reading of Davis's fiction and journalism as he traveled the nation and the world seeking a stage on which the new American hero could strut his stuff. After looking for his selfless, civilizing hero on the gridiron, in the western United States, in the Mediterranean, Africa, Europe, and Central America, Davis finally found him in the Caribbean. In his novel, *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897), and then in his writings on the Cuban-Spanish-American War, Davis, perhaps lowering his guard and winking his caustic eye in the cause of patriotism, presented his readers with unalloyed American chivalric adventurer/heroes who advanced the cause of civilization and social order.

The strength of Seelye's analysis for historians is as a supplement to the "revised notion of empire defined by Walter LaFeber in his highly influential book on the 'new' imperialism." Seelye does not for a moment doubt that American incursions in the Caribbean, both before and after the war in Cuba were motivated by economic and political concerns as well as chivalric idealism. He argues only that Davis made the quest for the American empire more attractive by endowing it with "a romantic aura," a "transcendent righteousness" (p. 309). That there was an element of masculine posturing in Davis's romance of war cannot be doubted. Davis, who wrote of war as if it were sport and sport as if it were war, recognized nonetheless that the gridiron was a poor substitute for a true battlefield and that the western frontier had been tamed long before he arrived there. Only in Cuba did he find a battlefield and mission sublime enough for his manly American heroes. Seelye's interpretation offers historians a way of understanding why so many Americans, so joyously and heedlessly, saluted the military intervention in Cuba. They were not simply duped by a yellow press or craven politicians. They were, like Davis, whom they installed as the nation's first celebrity journalist, enthralled at the opportunity given American males to "do good" on foreign shores and only too pleased to focus on that aspect—and that alone—of American empire building.

Although Seelye at times tells us more than we perhaps need or want to know about Davis's fiction and travelogues, his prose is always a pleasure to read. Like the subject of his book, Seelye is an accomplished writer who can not only craft an individual sentence but also pyramid sentences into well-formed paragraphs and chapters. Historians can learn much from his argument—and from the cogent and entertaining way he presents it.

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LEWIS L. GOULD. *The Modern American Presidency*. Foreword by RICHARD NORTON SMITH. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003. Pp. xv, 301. \$29.95.

Do not judge Lewis L. Gould's book by its cover. The jacket illustration by artist Chris Hiers portrays eleven twentieth-century presidents, all but one of whom (a sulking Richard M. Nixon) are laughing. One would never suspect that Gould regards the modern presidency as an institution that "has outlived its usefulness and has become a liability to the person who holds the post and to the nation that the president of the United States is supposed to serve" (p. 238).

As Gould reminds us in the preface, he argued in *The Presidency of William McKinley* (1980) that the Ohio Republican was the first modern president. In this new book, Gould links McKinley with his near-term successors—Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson—to advance the thesis that "the rise of the modern presidency should be traced to the period between 1897 and 1921" (p. xi). By the end of Wilson's second term, he argues, the main elements of the modern presidency were in place, including a substantial White House staff, an expanded understanding of the president's powers as commander in chief, and, most important, "continuous campaigning" by the president through political travel and extensive efforts to generate favorable media coverage. Two of the book's ten chapters deal with this formative quarter-century. The remaining eight trace the elaboration of the modern presidency since 1921, mostly in chapters that group the twentieth-century presidents in contiguous clusters of two or three, such as Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover (chapter three) and Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower (chapter five). Only Franklin D. Roosevelt, Nixon, and Bill Clinton merit chapters of their own.

Why these three? Gould grants Roosevelt, whom many presidential scholars regard as the inventor of the modern presidency, extended treatment because FDR revived and expanded the institution after Wilson's successors had allowed it to "recede" into its traditional, generally passive nineteenth-century state. Although Nixon and Clinton are less obvious choices for historical spotlighting than, say, Lyndon B. Johnson or Ronald Reagan, they reveal more about Gould's understanding of the modern presidency. Gould singles them out because they accelerated what he regards as the most important and unattractive feature of the modern institution: continuous campaigning in the form of media manipulation, relentless fund raising, and substantively empty, symbolically appealing policies—all designed to take advantage of the insatiable "curiosity of the media and the public about matters of presidential personality and trivia" (p. 236).

Nixon was the first president to employ his staff chiefly to secure his own political standing. He "demonstrated that the modern presidency had become less

about dealing with real national problems and more about presenting favorable images of the presidency and its occupant" (p. 161). Clinton strove to fuse rock star-style "political celebrity with continuous campaigning" (p. 213). Both presidents, of course, suffered impeachment crises. Gould does not say so, but one implication of his general argument is that when presidents treat governing as a political competition, their opponents will, too. Contests for office used to be confined to election day. Now they encompass impeachment, forced resignation, and (at the state and local level) recall as well.

The book is rich both in interesting observations about the presidency and in astute accounts of each of the presidents from McKinley to Clinton. Gould only errs seriously when he strays from his theme. One would expect him to argue, for example, that the problems presidents suffer during their second terms are deeply rooted in history. Instead he traces them to the enactment of the Twenty-second Amendment in 1951. Yet no twentieth century president's second term, before or after the two-term limit was written into the Constitution, was as successful as his first term. (Just ask Wilson and FDR.) Clearly the roots of disappointing second terms run deep.

One also wishes that Gould had given more consideration to two aspects of the late twentieth-century presidency that really are new: the persistence of divided party government as the normal governing situation in Washington, and the development of the vice presidency into an office of genuine influence and importance. Like continuous campaigning, divided government fosters a culture of hostility between the president and Congress that goes beyond the normal give and take that used to govern relationships between Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives. As for the enhanced vice presidency, one wishes Gould had told us whether he thinks it will endure or if it is merely an artifact of an era in which the typical president is a former state governor who needs the counsel of an experienced and trusted Washington hand.

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JENNIFER D. KEENE. *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America*. (War, Society, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 294. \$38.00.

On June 17, 1932, American veterans of the Great War congregated outside the Capitol building, waiting for the Senate's vote on a bill that would grant immediate and full payment of the bonus promised them in 1924. Veterans had descended on Washington, D.C., by the thousands in that Depression spring in a stunning display of desperation popularly known as the Bonus March. Entertaining themselves on the afternoon of the vote by singing wartime songs, the veterans acknowledged their plight in an ironic rewriting of the

popular wartime hit "Over There." "All you here—here and there/Pay the bonus, pay the bonus everywhere," the veterans urged, "For the Yanks are starving,/The Yanks are starving,/The Yanks are starving everywhere" (p. 191). One chapter in her superb history of American soldiers during and after World War I, Jennifer D. Keene's riveting account of the Bonus Marchers exemplifies her larger success in this book, captivating her audience and proving her argument that the war transformed the relationship between these soldiers and the American state and initiated a process of contestation that led to dramatic changes in the military during the war, and in domestic affairs in its aftermath.

Keene begins her book by calling attention to what she sees as the neglect of World War I by American historians, neglect based in a commonly held assumption that the war held "little transcendent significance" for the nation (p. ix). Keene sets out to refute this assumption and succeeds brilliantly, demonstrating that citizen-soldiers who served in the war exerted profound influence not only on the army as an institution and on the meaning of American military service, but also on domestic politics and the role of the federal government in the decades following the war. Seventy-two percent of American soldiers in World War I were draftees, a significantly higher percentage than in earlier American conflicts, and, according to Keene, the new citizen-soldiers believed that their service as conscripts "established a social contract between citizen-soldiers and the federal government for the lifetime of the wartime generation" (p. 4). In this context, citizen-soldiers felt legitimated in their efforts to shape the contours of their military service, and during the war contended with military officials over countless aspects of the military experience. As Keene suggests, "Army officials no longer simply commanded obedience: they negotiated it" (p. 81).

In the immediate aftermath of the war, citizen-soldiers continued their struggles with military officials, who hoped the veterans might become advocates for the military in the years to come. But citizen-soldiers never played the postwar role military leaders had hoped for; instead they invested their energies in the battle for adjusted compensation—a bonus to cover their lost wartime opportunities—and in doing so demonstrated their continued determination to control the meaning of their wartime service. This struggle would lead the soldiers from the battle for adjusted compensation in the years immediately following the war, to the failed Bonus March in 1932, and to eventual payment of the bonus in 1936. Keene concludes with a fascinating epilogue on the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, or GI Bill (1944), and argues convincingly that this legislation constituted the final chapter in the citizen-soldiers' efforts to define the social contract they had forged with the federal government through their loyal participation in the war. Successfully linking these postwar efforts of American

soldiers to their wartime experiences and their understanding of their wartime service, Keene makes the case for the broad meaning of the war in American life and the particular importance of citizen-soldiers in shaping that meaning.

This is an enormous undertaking, and Keene covers a vast array of subjects with impressive depth. The book follows a roughly chronological development, with each chapter neatly focused on particular aspects of the evolving relationship between the citizen-soldiers and the federal government, including, for instance, the mobilization of the National Army, the creation of a fighting force and a workforce to support it, negotiations over the nature of army discipline, struggles over race relations, contested relations with allied and enemy soldiers during and after the war, demobilization, the evolution of the veterans into a meaningful political force and the fight for adjusted compensation, the Bonus March, and the development of the GI Bill. Keene's careful organization enhances the force of her ideas, as chapters build on one another to illustrate with increasing power Keene's thesis.

This is a superbly researched and elegantly written text as well. Keene conducted extensive research in both the United States and France and has collected a dazzling array of primary sources. Her archival research is especially impressive. With sources ranging from federal records to veterans' questionnaires, from French liaison officers' reports to the papers of W. E. B. Du Bois, Keene brings her subjects to life, and her work succeeds in evoking the voices and views, the experiences and emotions of citizen-soldiers, army officials, and others about whom she writes. She is well versed in the existing historiography as well and effectively puts her work in conversation with the literature on subjects ranging from racial conflict to the military incursion into Russia. The result is a fascinating book, full of rich, new material and original and fresh insights, all presented in a lively and engaging style. The book concludes with an outstanding bibliographic essay, detailing not only the secondary literature but also relevant archival collections. With a complete mastery of her sources, Keene marshals her evidence very effectively, and she has written a convincing text that deepens our understanding of the experiences of the citizen-soldiers of World War I and broadens our sense of the important role they played in shaping both the modern military and the relationship of the citizen-soldier to the American state.

Keene is right that World War I was long neglected by many American historians, but fortunately this outstanding book joins a growing literature on the war, including excellent recent work on soldiers and servicewomen such as Mark Meigs's *Optimism at Armageddon: Voices of American Participants in the First World War* (1997), Susan Zeiger's *In Uncle Sam's Service: Women Workers with the American Expeditionary Force, 1917–1919* (1999), and Nancy Gentile Ford's *Americans All! Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I* (2001). Keene makes a brilliant and significant contri-

bution to this increasingly vibrant field, making clear the importance of World War I in any understanding of the United States in the twentieth century.

NANCY K. BRISTOW

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THOMAS A. GUGLIELMO. *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 280. \$45.00.

Thomas A. Guglielmo's book challenges a cardinal tenet of the whiteness literature: namely, that southern and eastern Europeans had to make great efforts to be accepted as whites. It does so with a nuanced and sophisticated analysis of the experiences of Italian immigrants in Chicago during the early decades after their arrival.

Guglielmo builds his argument on a distinction between color and race, referring with the former to the broad, legally significant divisions of the population into such categories as "white" and "black" and with the latter to finer distinctions, such as that between "southern" and "northern" Italians, that still had a racial character in the early twentieth century. With this distinction in hand, he argues forcefully against the notion that Italians were a racially "in-between" group, as claimed in James Barrett and David Roediger's now famous 1997 article, "In-Between People: Race, Nationality, and the 'New Immigrant' Working Class." Instead, he marshals substantial evidence to show that Italians were consistently treated as "whites" by American institutions such as the courts, the unions, and the housing market.

Guglielmo is quite aware of the racial nature of much of the prejudice that the immigrants faced, and he lays out the relevant evidence in an informative way. For a revealing instance, he points to the forms completed by immigrants to declare their intentions to naturalize: for "color," they entered "white," but for race, the majority of Italians were "Italian (South)." In the early twentieth century, the southern Italian designation as used by U.S. immigration authorities was as much a racial label as a geographic descriptor (and the boundary between the regions was drawn accordingly). That southern Italian immigrants were a racially undesirable ingredient in the melting pot was a widespread idea in the early decades of the century, promoted by scientific racism, journalists, and various authorities. Southern Italians were linked to African ancestry as well as to criminality and other social problems.

Although these views were widespread and led to blatant expressions of prejudice and discrimination directed against Italians, Guglielmo finds that, in terms of the critical branching points in trajectories of inclusion, Italians were accorded the status of whites. Thus, unlike immigrant Asians, they could naturalize as American citizens. They could marry across ethnic, or "race," lines because antimiscegenation laws did not

apply to them. They could move into better neighborhoods, next door to native-born whites, when they possessed the economic resources to afford to do so; no restricted covenants or other institutional devices blocked their access. For a standard by which to assess the situation of Italians, Guglielmo cites the sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's notion of a "racialized social system," which presumes that the material and social values of a society are apportioned systematically on the basis of racial status. Thus, he seems to be saying, Italians may have been confronted by episodes of racially inspired discrimination, but they were not systematically disadvantaged.

In his view, a significant problem concerns why Italian did not initially see themselves as whites and how they came to accept this color identification, and Guglielmo spends a considerable portion of the book addressing it. Making adroit use of such materials as Italian-language newspapers, oral histories, and theses and dissertations produced by students at the University of Chicago, he documents that relations between Italian immigrants and African Americans did not crystalize along the color line until the 1930s or even later. While these relations were unstable in the earlier period, often enough they had a mutually tolerant, if not friendly, character. Following in a long line of scholars of Italian Americans, Guglielmo argues that, during the early decades of their settlement, Italians were working toward conceptions of themselves in terms of *Italianità*, and that became the dominant identity in their relations with their surroundings. Only in the World War II period did their identity as whites permanently eclipse it.

Guglielmo's book makes an important advance in our understanding of the racial dynamics involving early twentieth-century immigrants. In my view, he is undoubtedly right in insisting that the legal status of southern and eastern Europeans as whites was crucial for their eventual entry into the American mainstream, which proceeded rapidly after World War II. But he appears to have written off the notion of an "in-between status" too quickly. Indeed, he offers a variety of evidence that southern Italians did suffer from systemic and institutional sorts of discrimination, exemplified by their low position, just above blacks and Mexicans, on the acceptability ranking of "races and nationalities" that "became commonly accepted by scores of realtors across the country and, most important, by the federal government" (p. 164). Examples of state actions directed against Italians include deportation drives during the 1920s and, of course, the severe restriction on their immigration imposed by Congress in 1924. While Guglielmo discusses the scientific racism that provided a justification, he does not address the legislation and its significance. Nor does he examine one institutional domain where Italian disadvantage was manifest past midcentury: the school system.

Guglielmo may not have resolved all the issues surrounding the racial status of southern Italian immigrants in the early twentieth century, but he has made



a major contribution, nevertheless, one that deserves to exercise a major influence on the discussion of race in the U.S.

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RICHARD F. HILL. *Hitler Attacks Pearl Harbor: Why the United States Declared War on Germany*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 2003. Pp. vii, 227. \$49.95.

Richard F. Hill's book aims to show us that the commencement of formal hostilities between the United States and the Third Reich has been fundamentally misunderstood. We all believe that Adolf Hitler declared war on the United States on December 11, 1941. Scholarly attention has focused on the Fuhrer's motives, since he had deliberately avoided an outright rupture with the U.S. throughout 1941. Furthermore, the terms of the Axis alliance required Germany to declare war only in case Japan was attacked. Given that Hitler did declare war, historians have viewed the American response as a mere formality. Hill contends otherwise.

Hill argues that Americans at all levels quickly came to believe that the Germans were responsible for the Pearl Harbor attack and very likely had led it as well. Such beliefs produced an outpouring of anger toward the Nazi regime, reversing almost overnight the long-standing public aversion to full-scale war against Germany. Moreover, Hitler did not in fact declare war on the United States during his speech to the Reichstag on December 11, as a clarification issued by Berlin the next day established. Therefore "the German declaration was actually of little or no real importance in deciding U.S. foreign policy in December 1941." Instead the momentous decision to become a full belligerent rested on mistaken perceptions about Germany's connection to the raid.

Hill provides massive evidence that, from President Franklin D. Roosevelt and various congressional leaders to ordinary citizens, countless Americans assigned Berlin responsibility for the attack on Pearl Harbor. Hill samples opinion very widely; a quick count of his newspaper citations in one chapter alone yielded twenty-seven different sources. He includes the views of those across the full spectrum in the bitter debates over foreign policy that wracked the United States during the 1939–1941 crisis, although women's views are underrepresented. Hill organizes his material by theme. Each chapter addresses a separate aspect of his overall argument: why Roosevelt did not ask for war with Germany and Japan simultaneously, the perceived nature of German responsibility for Pearl Harbor, the possible involvement of German forces in the attack, U.S. beliefs about the nature of the relationship between Germany and Japan, and so forth. Hill concentrates almost exclusively on U.S. opinion between December 1941 and early January 1942. This focus is both a source of strength and a weakness. It has long

been realized that some Americans in 1941 thought Germany must be responsible for the Pearl Harbor raid. Hill demonstrates that such feelings were more widespread and prominent than most of us have acknowledged. But were such perceptions as decisively important as he indicates?

The book's central weakness is its lack of context, both explicitly in setting forth the case and implicitly in making plain the significance of the subject. Hill's inattention to the matter of the retracted German declaration of war is astonishing. All we are told is that a full account will come in a future book. I am no expert on German history. But Ian Kershaw's biography of Hitler makes a compelling case that a declaration of war against America was what the Fuhrer intended. Moreover, even had Berlin rescinded the "declaration," who in the United States would have viewed the action as anything other than German perfidy? It was not simply their underestimation of the Japanese that predisposed Americans to see Nazi handiwork at Pearl Harbor; it was a long history of German aggression and duplicity. By slighting that record, Hill conveys a mistaken impression.

And to what end? Hill concludes by insisting that his evidence supplies a vital missing link in the chain of reasoning needed to support the hoary "back door to war" argument of Harry Elmer Barnes and others. This argument holds that Roosevelt provoked war with Japan because antiwar opinion stymied his efforts to join the fight against Hitler. Hill now purports to show us how an attack by Japan did prompt the U.S. into declaring war on Hitler. FDR delayed a few days merely to allow public anger to build and enlarge the consensus he could expect in Congress. This logic, like Hill's overall case for the significance of American beliefs about German involvement in Pearl Harbor, entirely fails to convince.

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KATHLEEN E. R. SMITH. *God Bless America: Tin Pan Alley Goes to War*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2003. Pp. xiii, 274. \$45.00.

Wars have often prompted stirring songs in America. The Civil War inspired "When Johnny Comes Marching Home"; World War I gave us "Over There." No such blockbuster emerged in World War II, however, and this troubled some American leaders at that time. In her book, Kathleen E. R. Smith endeavors to explain why no memorable song came forth in the 1940s. Concerned as they were with morale, bureaucrats in the Federal Office of War Information were intensely interested in somehow bringing such a musical piece into existence. They made many efforts; all failed. There were some songs of the era with a wide popularity, and Smith acknowledges this. "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" was perhaps the biggest song of obvious war content, and it was widely



heard and sung. A few other pieces also served national morale quite nicely. Indeed Irving Berlin's "God Bless America," although written three years before Pearl Harbor, became and remains immensely popular as a national hymn, perhaps eclipsing in importance all patriotic songs but the national anthem.

The nation was certainly not without war music. Some still sang "Over There," but officials were troubled that a big new war song did not arrive upon the scene. Somewhat repeatedly, Smith points to several factors. Paper for sheet music and acetate for records were often in short supply. Many musicians were on strike in 1943 and 1944. Of pivotal importance to Smith is the notion that the public seemed more interested in romantic and escapist songs than in stirring marches. Thus the popular war songs were the likes of "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree," "We'll Meet Again," and "I'll Be Seeing You" and such holiday yearnings as "I'll Be Home for Christmas" and [I'm Dreaming of a] "White Christmas." An important factor here, Smith says, is that a greater preponderance of music consumption during the war fell to young girls. Gender and age provide useful paradigms for Smith. The issues of race and ethnicity appear to have little value in the analysis. Smith also faults Tin Pan Alley, as she deems it a conservative institution that seemed unwilling to take many risks, preferring to make no dramatic break with the stylistic modes that appeared to be working for it financially. Another factor Smith finds significant is that the most popular musical genre in the nation at the time of Pearl Harbor was swing. Swing was largely instrumental, and such a musical style was allegedly harder to link to any sort of morale-sustaining lyrics the War Department may have wanted. Still, there was nothing to stop an imaginative composer from fusing a Glenn Miller-type tune to some patriotic lyrics. Many tried. No one succeeded.

To Smith, the nature of the people's war commitment was also a factor. While prior American wars had produced dissent, after December 7, 1941, few Americans had to be convinced as to the moral righteousness of fighting the Japanese or the Nazis. Smith argues that virtually all Americans knew they were in a necessary conflict that was going to be long and grueling. With the moral issues clear and the tasks before them daunting, Americans wanted music that gave them more romance and escape than militant verve. There was no great sense of wonder or adventure in that war. As composer Harold Arlen shrugged: "It is hard to be excited about a jeep."

Smith could have augmented her social/cultural history here with parallel points as to why the war produced no great literature, unlike the Civil War, which inspired Ambrose Bierce and Stephen Crane or World War I, which prompted the works of the Lost Generation. (Norman Mailer's *Naked and the Dead* [1949] hardly compares.) Smith's focus is strictly on the music, particularly on lyrics and sales figures; she never analyzes any musical composition. What was so poi-

gnant, in the penultimate line of "White Christmas," about the word "Bright" being the only place where Berlin modulates into the minor mode? What was it about the theme of "God Bless America" that made its frankly hum-drum lyrics resonate so deeply (and continue to do so)? There are no final answers here, but Smith could have attempted some musical examinations to deepen the very themes she raises.

In the end, as Smith and many of the musicians she cites themselves admit, there is really no answer as to why a hit song does not appear, any more than there is an answer as to how and why one appears when it does. If there was a clear answer here, the mystery of what makes a hit would be solved, and thankfully that will never happen.

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CHARLES D. CHAMBERLAIN. *Victory at Home: Manpower and Race in the American South during World War II*. (Economy and Society in the Modern South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 288. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

For some time, historians have asserted that World War II, that great war for democracy abroad, translated into meager socioeconomic advances for African Americans fighting on the home front. Charles D. Chamberlain concurs, arguing that the majority of blacks gained little from the spectacular economic boom and the federal government's attempt to manage labor relations and war production.

According to Chamberlain, the war, like Reconstruction in the later nineteenth century, set the stage for real social and economic change in the South. First, agricultural and industrial production created an unusual and often unmet demand for laborers regardless of race and gender. Federal intervention in the production and procurement of critical war material also posed challenges to long-standing discriminatory race and class practices in southern employment. Yet job segregation continued through the war and into the postwar years. In the end, African Americans remained in the backwaters of the wartime economic prosperity.

Chamberlain details how the extraordinary strength of racial practices in southern employment held African Americans back. Race-based hiring, however, exemplified only one element of the enormous power of whites over the lives of blacks. The War Manpower Commission, the Fair Employment Practices Committee, and Executive Order 8802 made very little headway in removing the barriers against African-American employment. By contrast, white men and women benefited as employers excluded blacks from all except entry-level jobs. Chamberlain's book thus depicts the denial of opportunity for African Americans as well as white privilege during the war.

Chiefly a story of African-American workers in the southern economy, the book also examines out-migra-

tion to the West to underscore the idea that the war did not bring about positive change. In the western environment, African Americans encountered all too familiar racial problems, especially from employers and organized labor in shipyards and aircraft plants.

Despite such strident racism, Chamberlain manages to portray blacks as active agents of change during the war. In the West, for instance, black migration altered social relations in profound ways as workplace demands placed larger civil rights issues in motion. The South, however, misconstrued the most minimal social demands as major challenges to existing racial hierarchies. Consequently and despite an acute need for labor, southern employers defied the pressure of the federal government in order to preserve segregation. The two regions differed during the postwar years as well. While there was no reversal in the West, the South proceeded to restore race relations to prewar conditions.

Chamberlain's conclusions about the lack of dramatic social changes are not unexpected. Still, this study demonstrates how the war ultimately stirred African Americans to organize in order to end segregation in employment and other areas of the American civic culture. As such, it stands as an important and well-documented contribution to our knowledge of World War II and a primer to the powerful black-inspired civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

Although intended as a broad study of race and labor, the text is narrow in scope. Employers in the South and the West sought out and capitalized on the availability of Mexican-American workers and Mexican *braceros* before, during, and after World War II, but they appear incidental to this study. Notwithstanding the paucity of written materials relating to the wartime experiences of Latinos outside of Texas and California, historians have yet to examine fully the rich detail of local, state, and federal records pertaining to this community. Until then, studies of World War II, as is the case with this book, will not go beyond the conventional black and white discourse on race.

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JENNIFER A. DELTON. *Making Minnesota Liberal: Civil Rights and the Transformation of the Democratic Party*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 226. \$29.95.

In this important book, Jennifer A. Delton shows that Minnesota politics underwent a fundamental change during the 1940s, and argues that its direction illuminates the building of a "new Democratic political order." In contrast to much recent historiography, but in keeping with the work of such diverse scholars as Alonzo Hamby, Julian Zelizer, David Plotke, and Sidney Milkis, she finds that the years after 1945 saw the spirit of statist liberalism consolidated and expanded, rather than extirpated. The new equilibrium in politics, she finds, was "distinctly more 'left' than

anything the nation had seen before, if by left we mean state responsibility for its citizens' economic and social well-being" (p. 24).

It is easy enough to see how one might use the national Democratic Party's greater interest in black civil rights during the 1940s to make the case for a broadened rather than constricted liberal impulse. On the face of it, making Minnesota the case study for exploring this development is less obvious, given its tiny African-American population. Still, it was Minneapolis mayor Hubert H. Humphrey who electrified the 1948 Democratic convention by declaring that "the time has arrived in America for the Democratic party to get out of the shadows of states' rights to walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights" (p. 121).

For Delton, Humphrey's advocacy grew out of an engagement with the politics of civil rights that had been a feature of his mayoralty since 1943, one that had owed less to narrow vote-winning expediency than to a broader effort to construct a new, issue-based, and outward-looking Democratic Party in Minnesota. Until that point, the party had been feeble outside of its Irish Catholic heartland, while the state's political culture more generally had been dominated by regional issues, outsize political personalities (the author draws an analogy between governors Floyd Olson and Jesse Ventura), and ethnocultural antagonisms. The state had vigorous traditions of radicalism and populism—embodied in a farm-labor coalition that won elections and enacted quite sweeping measures of social reform and economic regulation—but they had not transcended the insular, circumscribed political milieu. "Politicians and observers," the author remarked, "took it for granted that Scandinavian Lutherans would never vote for an Irish Catholic Democrat" (p. 3).

Although the foundations of that world in Minnesota crumbled during the Depression years, it did not disappear until the late 1940s. The crucial role was played by a cluster of political activists at the University of Minnesota, including Humphrey, and by figures within the state's labor and African-American communities who shared their interest in a more outward-looking and issue-based politics. At this point in her argument, Delton launches into quite a detailed account of the "liberal pluralist" and "responsible party government" models whose merits political scientists of this period were debating. It is provocative to read an account that takes Humphrey and other Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) liberals so seriously as philosophers of politics: a pragmatic model of pluralistic compromise, she argues, represented not simply an accommodation to unwelcome political pressures but something close to an ideal. Careful not to take this argument too far, Delton presents a stimulating challenge to the dominant historiography of the 1940s, with its emphasis on shabby capitulation and opportunities foregone.

What role does civil rights play in this story? Al-

though Delton does an excellent job of showing how Humphrey got involved with questions of racial justice as mayor, perhaps she goes a little too far in asserting its centrality to the broader political transformation with which she is concerned. At the end of the book, the reader has learned an enormous amount about Minnesota politics and about the broader change in American politics during the 1940s but still has lingering doubts regarding the centrality of civil rights to the first of those stories. Can it really have the weight of such more obviously pressing concerns as the anticommunist and labor issues?

That qualification aside, the appeal of civil rights to Humphrey on political grounds is certainly demonstrated. It may have helped persuade black and farm-labor elements attracted to Henry Wallace that the merged Democratic-Farm Labor Party had some fire in its belly after all, grumbles to the contrary notwithstanding. It undoubtedly offered a good way of emphasizing the party's concern with the world beyond Minnesota. It brought Humphrey to the attention of elements within the national party that—with good reason—had failed to pay much attention to Minnesota Democrats up until then. And no issue offered greater promise in terms of the wider desire to attack what many post-FDR liberals saw as the shibboleth of states' rights.

Although it is clear from page one that it is based on truly exhaustive primary research, this book does not read like a converted dissertation. A tremendously impressive feat of scholarship, it is also short, breezily written, and full of pleasing anecdotes and pen portraits. Delton tells a thoroughly good story, but she retains a thoroughly analytical approach and an alertness to the broader historical and historiographical debates to which that story contributes. One awaits this promising scholar's second book with genuine anticipation.

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J. MILLS THORNTON III. *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma*. Tascaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 733. \$59.95.

In the late 1970s, J. Mills Thornton III began work on a study of the Montgomery bus boycott. During his 1987–1988 fellowship year at Virginia's Carter G. Woodson Institute, however, he decided to expand his research to ask a broader question: why did civil rights direct-action campaigns emerge in Alabama cities like Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma but not in somewhat comparable settings like Mobile, Alabama, Columbus, Georgia, or Meridian, Mississippi? The explanation, he ultimately concluded, lay in the complex relationship between local black communities and white-dominated municipal politics.

Thornton's first book, a detailed study of pre-Civil

War Alabama politics, reflected his conviction that politics can only be understood by carefully examining the process at the grass-roots level. In the case of the civil rights movement, he acknowledges the impact of national trends and developments in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, but he insists that examining the local context will help us better understand how black citizens of some, but not all, black communities in Alabama came to believe that the "reality all around them, that formed the very substance of their daily existence, was in fact capable of being changed" (p. 7). His method is to sketch out this arguments for his book in brief introduction and then to describe the inner workings of race and politics in a 121-page section on Montgomery, a 240-page history of events in Birmingham, and a third, 120-page chapter on Selma. These sections, in turn, are followed by an account of race relations in the three cities in the thirty-five years since Martin Luther King, Jr.'s death and a final chapter summarizing his conclusions.

In an introductory, self-deprecating remark, Thornton—a native of Montgomery—expresses relief that two historians of Birmingham read the manuscript and concluded that "I had not too badly misunderstood their city, alien though it may be to my Black Belt sensibilities" (p. xi). He need not have been concerned. From the precise voting returns of municipal elections to the political implications of family connections, his mastery of the details of that political context of the industrial city of Birmingham as well as black-belt Montgomery and Selma is reflected on every page. Thornton is particularly good at capturing the psychological as well as ideological assumptions of working-class, middle-class, and upper-class whites in the three communities and the ways in which these assumptions both united and divided whites at critical moments. Even though he rejects the racist assumptions of white Alabamians and is often quite critical of their actions, he repeatedly describes the ways in which he believes their history restricted their ability to adapt to the challenges posed by the civil rights movement.

In a work of this length and subtlety, it is difficult to summarize Thornton's argument, but he clearly believes that the primary catalyst for sustaining the civil rights movement was the inflexibility and lack of political cunning on the part of white leaders. Time after time they spurned efforts at moderate compromises that would have weakened the movement's momentum. At the same time, Thornton argues, specific circumstances may have led to overall intransigence on the part of whites, but they were in fact deeply divided over just how far they were willing to go in maintaining segregation. These subtle divisions—often ignored by those outside the community—proved critical in giving black city residents some remove to maneuver.

It would be fair, I think, to describe this work in its entirety as one that is thoughtfully conservative (although hardly in the sense that the word is used today). It is obvious to anyone who reads the book that the

author admires the movement's aspirations for harmony and equity. As he says in the last line, the "community that contained no one dedicated to seeking this goal would surely be a place too abominable to contemplate" (p. 583). But Thornton also suggests that the unrealistic nature of such dreams too often led to cynicism and disillusionment. The structure of a community can be made more equitable, he argues, but it can never be anything but a place that "defines the terms of the struggle" (p. 581) and creates a setting for ongoing contests over power among different social, cultural, economic, and racial groups. In southern communities in particular, argues Thornton, "racial conflict has been so much a focal point of their existence that to eradicate it would be in a sense to deprive the communities' residents of their unity with the past," to create a "people without a history" (p. 582).

Whether one agrees or disagrees with that point of view is not critical to an appreciation of Thornton's book. It will be unfortunate if its length and focus on local history limit its readership, for it is superbly researched, forcefully presented, and clearly one of the most important works on the history of the modern South written in the last decade.

DAN CARTER

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JUDITH BERG SOBRÉ. *San Antonio on Parade: Six Historic Festivals*. (Tarleton State University Southwestern Studies in the Humanities, number 15.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 264. \$29.95.

As parades and other common public celebrations become increasingly popular as topics in U.S. cultural studies, there will doubtless be many more studies like Judith Berg Sobré's book. These new monographs build on the work of scholars who have examined parades in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Susan Davis's *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (1986), which examined parades in antebellum Philadelphia, broke ground in this field. Among other things, the newer works usually explain the goals of the organizations who were behind these celebrations. Parade makers often sought some sort of economic benefits for themselves as well as a perceived cultural or educational benefit for their audiences. While more recent books often focus more on social and cultural analysis, most of them provide a basic history of the city in question during the time period in question.

Sobré's monograph is rare in that it succeeds in doing many of these things very well. In the opening two chapters, Sobré provides an excellent history of San Antonio before 1900, in which she describes how the city grew from a small town of a few hundred people to the largest city in Texas with a population of over 50,000. Sobré also effectively describes the phys-

ical environment in which nineteenth-century parades took place as well.

After completing the introductory chapters, Sobré devotes a chapter to each of the major festivals in post-Civil War nineteenth-century San Antonio. Included are the Fourth of July, Juneteenth, Diez y Seis, Columbus Day, Volksfest, and the Battle of Flowers. In the appropriate chapters, she also writes an engaging social history of the five largest ethnic/cultural groups in the city: Anglo Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Italian Americans, and German Americans.

Sobré contends that each celebration served its ethnic community well and, in contrast to celebrations in other cities, did not attempt to "proselytize beyond their immediate community" (p. 206). Unlike celebrations put on by wealthy elites in other cities, these San Antonio celebrations were primarily intended for ethnic audiences. Sobré notes there were numerous "crossover" individuals and groups who performed in more than one celebration in a given year. However, she cautions, one group remained remarkably separate from the others: African Americans. No matter how much other groups intermingled, blacks in San Antonio remained apart throughout the century.

Unusual for the time, San Antonians allowed women to participate in most of these celebrations. Furthermore, San Antonio's celebrations, rather than clearly delineating the differences between social groups, often provided fascinating intersections in which different groups gathered together. Unlike elites in other, more Anglicized cities, San Antonio's cultural leaders did not view their celebrations as a way to teach recent immigrants about "proper" American ways. San Antonians were quite willing to allow their celebrations to reflect their diverse society—blacks notably excepted of course. Rather than being uncomfortable with such diversity and difference (among whites and Hispanics at least), San Antonians embraced it.

Sobré's work does an excellent job of relating the history of the city and of the ethnic groups that make up San Antonio's diverse cultural heritage. However, the reader may wish the book had a more powerful central thesis and argument about the nature of these celebrations and the public sphere in San Antonio. Sobré begins to address the comparative aspects of this project and make generalizations about the city's public sphere briefly in the last few pages of the book. These arguments would have been far more effective if they had been included throughout the entire volume.

Nonetheless, this is an important book that contributes to a new and exciting field of study. Sobré has gracefully traced the history of one of America's most interesting multicultural cities and analyzed the impact that history had on public life there.

THOMAS M. SPENCER

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DOUGLAS E. KUPEL. *Fuel for Growth: Water and Arizona's Urban Environment*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2003. Pp. xxiv, 294. \$39.95.

This book claims that the leading histories of water in the American West, notably Donald Worster's *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (1985) and Marc Reisner's *Cadillac Desert: The American West and Its Disappearing Water* (1986), focus too much on California, which Douglas E. Kupel regards as "the great exception" among western states, too much on national water policies, and too much on agriculture instead of cities. The book does a good job of discussing the evolution of the water systems of Arizona's three largest communities: Phoenix, Tucson, and Flagstaff. Much like Sarah Elkind's *Bay Cities and Water Politics: The Battle for Resources in Boston and Oakland, 1880-1930* (1998), it contributes to our understanding of western urban history. Nevertheless, this book is far less sophisticated and wise than Elkind's study. It will serve historians of Arizona well, but it does not provide a new perspective on water in the American West or in the United States.

After an introductory section on the "Geographic and Cultural Background" of water development in Arizona, the author looks at "The Fledgling Cities, 1825-1912." Part three addresses "Maturation, 1912-1950," and part four discusses "Transformation since 1950." This is a familiar story. Urban water development in Arizona, according to Kupel, has passed through three stages. In the first, private companies predominated. But by the early twentieth century, private enterprise could not command the capital or public confidence needed to provide water to an expanding population. Moreover, urbanites feared the monopolies such companies demanded and grumbled about the cost of water and terms of service. They pushed for municipal ownership and control, which worked well for half a century. But by the 1960s, even the largest cities lacked the means to provide new supplies of water on their own. So they turned to Washington. The Central Arizona Project, constructed by the United States Bureau of Reclamation but mainly an urban water system, insured the future growth of Arizona's largest communities. Nevertheless, the state's urbanites never lost control over their water supplies. "The traditional view that water projects are conceived, engineered, and run by a small elite isolated from the public," Kupel insists, "is at odds with the experience of Tucson residents who altered Central Arizona Project delivery plans through grassroots efforts" (p. 222).

Kupel claims that culture, not aridity, determined how water is distributed in the West, and he implies that western water projects pose the same political and economic challenges as those in other parts of the nation. Urban water policies in Arizona were profoundly democratic, reflecting the aspirations of ordinary citizens rather than the ambitions of a dictatorial water elite. While most books on water in the West are

deeply pessimistic, and some are positively apocalyptic, Kupel looks to the future with confidence and optimism. Arizona, he insists, has not only met the water needs of its urban residents but is actively improving water quality as well as restoring marshlands and riverine habitats. Indeed, the next-to-last sentences in the book might have been written in the 1950s: "The history of urban water service in Arizona is the story of achievement, dedication, and attentiveness to the desires of Arizona's residents. Municipal officials have met and surpassed many significant challenges and obstacles in the past century" (p. 229).

At the time this book was published, Kupel worked for the City of Phoenix's Law Department. Whether his optimism reflects his professional ties cannot be determined by this reviewer, but his claim that this study reveals "a new vision of water history based on the Arizona experience" (p. 224) is questionable. Kupel suggests that the books by Worster and Reisner represent a scholarly consensus, which they do not. He acknowledges that Norris Hundley's *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, A History* (2001), a wise, well-researched, encyclopedic history of water in California, differs from the deeply pessimistic histories written by Worster and Reisner, but he fails to recognize many other scholars who have shown that even within California, water politics are profoundly local. Nor does he properly acknowledge the work of historians who have looked at water policy from the ground up outside California, including Robert Dunbar's *Forging New Rights in Western Waters* (1983), James Sherow's *Watering the Valley: Development along the High Plains Arkansas River, 1870-1950* (1990), and Daniel Tyler's *The Last Water Hole in the West: The Colorado-Big Thompson Project and the Northern Colorado Water Conservancy District* (1992), to name but a few. Each of these monographs demonstrates the power of localism, even in shaping national policies.

Still, if this book does not significantly advance our understanding of water in the West or the nation, it is a useful survey of water development in Arizona's cities. And if readers find the book overly optimistic, particularly in its assessment of the extent to which environmental protection has become a major goal of urban water planners in his state, it is intriguing to encounter a historian who thinks that westerners have learned from the past and control their own destiny.

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LAURIE MERCIER. *Anaconda: Labor, Community, and Culture in Montana's Smelter City*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 300. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

Laurie Mercier's fine study of Anaconda, Montana, home of the world's largest copper smelter, will find an eager readership among U.S. labor historians and historians of the American West. But scholars of

North America, of the world economy, and of gender and the environment broadly defined may glance at the book's title and decide they can pass on this volume. How much can a labor history of a small, remote place like Anaconda reveal about larger historical transformations, global movements of capital, the politics of gender, and environmental aspects of industrial activity in the twentieth century? In the hands of a scholar as able, astute, and compassionate as Mercier, it turns out, such a study can tell us as much as a stack of histories with seemingly wider aims.

This is a deeply intelligent and eminently fair-minded book that traces the rise and fall of both copper smelting and community unionism in this western Montana town from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. Located near the copper mines of Butte, "the richest hill on earth," Anaconda was the dream child of industrialist Marcus Daly, whose Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM) at the time of his death employed three-quarters of Montana's wage earners and dominated the state's politics and press. Establishing smelters at Anaconda allowed the company to increase profits by processing ore nearby instead of sending it overseas. Smelter workers were mostly white men, including immigrants from Ireland, Scandinavia, French Canada, and eastern and southern Europe as well as the U.S. born. In 1900, only forty percent of Anaconda's population was female, but over time the sex ratio evened out and the number of conventional families increased. The community remained, however, one dominated by the interests of the smelter men, who constituted the largest group of laborers in this working-class town.

From 1884 to 1934, the ACM fought industrial unionism in Anaconda, so it was not until 1901 that workers there organized a local of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM). In 1916, the WFM became the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (IUMMSW), one of the ten original unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The Anaconda local remained weak until 1934, when members joined with miners, other smelter workers, and some craft laborers in the region to declare a risky but ultimately successful strike that forced the ACM to reckon with union power. That reckoning continued in the decades to come, turning Anaconda into what Mercier calls a city of unions. Not until the Cold War spawned a communist purge in the CIO, which led to the expulsion of the IUMMSW and a bid for influence among smelter workers by the anticommunist United Steel Workers of America (USWA), did organized labor even begin to falter in Anaconda. Still, the IUMMSW remained the union of choice there until 1962, when the USWA finally prevailed, later merging with the enervated IUMMSW in 1967. By then, however, it was not only labor conservatism and union vulnerability that spelled a loss of working-class control in Anaconda. Global shifts in the copper industry, debates over environmental concerns, and economic changes that favored multinational corporations atro-

phied the ACM and lent new muscle to the likes of Atlantic Richfield Corporation (ARCO), which acquired ACM in 1976. Then, in 1980, ARCO announced the unthinkable: the closure of the Anaconda works and the end of smelter employment there.

This is the hundred-year sweep of Anaconda's history, but a bare chronology hardly captures the narrative complexity of the book. At the heart of Mercier's tale is what she calls community unionism, whereby most Anaconda residents rallied around union goals and unions themselves looked beyond workplace concerns to take up local issues that affected working people's lives. Community unionism faced challenges from without, of course, including the ACM's opposition as well as Cold War ideology and even contests over the meaning of the western past. But challenges also came from within, and chief among these was a male breadwinner ideal that placed the economic needs of men who were heads of families above those of other community members. As a corollary, women's organizing abilities, whether as unionized workers or as members of female auxiliaries of male unions, were sometimes squandered. The IUMMSW local was particularly ambivalent about its women's auxiliary and maneuvered to protect male privilege, to the detriment of working-class solidarity. Women did not enter the smelter workforce until the 1970s, when the industry was in decline, too late to revise and revive community unionism.

Another thread that runs through this book is the relationship between labor and environmental activism. Environmental historians argue that people know nature through their labor, but such scholars do not always show how workers use that knowledge to advance environmental concerns. Mercier, a labor historian, details workers' environmental advocacy, showing that one key to understanding the rift between environmentalists and labor activists lies in the corporate logic, insufficiently challenged by environmentalists, that workers are "as mobile as capital, without connectedness to place" (p. 197). From the 1950s to the 1970s, IUMMSW and USWA locals made environmental matters major bargaining points with ACM, while also collecting data, sponsoring tests, and promoting environmental investigations and legislation. Working-class resistance to such initiatives came only when ARCO threatened to move operations out of Montana, citing the twin costs of union demands and environmental regulations. Here as elsewhere, Mercier leaves the reader with as many insights into contemporary political concerns as she does into the momentous history of Anaconda.

SUSAN LEE JOHNSON  
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CHAD MONTRE. *To Save the Land and People: A History of Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Appalachia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 245. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Strip mining coal has not received good press nor much support from the public in general over the past fifty years, and after reading Chad Montrie's book, people will understand why. Few American industries have done so much to endanger the land (Appalachia) and the people of that land in the name of providing for America's needs, in this case fuel. If this volume had been written during the Progressive era, it would have been called muckraking. Montrie examines the environmental conflict in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia, focusing mainly on the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, when environmentalism was at its height and the coal industry most stubborn in its resistance. In some ways, it is the old story of David vs. Goliath, here the common folk of the hills vs. increasingly larger and more powerful coal companies. The haves win the struggle, and the have nots are left with a scarred and depressed homeland. All told, it presents a sad story.

There are heroes and villains aplenty, depending on the reader's inclinations on the issues of strip mining, environmental destruction, private vs. public rights, and long-range impact on the people and their region. Nor is it all black and white. There were miners on both sides of the struggle. The United Mine Workers' leadership and membership were split, and coal operators were not always united in defense of their industry. The hill people, while often against the coming of the strip operations, also found jobs within the industry. Environmentalists were not unified either, and the struggle did not catch on in the cities.

This is basically the story of trying to find some form of regulations that would work and be acceptable to both sides. Local, state, and federal regulations were tried without noticeable lasting achievements during these decades. They all fell short of their goals and their backers' hopes. The industry and its lobbyists were just too strong and state and federal officials too limited in their outlook and in their approaches. This, in turn, led to frustration, militancy, and violence in the hills, some of which garnered national attention in the press. Activists and hill people faced thugs, threats, violence, and a variety of pressures. Each side used exaggeration and publicity to win support.

The opening chapters examine the development and technological changes that came to the strip mining industry and its early opponents. Then states are examined chapter by chapter, concluding with the decline of the opposition. As Montrie concludes, the opponents of strip mining "were also beginning to understand that stripping was only one part of a larger, unjust system and, more importantly, that the part could not be changed without transforming the whole" (p. 205). That whole included local and regional economic decline and the issue of private property vs. public good.

This is a somber book to read, not because of any fault of the author's, but because of the subject and the history it recounts. It is sobering to follow the developments and see what was done in the name of

national needs (even security) and profits. Montrie covers the subject with an abundance of research, from personal interviews to manuscripts and newspapers. As the reader quickly discovers, the book's subtitle is its key. The author is to be congratulated for a fresh approach and a clear focus; it is not hard to see where he stands.

This book began as Montrie's dissertation and, although reworked, still carries the trappings of original intent. It can be hard going, like hand drilling in a mine, with many facts and individuals piling up, but the book deserves to be read and its story pondered. It tells much about America and Americans of a generation ago and of today, in the twenty-first century.

DUANE A. SMITH  
Fort Lewis College

RON MILLER. *Free Schools, Free People: Education and Democracy after the 1960s*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 220. Cloth \$68.50, paper \$22.95.

In this slim volume Ron Miller, president of the Foundation for Educational Renewal, calls for the revival of a short-lived countercultural experiment in antitechnocratic education. His account of the free school movement, an effort that lasted roughly between 1967 and 1972, contains a lengthy and repetitive critique of the humanistic shortcomings of post-World War II culture and uneasily describes the flawed efforts of those free schools that rebelled against it. Miller nonetheless insists that, despite its unintended consequences, the movement continues to offer an authentic, organic, and holistic alternative to the American public school system, one that merely awaits rediscovery.

The subtitle of this study is somewhat misleading, since at least half of the book is devoted to the 1960s. Miller regards free schools as the product of the decade's larger cultural revolt against a technocratic social order that maintained, among other antidemocratic institutions, an oppressive, standardized educational establishment. Free schools reflected a belief that public schooling could not be radicalized, much less reformed, and would therefore have to be replaced. Most of the several hundred countercultural experiments in education launched in the late 1960s and early 1970s proved ephemeral or exclusive. Yet, ironically, the initial critique of state-financed public education mounted by the free school movement was subsequently hijacked by conservatives, generating, on the one hand, campaigns for higher standards, stricter accountability, and statewide testing, and, on the other, crusades for school vouchers, charter schools, and various strands of homeschooling.

Therein lies the central dilemma of Miller's analysis, one that he does not fully address or place in historical context. He clearly sympathizes with the intent of the free school movement and valiantly endeavors to resuscitate the analyses of such free school advocates



as A. S. Neill, Paul Goodman, George Dennison, and most especially John Holt. Yet even his admittedly selective research demonstrates that free schools were products of their time. Despite his protestations, Miller concedes that free schools were indeed utopian, romantic, chaotic, emotionally draining, poorly conceived, and underfunded counterinstitutions that either endured as reclusive enclaves for upper-middle-class white students or collapsed under the weight of their inherent flaws—only to be succeeded by private schools financed by religious fundamentalists and free market libertarians in the late twentieth century.

Yet Miller prefers instead to remain focused on the original questions raised by countercultural educators, conveniently placing them within the oft-trod path of the Progressive educator John Dewey's philosophy of experience in a democratic society (even though few free schoolers did so themselves). The author suggests some possible ways to make free school ideology relevant to the pedagogical issues of the present, such as clarifying the association between teacher and learner, equalizing the relationship between freedom and discipline, balancing knowledge and experience, and situating personal liberation within participatory democracy. But Miller's assertion that free school ideology will somehow eventually reemerge naturally to redress these imbalances, that the technocratic order he rails against will soon give room for an educational campaign that has already revealed its quixotic qualities, seems as much misguided and ahistorical as it may be well intentioned and ideologically appealing.

This book can best be regarded as a retrospective look at a transitory outburst in American education between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s. Other works will be needed to analyze further and more critically the free school agenda, the ability of cultural conservatives to exploit its weaknesses, and, to a much more analytical, historically contextualized extent, the pertinence of free school pedagogy to our own time.

JOHN M. GLEN  
Ball State University

THOMAS ALAN SCHWARTZ. *Lyndon Johnson and Europe: In the Shadow of Vietnam*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 339. \$29.95.

There may or may not be cycles in American history, but there certainly are cycles in American historiography. A president's best guarantee of future respect is to leave office in disgrace. It worked for Harry S. Truman, now the darling even of the party that reviled and slandered him in the 1950s. And it is working for Lyndon B. Johnson. Thomas Alan Schwartz's solidly persuasive account of Johnson's European policy is the latest in a series of works by authors who have argued that the man who guided America into Vietnam was not as great a diplomatic disaster as he appeared in 1969, when he slunk from the White House back to his ranch in Texas.

The seeds for the revisionism were planted by Johnson himself, not in his memoirs, which rank among the most vapid by any president, but in his orders to archivists at the Johnson Library to open the documentary record of his administration as quickly as possible. Johnson, like most successful politicians, was convinced that the more historians knew about his actions, the better he would look. In Johnson's case this proved true. Early scholarly examinations of Johnson's Vietnam policies—the inevitable focus of first research—did not exactly exonerate him of error and folly, but they exhibited considerably more understanding of what he was up against than the polemics that originated during the war and damned Johnson for a genocidal maniac. In time, historians broadened beyond Vietnam and concluded that Johnson's policies toward much of the rest of the world were not simply better than his Vietnam policy but actually rather good.

Schwartz agrees. The author of a previous work on U.S. policy toward postwar Germany, Schwartz mounts the strongest defense of Johnson to date regarding that part of the world that showed Johnson at his best. The American relationship with postwar Europe was reaching difficult adolescence when Johnson took office in 1963. West Germany was no longer the Allied ward it had been; France remembered enough and had forgotten enough of its humiliation by Adolf Hitler to assert a new vision of Gallic grandeur; Britain still dreamed nights of its lost empire but awoke mornings to the reality of being merely America's best friend. On the far side of the Elbe, the Soviet Union kept its satellites in close orbit but, after the scare of the Cuban missile crisis, showed signs of interest in ratcheting the arms race down.

Schwartz's Johnson deftly guides America and the Atlantic alliance through a succession of crises and lesser tribulations. The largest flap followed the 1966 announcement by French president Charles de Gaulle that France would withdraw from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military command and that foreign troops (particularly American) must leave French soil. Several of Johnson's closest advisers—including former secretary of state Dean Acheson, who considered NATO his most brilliant creation—advocated a vigorous riposte. Johnson refused to be provoked. "When a man asks you to leave his house, you don't argue," the president explained. "You get your hat and go" (p. 105). Johnson reckoned that the Franco-American relationship would survive de Gaulle, and that regardless of France's formal relationship with NATO, in the event of war French troops would fight alongside American ones as previously planned.

Other crises were less dramatic. A confluence of economic events, including American budget deficits from funding both the Great Society and the Vietnam War but running back to the German *wirtschaftswunder* of the 1950s, put pressure on the dollar-based Bretton Woods system of international



finance. Johnson had to decide whether to defend the old system, with its rigid link of the dollar to gold at \$35 an ounce, or move to something new. He did a little of each, endorsing a two-tier system that preserved the appearance of Bretton Woods while affording sufficient flexibility to allow the old regime to last a few years longer (till Richard M. Nixon pulled the plug).

Schwartz employs archival sources from Germany, France, and Britain to complement his American sources (mostly from the Johnson Library in Austin). But his respect for LBJ derives less from new information than from reconsideration of the old evidence. Johnson's reputation in foreign affairs was so dismal when he left office that it could not but improve; beyond that, the world has gotten so unruly during the past decade that the stability of the Cold War looks positively benign by comparison. Johnson may never become another Truman—Vietnam will prevent that—but he is no longer the villainous fool his contemporary critics made him out to be.

H. W. BRANDS

Texas A&M University

MICHAEL S. FOLEY. *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance during the Vietnam War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 449. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

The considerable virtues of Michael S. Foley's fulsome study of Vietnam-era draft resistance in Boston derive not from new revelations or reinterpretations but from the abundance of new material he brings to light. Those virtues are sufficient that this book deserves to be regarded among the important monographs now filling out our understanding of that tumultuous period.

Foley has managed to deliver a book that is both meaty and well focused. He seems to have his hands on every available source, including wide-ranging personal interviews, painstakingly arranged, with most of the participants in Boston's resistance movement. He keeps the reader aware of the national and even international contexts, yet the book concentrates on the Boston-area movement between 1967 and 1969. It is a choppy read in places, a by-product in this case of an author working hard to get it all right.

Foley's most important contribution is to give Boston, which up until now has been overshadowed by the movement in other cities, its due. But Boston was a university town and could hardly have missed the New Left. It was home to Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn. It was the "coordinating center" (p. 15). Foley makes clear, of organized draft-card turn ins, which is why the conspirators in the Benjmain Spock-William Sloane Coffin trial were known as the Boston Five. With its Democratic majority and patriotic Irish-Catholic population, Boston concentrated all the social and ideological tensions wracking America at large. Indeed, Foley reminds us that draft resistance met, far

too often, with mob violence, even after public appetite for the endless war began to wane.

The Boston-area resistance activists were a fairly familiar lot. Largely college students, they hailed mostly from middle-class, professional families; they were suburbanites, with a Back Bay native or two. In contrast to some in the New Left, Boston's draft activists were self-conscious about their class privileges and concerned about working-class men, who were more vulnerable to the draft than they. Foley, too, is unduly apologetic about the class origins of his activists, and yet, to my mind, it is less important that the war's opponents were mostly bourgeois than that they were right to oppose the war. In contrast to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) activists, Foley's subjects were not red-diaper babies; many of them had parents who were staunch, liberal Democrats and who were, not surprisingly, distressed over their children's confrontational opposition to the war. Many of them, particularly leaders of the Boston Draft Resistance Group (BDRG) such as Michael Ferber and Nan Stone (one of the prominent women in the organization), hailed from theological backgrounds, and while this quality distinguished them from many in the New Left, they were probably typical of the most steadfast draft resisters. This background had everything to do with the character and methods of the group. They relied heavily on support from a handful of local clergy and the Arlington Street Church. Their objections to the war were cast as moral critiques rather than diplomatic or political ones. And, most important, their decisions to turn in their draft cards stood as acts of individual moral witness.

This expression of outrage, Foley rightly explains, was fundamentally a moral statement because the individual put himself at considerable risk. Resistance was much different from draft dodging. Almost all of these activists already had student deferments; by refusing to keep their draft cards, they endangered those deferments, especially after President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered General Lewis Hershey, the long-time head of Selective Service, to demand the reclassification of anyone who so resisted. The resisters in effect renounced their class-based privileges and invited federal prosecution, family division, and community disgrace. Still, this sort of resistance did not fit with the strategy of the wider New Left, which tended to see such individual acts as so much scattered seed. Somewhat ironically, when BDRG leaders began to insist that draft resistance provided the organizing principle for the revolution—this in the apocalyptic days of 1968—they became less effective, and the movement fizzled away.

Foley's Bostonians were typical of draft resisters in another sense: very few (roughly four percent) were ever prosecuted. Other than the high-profile Boston Five, whose story Foley ably rescues, the typical resister couldn't get prosecuted to spite himself. Most were subject to nothing more than petty harassment from bumbling FBI agents. In the end, Foley's book

raises the strange possibility that the federal government, an utterly incompetent agent of political repression, all the more effectively undermined dissent by ignoring it.

DAVID STEIGERWALD  
Ohio State University,  
Marion

DAVID A. MINDELL. *Between Human and Machine: Feedback, Control, and Computing before Cybernetics.* (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 439. \$46.00.

While one might think a history of servomechanisms, feedback loops, and fire control systems would be of interest only to a narrow audience, one of David A. Mindell's great achievements in this rich and multilayered book is to show the centrality of control systems—the machines (and humans) that control machines—to the history of computing, the history of technology, and indeed to American history in the twentieth century. This brilliantly conceived and executed history of control systems between the years 1916 and 1948 uncovers a side of the history of computing that has largely been ignored and makes a powerful argument for understanding technology by looking at the interface between people and machines. Seamlessly connecting the history of technology, military history, business history, and labor history, Mindell provides a much-needed perspective on the development of “smart” weaponry as well as the systems that control many aspects of our daily life.

The book divides into two halves: one dealing with the period before World War II, and the other with World War II and its aftermath. In the first half, Mindell examines the development of control systems at four locations: the Navy's Bureau of Ordnance and its contractors, the Sperry Company, the Bell System, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology's electrical engineering department. Mindell shows through a fine-grained analysis how each organization developed distinctive control systems in response to local resources and problems. Vannevar Bush, a central figure in MIT's work, went on to be the leading figure in mobilizing science and technology for the war effort in America as the head of the National Defense Research Committee (NDRC). Defending against aircraft attack became crucial, to the extent that the U.S. Navy spent four billion dollars on anti-aircraft defenses (an amount greater than that spent on the Manhattan Project, which has so dominated the historiography of World War II technological development). Although the importance of the NDRC has long been recognized, Mindell presents one of the most detailed examinations of how it operated. The great diversity of organizations involved created difficulties as distinct cultures were brought together, but it also allowed practitioners to share ideas and techniques. Mindell sees the organization of research during World War II

as essentially conservative, both in replicating prewar practices of research administration and in focusing on projects that promised immediate applications.

One of Mindell's central theses is that control systems represent a branch of the history of computing that has long been neglected. Mindell argues against those who would see the development of the modern computer as primarily the product of mathematicians such as Alan Turing, John von Neumann, or Norbert Wiener. Mindell explicitly sees Wiener as attempting to appropriate earlier work on control and feedback, remove it from its local context, and give it a more exalted pedigree linked to scientists rather than to engineers. This book could have been written as the story of the losers of the digital computer revolution, as the chapter title “Analog's Finest Hour” implies, for Mindell's characters were largely practitioners of analog computing, while digital ultimately dominated. Mindell argues against such a binary view, as both technologies developed in fruitful connection rather than in opposition. Many of the characters in this book went on to play leading roles in the development of computers and other systems after the end of World War II. While analog computers disappeared for data processing, we still use many analog systems today, such as the computer mouse, which trace their lineage to the systems described in this book. And control remains a central aspect of all technological systems.

Mindell excels at seeing the larger picture. He understands his story as part of a trend toward abstract representation, noted earlier by Lewis Mumford. Although the focus throughout is on engineers and their work, Charles A. Lindbergh, Wiley Post, Jimi Hendrix, and *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) all figure in Mindell's story. Mindell skillfully exploits the possibilities that World War II provides to link his subject to the Battle of Britain, buzz bombs, and kamikaze attacks. He takes labor into account by showing how changes in control systems led to changes in the work force.

This book, while extraordinarily well written, is not easy reading. Mindell's dual career as an academic historian and as a practicing engineer working in control systems makes him exceptionally well qualified to tell this story, and he does not shrink from the technical details involved. But he convinces us throughout that these details matter and that the effort required to understand them is well worth it.

ROSS BASSETT  
North Carolina State University

MARTIN CAMPBELL-KELLY. *From Airline Reservations to Sonic the Hedgehog: A History of the Software Industry.* (History of Computing.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 372. \$29.95.

This is the first history of the software industry to be published. Software, as historian Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., once said, is to computers and the modern economy what electricity was to the industrial age. No computer functioned without software. Today it is the

fourth largest industrial sector in the American economy and is rapidly becoming an economic growth area for such national economies as India's and Germany's. The title of the book refers to the American Airlines flight reservation system (SABRE) that probably every AHA member has used, while Sonic the Hedgehog is a character in a computer-based game introduced in 1989. This monograph covers the history of the U.S. software industry from the early 1950s to 1995, the year in which the Internet became a significant factor in the world of computing.

Good industrial histories are hard to come by, and writing on those that have never been studied by historians can be difficult, so this is a welcome study about an important industry. One useful feature of this book is Martin Campbell-Kelly's discussion of how he conducted research on the topic and what decisions he made regarding which firms' sources to examine. His book is a useful guide for anyone wishing to learn how to write a history of an industry. For historians of computing, his development of a taxonomy of the software industry is another important contribution, because there has been much confusion over the years as to who is part of the industry: software contractors, software product publishers, and so forth.

Campbell-Kelly covers all facets of the industry, from large mainframe software products and tools of the 1950s and 1960s, to the creation of commercial offerings in the 1960s and 1970s, to the vast array of personal computer products of the 1980s and 1990s, not to mention an equally large assortment of electronic games and other forms of entertainment. He traces the evolution of the industry from craft-like production in the 1950s to its current large publishing style of distribution. By including the entire spectrum of software products and services, we learn that Microsoft, the subject of over twenty books, never represented more than ten percent of the industry, as measured by revenues. IBM looms as a major software provider during the entire period, although many think of that firm as primarily a manufacturer of computers.

One of the intriguing questions historians of computing face is understanding why software did so well so early in the U.S. Campbell-Kelly argues that commercially available software emerged as fast as new computer technologies, and the latter came earlier in the United States where strong government support for research and development proved crucial. The U.S. market was also one of the largest in the world, creating the necessary demand and critical mass to motivate product developers. European computer stocks tended to be older and less homogeneous than their American counterparts, which contributed to the dominance of the American industry. The pattern remained consistent from the large mainframes of the 1950s right through the period of the personal computer. Campbell-Kelly also addresses the issue of what happens when one clusters suppliers together, an issue that many historians of industries examine. "Silicon Valley," he concludes, proved crucial in stimulating

the Darwinian process of selection and adaptation to work its will. Also, market size proved the most crucial element in determining the success of a software products enterprise; the bigger the market, the greater the odds a firm would thrive.

Campbell-Kelly is the author of other books on the history of computing, and he brings a rich body of experience to a difficult assignment. He has teased out of disparate sources a solid, well-written, thorough history of an important twentieth-century industry. This book is an important contribution to both U.S. business history and the history of computing technologies.

JAMES W. CORTADA  
IBM Corporation

DAVID CHARLES SLOANE and BEVERLIE CONANT SLOANE.  
*Medicine Moves to the Mall.* (Center Books on Space, Place, and Time.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in association with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N. Mex. and Harrisonburg, Va. 2003. Pp. xiii, 198. \$39.95.

U.S. hospitals were transformed near the end of the nineteenth century. Once home-like settings for the long-term care of chronic illnesses in the poor, hospitals became scientifically based sites for the care of acute illnesses in the general population. Based on that model, over the past century hospitals have become ever larger and more elaborate, dominating entire neighborhoods with a complex maze of buildings, laboratories, and clinics. But today, as we start the twenty-first century, the health care that was once provided in hospitals appears set to move to a different sort of place, places like "doc in a box" sites for urgent care, free-standing ambulatory surgery centers, and, as the title of the book suggests, health care delivered at "the mall." Sometimes health care is delivered literally within the confines of a mall, sometimes health care is delivered at other sites that have been explicitly designed to resemble the now (all-too) familiar setting of a shopping mall. And why should this be a surprise? Many "patients" have become "consumers" who now shop for health care just as they shop for other goods. They may wish to pursue "alternative" therapies such as herbal medicine or chiropractic to go along with their traditional allopathic treatments. They may be forced to shop for providers as a result of changing insurance plans, and those new plans use payment mechanisms that encourage earlier discharge of patients, pushing some of the burden of caregiving on to family members or the patients themselves. Patients may use the Internet to discover a potential physician's credentials or to review her treatment recommendations. As the faster pace of life demands a faster pace of care, patients may find it particularly appealing to avoid the densely packed medical center. They may appreciate not having to wade through the intensity of an in-patient setting to have their cholesterol checked, and may expect to be able to pull up to a parking place



right outside the physician's office, just as they would at a mall.

David Charles Sloane and Beverlie Conant Sloane turned their attention to what they see as the next frontier for health care facilities after watching the creation of a new medical center. (Perhaps also a result of personal experiences, the authors tend to focus their attention on southern California—or perhaps southern California happens to be the place where this trend is most pronounced.) The book synergistically combines the authors' complementary areas of expertise: one is in medicine; the other in policy, planning, and development. The result of their collaboration is an impressionistic, attractively designed yet quite slim book that holds far less text than first meets the eye: of the 174 pages, forty-eight are devoted to three evocative "galleries" of images. While drawing on the standard literature on the history of the hospital for background about its late-nineteenth and early-twentieth origins, the most interesting part of this book is about how hospitals are responding to a fluid, rapidly changing health care environment. The authors explain and elucidate these jarring contradictions that many have come to accept, such as medical clinics operating alongside auto parts outlets in a strip mall, or hospital entrances that seem eerily reminiscent of department stores.

But it is not only malls that serve as models for place. Some hospital settings are being explicitly styled after homes. This trend is most pronounced for labor and delivery suites. If children are no longer (for the most part) being born at home, they are being born in places that can be seen as vaguely reminiscent of home. The ultimate goal of many hospitals is to create friendly, nurturing places that are so comfortable, so familiar—whether reminiscent of the home or the mall—that patients will hate to leave.

This book starts to extend the history of the hospital to encompass the new physical landscape of the past decade or so, with a focus on place that sets it apart from previous historical studies. It will be of interest to historians of health care, urban historians, and a wide range of social historians.

JOEL D. HOWELL  
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#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

STUART F. VOSS. *Latin America in the Middle Period 1750–1929*. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2002. Pp. xxii, 296. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.95.

Stuart F. Voss' new book is part of a growing literature that questions the traditional divide between colonial and national histories, proposing instead to visualize a long-term transitioning between what was colonial and became modern. Voss traces the lines of continuity and change between 1750 and 1929: that is, the long nineteenth century, as it is also sometimes called.

Implicit in this proposition is a re-examination of the meaning of the wars of independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a turning point in Latin American history. Arguments on both lines of thought (continuity or change brought about by political independence from Spain) depend on the criteria used, the time frame marking the middle period, and also on what we mean by "colonial" or "modern."

Voss discusses the relative vulnerability of what he calls the *gente baja* at the hands of the *gente alta*, and how both coped with the changing waves of international commercialization; the relative autonomy of regions from the middle of the eighteenth century until the eruption of modernity in the aftermath of the Great Depression, and the continued process of bargaining (between *gente baja* and *gente alta*, and between states and regions) over a political framework that never materialized. In fact, after Voss has traced the various stages of historical development between 1750 and 1929, in his epilogue he suggests that perhaps the middle period, understood through this multilayered bargaining process, is not yet finished in the light of Chiapas (and, one might add, the Shining Path and its like) and economic globalization. It is the story of the endless "transition" to capitalism, no matter how we look at it.

What remained essentially colonial throughout this long period was the maturation of regional societies, until they were broken down and became a part of national modernizing societies after 1929. The essential process that marks these many decades is the subordination of regional societies to a national life. Modernization thus means inclusion, and as shown, was often detrimental to the regions and the people living in them. Socially, the transition period is defined as a society no longer based only on racial segregation but not yet a class society, and as a gradual move from informal personal relations to increasingly formal and impersonal ones. Kinship and clientelism are superseded gradually by interest groups.

According to Voss (p. 14), by the mid-eighteenth century regional societies had acquired a high level of autonomy, despite Madrid's efforts to the contrary. Against such autonomy ran the Bourbon fiscal impositions. The result was a growing American self-consciousness and a tendency toward self-determination in the face of weakening control and more arbitrariness. Creole visions of self-government, however, became blurred when dealing with issues of social justice, especially when confronted by the erosion of imposed racial estates and corporate distinctions. The wars of independence themselves brought about a disruption of regional economies, whereas interregional economic relations flourishing after 1776 were undermined. Each region established new links to the international market and enjoyed higher levels of political and economic autonomy.

As much as the criteria used allow for a present-day extension of the middle period (Chiapas), it also seems that the time frame could be pushed backward. Voss



himself sees regional dynamics as a controlling force in the late sixteenth century, although it was the Bourbon reforms and the imperial grip expressed in these reforms (starting around 1750) that crystallized regional cohesiveness and uniqueness (p. 68). When massive changes since 1750 are outlined, Voss claims that "the recent past had demonstrated the growing value of kin networks as vehicles for family enterprise. For the notables, in particular, the growing web of family relations was coming to constitute a small community within the *gran* community over which they presided" (p. 90). One wonders how "recent" this past was. Were not kinship relations paramount from the very inception of the colonial enterprise?

In Latin America's middle period, while seeking "for an equilibrium in negotiating rights and obligations and in the political structures that would formalize those relations," no political framework emerged from the bargaining between the *gente baja* and the *gente alta*, because the *gente baja*'s exercise of freedom and prerogative, was now judged excessive by the *gente alta* (pp. 99, 101). Nevertheless, Voss argues, the period between 1820 and 1880 was a period of relative equilibrium (p. 185), meaning relative autonomy of the regions within the nation-state where mainly Indian groups at different levels of market involvement proposed alternative popular visions. What happened after 1880 was an acceleration of the nations' market involvement without having created a political framework "to institutionalize and stabilize that equilibrium" (p. 185). Massive changes were registered: wars over boundaries and resources, changes in the rank and file, numbers and perceptions of the military, opening of banks, emergence of industrial manufacturing, and, overall, a changed international context, with large direct foreign investments and, last but not least, globalization. These changes signaled or made possible the intensification of modernization and centralization.

This book tells the history of how waves of commercialization and international marketplace penetration have increased the misery of the *gente baja* at the hands of the *gente alta* (inside and later outside of the country), with periods of relative regional autonomy before 1750, and between 1820 and 1880, and in the immediate aftermath of 1930 (one is tempted to add 1914–1918, and 1939–1945), and of regional submission to the state and the international market after 1750, 1880, and 1930. The book has a dependency theory flavor but is interesting reading because it incorporates recent research on regions within Latin American countries. It is meant for a general audience and provides a quick grasp of the most salient moments and processes in the long nineteenth century.

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SUSAN J. FERNÁNDEZ. *Encumbered Cuba: Capital Markets and Revolt, 1878–1895*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. xii, 203. \$59.95.

The fundamental changes in economy and society taking place in Cuba between the two revolts for independence have been considered by nearly every work on nineteenth and twentieth-century Cuban history. The abolition of slavery and transition to free labor, technological transformations in transportation and in the sugar sector, the development of the *colono* system of cane production, a post-emancipation wave of Spanish immigration to the island, the rise of new political movements and formal parties, and the organization of the 1895 insurrection by José Martí and his followers, among other themes, have been central to Cuban historiography. Yet, until this study by Susan J. Fernández, there has been no in-depth analysis of the functional aspects of the colonial Cuban economic system in this period at the macro or micro levels. Almost nothing has been published on the obscure and often difficult to understand mechanisms of credit supply and acquisition within an economic environment in which banking institutions did not furnish credit in any significant way to the private sector. This was a generalized problem throughout Latin America and the Caribbean during the nineteenth century and before.

Fernández's innovative and pioneering study focuses on the Cuban credit system. Her basic arguments may be summarized as follows: despite the formation of formal banking institutions dating from 1832 with the foundation of the Havana Bank of Fernando VII, these functioned primarily to underwrite the colonial government and its massive debt contracted for a variety of reasons during and after the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). The rural economy, as had been the case throughout the colonial period, continued to rely upon merchant-financier-exporters who charged usurious interest rates through a variety of mechanisms that bound planters across the rural social hierarchy in dependent relationships with them. Increasingly, and nearly exclusively by the 1890s, lines of credit to the colony's private sector ran through United States banking institutions and/or the sugar-importing merchant community. The Cuban colonial economy became nearly intertwined with that of the United States because of dependence not only on capital markets, but on export markets and technology. Spain was incapable of meeting the most elementary economic needs of the Cuba's monocultural sugar economy. All of this alienated a cross-section of Cuban society from continued support of Spanish colonialism. The loss of allegiance from large-scale landowners on down helps explain the broad-based support for the independence insurrection of 1895, a situation that contrasted to planter backing of colonialism during the 1868–1878 war, especially in western Cuba where the sugar/slave economy was centered.

The narrative, although inevitably technical in many

sections, is fluid, clear, and concise. Fernández has skillfully utilized a broad array of secondary as well as primary sources to support her arguments. However, there are two general conclusions that historians will no doubt ponder and question. First, the author states that Cuba between the independence wars was presented with an opportunity to diversify its economy, to begin the process of industrialization, and to move in the direction of "food security," or at least the production of dietary staples to reduce dependency on food imports. The inability of Cuban-based institutions to mobilize capital for these processes is at the heart of this book. Fernández makes assumptions about economic development models centered in the nineteenth-century industrializing economies, principally European and North American, which simply cannot be applied in a verbatim way to Cuba. A central question is whether or not there were social sectors within Cuban elite groups that even considered these concepts of economic development. The author invokes Martí at the end of the book as a proponent, but it is highly questionable whether these objectives were at all present as models for Cuban elite groups. A related question revolves around whether it was realistic to expect real economic diversification and industrialization within the context of Cuba's natural resource base, the inability of capital markets to support this process notwithstanding.

A second objection concerns the economic deterministic model used to explain Cuba's massive rejection of Spain at the close of the nineteenth century. Clearly this book is a corrective to the post-1959 distortions in interpreting Cuba's past that focus almost solely on anticolonialism in the nineteenth century and anti-U.S. nationalism in the twentieth century as the major driving forces of Cuban history. Fernández brings us back to the internal dynamics of Cuba's economy, but in asserting that economic factors alone were responsible for the anti-Spanish sentiment leading to the 1895–1898 Cuban War for Independence, the author treads on shaky ground. Still, this is a solid book. It may serve as a point of departure for future debates about Cuban history and developmental obstacles faced by nations with similar class and economic structures and resource endowments.

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JULIA E. SWEIG. *Inside the Cuban Revolution: Fidel Castro and the Urban Underground*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 254. \$29.95.

This book has already been added to "required reading" lists for Cuban history courses across the country, and with good reason. Julia E. Sweig has filled a significant gap in the literature about the Cuban revolutionary process. By focusing on the activities of the urban guerrilla movement (*llano*) and its relationship to the rural army (*sierra*), Sweig emphasizes the

contributions of some of the thousands of men and women in the cities who engaged in insurrection against the Fulgencio Batista regime, revealing much more about the nature of this revolutionary drama.

The men and women, inside and outside of Cuba, who wanted to remove Batista from power shared only that common objective. On every other issue—how to accomplish the goal, who should participate in and lead the struggle, and who should govern and participate in a post-Batista Cuba—significant disagreements emerged. Achievement of the common objective was ultimately accomplished by the extraordinary efforts and sacrifices of many Cubans engaged in large and small acts of resistance.

Since 1959, the exploits of the "heroes from the mountains" have become part of celebratory national consciousness, while recognition of actions by urban members and affiliates of the 26th of July Movement have been confined mainly to burial sites, placards, and museums. Centering on the period of February 1957 to December 1959, Sweig traces the efforts of various urban leaders in organizing and implementing an effective general strike, and clarifies the attitude of Fidel Castro regarding the urgency and saliency of this plan. The strike was only part of the urban underground's diverse responsibilities to foster support for the movement and its objectives, to engage in acts of sabotage and disruption that would create the conditions for revolution, and to provide the rural forces with weapons and supplies.

The 26th of July Movement succeeded in its objectives, according to Sweig, because it forged alliances among people and groups with divergent interests, secured needed supplies, effectively used mass media, and handled exiles, the U.S. government, and other nations to the movement's advantage. None of these efforts could have been accomplished solely by a rebel army in the eastern mountains of Cuba.

Sweig's book deserves to be read by any scholar interested in Cuba. But the style and structure of the work make it accessible to other scholars as well. Both narrative and analytical, the chronologically arranged chapters follow the successes and problems in the urban underground and its relationships within and outside of the movement. Sweig offers us insights into a struggle aimed at both destruction and creation.

The reader familiar with the almost-legendary women and men in Cuban revolutionary history will learn more about some of them in this volume. Written communication, reproduced in part or entirely, reveals the extraordinary thinking of an exceptionally capable group of very young leaders. Analyzing conditions and strategies with remarkable depth and complexity, these leaders demonstrated that they had absorbed lessons from successes and failures in history, and displayed astute, blunt, and astoundingly clear insights. Combining cynical mistrust with optimistic vision, the leaders of the urban underground were responsible for assessing situations and the motives of friends and enemies

and for keeping the *sierra* leaders accurately and adequately informed.

The relationship between the *llano* and the *sierra* was symbiotic, and understood from the outset by the leaders of the rebel army (with the exception, apparently, of Ernesto "Che" Guevara) and the urban National Directorate. Former political leaders in exile and other exiles aspiring to power took longer to accept the need for the 26th of July Movement. In this book, we see the immediate seeds of the post-1959 exile antagonisms in the context of urban and rural insurrection, and as both ideological and personal. While exiles organized, and discussed ways to ensure their place in a post-Batista Cuba, the Cubans on the island were forging ahead with their own agenda.

Clearly written and enjoyable to read, this book is an essential account of the history of the insurrection and will likely foster further research. In a broader sense, it is also a valuable contribution to understanding successful relationships between urban and rural sectors in guerrilla war.

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RICHARD LEE TURITS. *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 384. \$65.00.

The existing historiography on Rafael L. Trujillo and his long-lived dictatorial regime (1930–1961) has, for the most part, focused on the repressive nature and "sultanistic" excesses of this cruel dictatorship. Richard Lee Turits has made a significant contribution to the study of the middle decades of twentieth-century Dominican history by documenting and tracing over time the inner workings of the Trujillo dictatorship, particularly as they pertained to agrarian and rural policy. Turits provides a nuanced view of the social and intellectual foundations of the regime, recognizing the negotiated fashion in which Trujillo's agrarian policies were implemented at the national and local levels. While widely recognized as one of the hemisphere's most absolutist regimes of modern times, Turits ably demonstrates that Trujillo's policies—such as the confiscation of large tracts of land, distribution of land among peasants, and various colonization schemes—responded to the negotiation of interests and forces among the Dominican state, the United States government, big sugar interests, peasants, and local government officials.

The book begins with the author's introduction of several key concepts and historical protagonists such as the *terrenos comuneros* (common lands), the *caudillos* whose political struggles plagued Dominican history, and the U.S. intervention (1916–1924) during which new agrarian legislation further facilitated the consolidation of land by large sugar plantations to the detriment of the Dominican peasantry. Chapter three

traces the emergence of Trujillo and shows how he used populist policies among the peasantry to cement the social and economic foundations of his regime. This chapter provides much detail on the land distribution programs through which Trujillo sought to extend his control to remote areas while increasing food crops production and seeking to legitimize his rule among the nation's rural inhabitants. Chapter four includes a close analysis of the ways in which regime officials implemented agrarian reform policies in particular cases such as the lands belonging to the Coiscou and Vicini families. Turits argues that the implementation of such measures tested the limits of state power.

Chapter five is devoted to one of the best-known and most widely discussed episodes of the Trujillo era: the 1937 massacre of nearly 15,000 Haitians residing on the Dominico-Haitian frontier. This chapter introduces yet another important theme having to do with the lingering influence of the Dominican nationalist intelligentsia, whose anti-Haitianism converged with Trujillo's. In ordering the massacre, Trujillo pleased the nationalists while successfully establishing a true border that replaced the porous frontier that had united (rather than separated) both nations. Likewise, various labor colonization schemes analyzed in chapter six helped Trujillo extend his control to yet other regions of the Dominican Republic. Turits makes ample use of oral history in the chapters covering the topics of the Haitian massacre and the colonization projects. These valuable sources also constitute the bulk of the evidence in his chapter on the memories that Dominican peasants still hold with regard to the Trujillo regime. Not surprisingly, the Dominican peasantry views the Trujillo era with nostalgia and gratitude, recognizing the state's efforts to expand the rural infrastructure, distribute land and implements among the landless, and foster a culture of respect and decorum.

The book's final chapter makes an attempt to wrap up the story by contrasting the pro-peasant Trujillo of the 1930s and 1940s with an increasingly arrogant Cold War-era Trujillo whose "romance with sugar" placed him in a collision course with the peasantry, until then the strongest bastion of his support. By 1957, according to Turits, Trujillo personally controlled seventy-five percent of the Dominican Republic's sugar production. While the thesis that becoming the republic's sugar lord helped erode his regime's foundations is plausible, Turits fails to make a convincing case that the same peasants who supported Trujillo turned against him toward the end of his regime. The evidence presented by Turits in this regard is mostly from the traditional sugar-producing areas and not from the regions that had benefited from the agrarian reforms of previous decades. It is worthy of note that the oral history evidence marshaled to sustain other theses in previous chapters is virtually silent in this final chapter. Also problematic is the late introduction of the Catholic Church as an explanation for the erosion of



support among the peasantry. While there is no doubt that church denunciations were one of the most powerful weapons against Trujillo, the link between that weapon and the peasantry is not established in previous chapters.

In spite of these criticisms, the book stands as the most thoroughly documented study thus far published of any aspect of the *Trujillato*. Students of Dominican history will now have to look beyond the brutal and megalomaniac side of Trujillo to include his populist, nationalist, and negotiating side. As attested by many of the interviews conducted by Turits, the peasantry had first-hand contact with both sides of the *Jefe*.

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JACQUELINE HOLLER. *Escogidas Plantas: Nuns and Beatas in Mexico City, 1531–1601*. Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Site access \$195.00.

Jacqueline Holler provides a cautionary tale of the perils of generalizing about the entire colonial era from its later centuries. She wants to disabuse us of any notion that convents were peopled by or primarily served New Spain's elite throughout the colonial period, and by adding the largely neglected sixteenth century to the story of religious women she succeeds admirably in this goal. Along the way, she demonstrates that *beatas* (uncloistered religious women) and nuns contributed to the Spaniards' early spiritual crusade by schooling Indian girls and that convents lent vital sacral weight to Spanish urbanization schemes as Tenochtitlan became Mexico City. She also provides lively examples of religious women's experiences both inside and outside convent walls. Holler's electronic book work easily ranks as the most systematic study of women religious during New Spain's crucial first century.

Clusters of often humble *beatas* landed in Mexico City soon after the male religious and, with crown support, quickly established cloistered schools to teach native girls the rudiments of the faith and the fundamental tenets of Christian marriage, especially sexual monogamy. The project proved short lived. Missionary priorities soon faced settler hostility in the den of intrigue that was the early colony. Over strenuous crown objections, anxious settlers pushed for convents for their own children, evincing little interest in educating the daughters of an Indian population whose huge numbers threatened their still-fragile project to create a truly Spanish city. Spaniards faced the dilemma that often makes colonial situations so overly wrought: the necessity of clearly delineating themselves from a subject population critical to their economic sustenance. As numerous historians have noted, while Spanish missionaries, settlers, and the crown often clashed over whose agenda would prevail in the New World, Spanish utopias were often aborted or entirely transformed by the natives' own initiatives.

Holler gestures toward Nahua parents' reactions to the new schools, arguing against indigenous reticence as the key to the schools' failure and pointing to native precedents for female enclosure. Here she implicitly takes issue with Nancy E. Van Deusen's discovery of the profound depths of Nahua parents' opposition to their daughter's sequestration in Spanish institutions. But whether by dint of Indian or settler resistance or both, by 1544 the schools for Indian girls were foundering. While the Franciscans continued to educate Indian girls, the *beatas* dispersed, many of them drawn into the more tantalizing orbit of Spanish society. By midcentury, the initial optimism about the Indians' spiritual capacity had waned: Indian boys would not be priests; Indian girls were redefined as sinful, and they would now serve rather than become nuns. In detailing this failed experiment, however, Holler restores women to their rightful place in the early missionary efforts and demonstrates that religious women's experiences in later centuries cannot be taken as representative of the colonial period as a whole.

Despite the crown's belief that female chastity threatened the vital project of populating its new colonies, and despite the friars' interest in a convent to train Indians and *mestizas* as teachers, by the 1540s it was the settlers' desire to protect family wealth and racial purity and the city council's concern with fixing the boundaries between the Indian and Spanish republics that won out. The honor of Spanish women was a metonym for the honor of the Spanish body politic and a critical mark of the Europeanization of the city. In stark contrast to the later colonial period, the city council rather than individual donors funded the convents established during this 1548 to 1582 period. The good of the Spanish Republic took decisive precedence over the individual donor's soul; not surprisingly, Spanish women both rich and poor professed as nuns. It was only when the Spanish became conscious of the decline of the Indian population that the city council could trust convent foundations to individual patrons' generosity. At the same time, convents began to house only the economic elite, setting a pattern that Holler argues would continue through the colonial period. Here Holler misses an opportunity to spar with other historians, particularly Patricia Seed, who found the sexual honor of all women to be a widely shared social value well into the eighteenth century. Holler's work implies a fascinating and precocious stratification within settler society based on wealth rather than honor.

Nuns, female missionaries, Indian education under female auspices, and staunch city council support for convents: all of these place the sixteenth century outside the general colonial experience of female monasticism. To these considerable findings Holler adds a discussion of another classic colonial flash point: the struggles for control of female religiosity among the regular and secular clergy and the women themselves. In perhaps the book's most dramatic sequence, Holler details a 1565 intrigue between the



bishop and the Franciscans for jurisdictional control over a group of nuns and whether to locate their convent in the city center or in a Franciscan-controlled outlying Indian *barrio*. A huge crowd of two to eight thousand Indians greeted the women after the Franciscans whisked them through the city by night to the outlying parish; when the secular authorities stormed the church, they were met by dagger-wielding nuns who pelted them with rocks, as well as by the aging but still formidable Frey Jerónimo de Mendieta. To this example of female agency, Holler adds stories of nuns and *beatas* drawn from Inquisition cases—cases that illustrate the considerable spiritual brokerage these women wielded both inside and outside of convent walls. Whereas Kathryn Burns demonstrates that Cuzco's nuns parlayed their considerable capital into influence over the settlers' land and labor dealings with the Indians, Holler's Inquisition cases and the letters and petitions she consulted in Seville provide key information on religious women's spiritual influence in Mexico City.

There are both a forest and trees here, but undergraduates might find hacking through the dense empirical underbrush too exhausting. The author missed several opportunities to link her work with that of historians of larger colonial themes. Furthermore, after laying out her argument in the introduction, Holler breaks her pace with that classic mark of a dissertation: the overview of the extant literature, in this case that on nuns. But containing as it does the most complete discussion of female religious experience in sixteenth-century Mexico City, this electronic book is indispensable reading for historians of New Spain and for scholars concerned with female religious in the Spanish Empire.

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TERRY RUGELEY. *Of Wonders and Wise Men: Religion and Popular Cultures in Southeast Mexico, 1800–1876*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2001. Pp. xxvii, 335. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$26.95.

In his engaging exploration of the dynamic religious world of Mexico's Yucatan during the nineteenth century, Terry Rugeley fitfully captures the drama, tension, diversity, tragedy, and awakening encompassed in all periods of wrenching social change. Colony to republic, traditional to modern, communal to individual, mercantile to laissez-faire, liberalism, state building, and secularization all swept the nation, gnawing at traditions, upsetting time-tested practices, and creating opportunities met by recipients with both enthusiasm and rejection. How these sea changes roiled the spiritual world of Yucatecans is the focus of this fine book.

"Roiled" is the correct word; "change" is not. The stark, rigid dichotomies listed above are for writer's convenience, not historical reality. Rugeley carefully records the diversity; ambiguity, contradictions, hesi-

tancies, frustrations, miscalculations, and elation that accompany such new epochs. While concentrating on the region he knows best, Rugeley means for his work to be applied to other parts of the country and beyond. His book is replete with provocative generalizations that challenge well-known conceptualizations of the way the cultural world was and what it has become in Mexico. In a satisfying way, the author brings the subject of each chapter to present times.

The book's seven chapters are mixed between broad themes and detailed sketches; one supports the other. Surveys cover folk knowledge, urban piety, icons, and anticlericalism. Opportunities in the early republic allowed a rural priest cloaked in colonial customs to become one of the region's wealthiest entrepreneurs (real estate dealings), a citizen priest who lived in the city while maintaining his rustic parish. In the same period, emerging haciendas (San Antonio Xocnech is the author's example) absorbed land-based lay religious brotherhoods (*cofradías*), yet peasants continued to venerate their traditional icons, as they do today. Rugeley also finds anticlericalism rooted in the mood of those times. Competition, economic development, and population shifts "fueled a growing individualism in both social and economic matters, heightened resentment toward traditional prestige and social power, made it easier to be skeptical about the church's rights and ideological foundations" (p. 171). One wonders whether grubbing peasants much cared about individualism, church rights, and doctrine, but the relationship between priest and parishioner is so complex, changeable, and emotional that most historians leave the topic to novelists. Rugeley does not, and that is another merit of his book.

This (the "wise men" of the title are peasants whose oral tradition has "preserved an unprinted almanac of values, beliefs, stories and nonscientific histories" that compose their mental world) is a bold book. First of all, it is about popular religion, subject to a melange of definitions and suspect in the profession for its paucity of documentary resources. Second, it bends outward (in a most rewarding way) from the "acceptable" bounds of historical inquiry and statement. Not every paragraph is footnoted. At times Rugeley attributes feelings, emotions, motivations, and thoughts to individuals that will leave some colleagues gasping "How does he know that?" Third, he appreciates the findings of Robert Redfield, Eric Hobsbawm, Jean Meyer, Keith Thomas, and others but critiques them in erudite ways. Fourth, he broadens his contextualization to present (solid and interesting) historical overviews of Maya cosmology, spiritualism, Spanish colonial legacies, and the aims and essence of Mexican modernization.

Such a large canvas contains room for (healthy) debate. When Rugeley calls Yucatan's Speaking Cross movement "arguably the most extraordinary and successful of all of Mexico's many apparitions" (p. xvi), he is going to be reminded of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Linking apparitions and other religious enthusiasms so

tightly to crisis ignores the power of belief itself. Indeed, there are precious few particulars about common spiritual belief and practices in the book. Furthermore, the gap that Rugeley creates between official doctrine and popular piety cannot accommodate the considerable overlap between the two. In Rugeley's telling, material causes for religious behavior predominate over beliefs involved in the process. For example, when in 1996 Yucatecan pilgrims venerated the red stain on a patio wall as one of the wise men, Rugeley ties the apparition to the final collapse of the region's henequen industry and a deep devaluation of the Mexican peso (p. 234). While defending their right to read the blob as they wished, he does not probe the minds of the faithful for the foundations of their belief. People do not always pray, or visit shrines, because they have needs. Many do so because they like to do it; because it brings them closer to God. Just ask them.

Such caveats are, of course, nothing more than personal predilections based on my own forays into popular religion. They do not detract one iota from the merits of this carefully argued, well-written, important book, which makes original and important inroads into the overall cultural and specifically religious worlds of peasants edging toward modernity.

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NOEL MAURER, *The Power and the Money: The Mexican Financial System, 1876–1932*. (Social Science History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 250. \$60.00.

Noel Maurer sets out to identify the origins of enduring characteristics in the Mexican financial system. In particular, he is concerned with explaining the highly concentrated and politicized nature of the system. Maurer finds the origins of the formal Mexican banking system in the public finance needs of the Porfirian state. Bankers and politicians entered into mutually beneficial agreements to ensure the flow of resources to the state. Close institutional and policy ties between them were necessary in order for bankers to have confidence in the viability of the credit they extended to the Mexican state. The crucial element in this formulation is that a core bank (Banco Nacional de México, or Banamex) attained monopoly power over the national treasury's access to credit and the withdrawal of credit in the event of default. At the same time, privileges and protections for Mexican bankers, especially in the form of barriers to entry for subsequent banks, helped to ensure their profitability, providing implicit subsidies for both the banks and the state. These arrangements effectively discouraged the entry of new banks to serve the private sector.

One of the most important results of the Porfirian bank-state nexus was to reinforce the highly concentrated industrial structure. In a process that paralleled the ties between bankers and the national treasury, banking activity to the private sector favored borrow-

ers with close ties to banks (often the bank directors themselves). Invoking analysis developed by Naomi R. Lamoreaux in the context of nineteenth-century New England, Maurer finds that by putting personal reputations and relationships at stake, insider lending offered protection to banks in ways that the legal and regulatory systems could not. Entrenched insider lending also served to obstruct outsiders from access to credit markets.

Overall, bankers structured their participation in public finance and industrialization, and they selected their borrowers, in ways that rationally met their need to establish credible commitments to financial obligations in the face of severe institutional obstacles. In all sectors, resulting barriers impeded new entrants. The arrangements that emerged were a "second-best solution" in providing for public finance (p. 35); they impeded the size of the banking system (p. 91) and rendered profitability a secondary concern in allocating credit to industry (p. 126). In contrast, there was "not enough" (p. 95) of the insider lending that protected bank credit. The arguments are convincing, but reconciling the varying interpretations to these similar strategies deserves more attention than it receives.

This system worked during the Porfiriato as long as players maintained the rules; it broke down with the Mexican Revolution. Maurer depicts public finance descending to lawless confiscation: the banking system fell apart, inflation was rampant, and inability to rely on the payment and credit operations of banks brought the economy to a halt. The postrevolutionary financial system slowly coalesced in a manner similar to its predecessor. Close ties between bankers and financial policy officials ensured access to financial resources for the state at the same time that it protected a small privileged banking sector. One question that arises from this conclusion is, if the postrevolutionary financial system formed in manners, and with outcomes, similar to that of the Porfiriato, then what (other than massive short-term disruption) suggests that the revolution was revolutionary for finance (p. 134)? Certainly, this study demonstrates that, once lost, the credibility of public financial commitments was not easily rebuilt.

Maurer tells this story forcefully. The details of the historical trajectory deserve the attention they receive. The analysis pulls together an impressive range of quantitative and archival data. The application of the methods of the new institutional economic history and of rational choice theory render the book an important contribution to the historiographies of banking and of Mexico. However, the book could have reached a wider audience of political and social historians, and it could have answered specialists' technical questions, with greater attention to explanations of methodologies and technical terms. Most importantly, Maurer repeatedly asserts the centrality of credible commitments to secure property rights for his explanatory framework. An explicit discussion of property rights—

what they are, when and how they are secure (or not)—would have given depth to the book.

Finally, what difference does the history of the origin of the financial system make to our understanding of Mexican history? The book clearly shows the centrality of finance for political history and of politics for financial history. Maurer advances the largely neglected effort to delineate the systemic dynamics of these processes in Latin America.

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SUZANNE B. PASZTOR. *The Spirit of Hidalgo: The Mexican Revolution in Coahuila*. (Latin American and Caribbean Series, number 2.) Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press and East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 224. \$49.95.

For decades now, a seemingly endless stream of regional studies has dominated the historiography of the Mexican Revolution. Yet although we have sweeping classic histories of the main revolutionary states (Morelos, Chihuahua, and Sonora), the crucial case of Coahuila, the state that spawned both Maderismo and the victorious Constitutionalist movement, has received remarkably little attention and remains, with a few important exceptions, understudied. Suzanne B. Pasztor attempts to fill this historiographical hiatus with her study of Coahuila from the late Porfiriato through 1920. In this concise, crisply written political history, Pasztor argues that two factors caused the revolution in Coahuila: the rapid loss of traditional frontier autonomy in the face of Porfirian political centralization, and, more importantly, the disruption that rapid modernization and economic growth produced in a once self-sufficient regional economy.

Coahuila had become a seedbed for conspiracies and idiosyncratic, cross-class rebellions well before the revolution. Pasztor is at her best when analyzing Coahuilan politics, especially the remarkable continuities of elite politics. She ably demonstrates that nineteenth-century factional strife among three well-entrenched and competing *camarillas* (factions) continued to dominate the politics of revolutionary Coahuila. The Madero clan, beleaguered from 1884 on, was ultimately eclipsed by the Carrancistas, themselves heirs to the *camarilla* of Miguel Cárdenas. Pasztor's analysis thus tends to confirm earlier political interpretations of the Coahuilan revolution.

More innovative is Pasztor's emphasis on the social origins of the revolution in Coahuila, especially her assertion that it was Venustiano Carranza who ultimately managed to harness widespread popular discontent in the state. The author persuasively identifies the sources of social unrest. During the late Porfiriato, smallholders and communal villages (a term that needs to be qualified in the north) lost land and water rights to surveying companies and rapacious hacendados. Sharecroppers and migrant workers faced mounting

insecurity. The rising urban middle class yearned for political representation, and local elites battled each other for power while vying with foreign newcomers for ever more scarce resources. By the 1890s, the old holistic status quo had begun to crumble: disputes over water and rangeland exploded, coalminers fell under the spell of anarchism, landowners fought the federalization of water rights, and political elites finally rebelled against the central government in 1893. After 1900, the global recession exacerbated regional unrest, sparking Francisco I. Madero's revolution. In Coahuila, however, the Madero revolution was "[m]ultifaceted and lack[ed] a single unifying theme or purpose" (p. 55). Madero failed miserably to heed the rising clamor for social reform and the restoration of local autonomy, instead perpetuating Porfirian-style factional control and nepotism.

Unfortunately, the author delves only superficially into the articulation between Coahuila's social revolution and Carrancismo. Pasztor's assertion that "as governor, [Carranza's] policy of deliberate but careful reform won him the support of the state's popular classes" (p. x) seems an overstatement. Clearly, one has to distinguish between organized labor and agrarian elements. In addition, the Laguna, a radical hotbed, was hardly representative of other regions. As Maderista governor of Coahuila in 1911, Carranza certainly developed populist ties with mineworkers, although he also mobilized troops to squelch strike activity. However, Pasztor has to admit that "it is difficult to document the extent to which Carranza sided with those petitioning for land and water" (p. 73). Francisco Villa's appeal in the state was based precisely on Coahuilans' largely frustrated hopes for local land reform. After 1915, the Carrancista state governor, Gustavo Espinoza Mireles, once again failed to address social grievances, despite his attempts to forge ties with organized labor. He continued the authoritarian political practices of his predecessors. Land reform, already underway elsewhere in the republic, barely affected Coahuila's sprawling haciendas. Most properties confiscated to punish rival factions were returned to their original owners. Thus, Coahuila remained largely untouched by agrarian reform until the brief outburst of Cardenista radicalism. Organized labor, on the other hand, especially the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM), ultimately managed to become a serious player in the state. Detailed bottom-up research may shed more light on the complex relationship between Carrancismo and Coahuila's popular sectors.

Overall, Pasztor's study is an important contribution to the field and offers an excellent and very accessible overview of the regional political revolution, while at the same time raising important questions about the motivation and participation of the Coahuilan lower classes.

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PATRICIA LONDOÑO-VEGA. *Religion, Culture, and Society in Colombia: Medellín and Antioquia 1850–1930*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 402. \$85.00.

The Colombian province of Antioquia, with its capital in Medellín, is known to historians as an exceptional place characterized by deep Catholicism, economic dynamism, and a proud, highly educated, hard-working population with a strong sense of regional identity. Patricia Londoño-Vega here sheds light on the implantation of Catholicism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and on how Antioqueño regional identity took form and was performed in a multitude of religious and voluntary associations that came to comprise civil society. The author explores how specifically Antioqueño forms of sociability—that is the social groups and “customs, ideas, values, beliefs, and attitudes that mediated between rich and poor” (p. 6)—fostered individual mobility and informed the particular model of “civilized” behavior that became the Antioqueño ideal.

The core of this book is a detailed, exhaustively researched inventory of the activities of the nearly 1,000 religious and civic associations that, through clerical and private initiative, developed in Antioquia between 1850 and 1930. The author determines the timing of their emergence and their geographical distribution (between the capital city and provincial towns and between the province’s central mountainous coffee-producing core and the sparsely populated lowland periphery of frontier and mining areas). The early associations were mainly church-related, including religious communities and lay confraternities; by the early twentieth century, the church became involved in many charitable and educational initiatives including setting up hospitals and public libraries and founding schools for artisans and industrial workers. Education caught on; Antioqueños became the most widely educated Colombians of the early twentieth century, and, as a result, Londoño-Vega argues, a cultural flowering occurred between 1910 and 1930. A plethora of secular organizations emerged (most founded by young men who produced newspapers trumpeting their achievements) including literary, scientific, and professional societies, urban improvement associations, social clubs, temperance societies, and musical academies and bands. Taking off from recent work that explores associational culture and class relations in England and France, this pioneering study of voluntary associations in one important region of Latin America suggests that such organizations helped to forge a civic culture shared by rich and poor based on the values of respectability, morality, practicality, and hard work. This Antioqueño ethos and the practices associated with it facilitated the transition to a specifically Antioqueño modernity that combined industrialization with puritan values, social stability, and relative partisan peace, at least until the 1930s.

The focus on voluntary organizations leads Lon-

doño-Vega to address several related issues. First, she stresses the church’s progressive role. She argues that the Catholic Church became deeply rooted in Antioqueño society only after the 1850s (one of her contributions is carefully to trace how this occurred) and that nuns and priests played a major part in creating the conditions for cultural dynamism after 1910.

Londoño-Vega is also concerned with how widespread participation in voluntary organizations shaped relations among social classes in Antioquia. She contends that the Catholic Church and especially the cultural associations created the terms of “urbanity.” At the same time, most voluntary associations accepted people from all social classes or provided services for them, thereby creating common ground. She presents a picture of Antioqueño society as socially integrated and relatively homogeneous during the period of rapid industrialization and attributes this in large part to the religious, philanthropic, social, and educational groups that created channels of communication among social classes and forged common values.

The argument for social consensus remains a hypothesis, albeit a stimulating one. This is primarily an institutional history of formal associations and clubs established by the Catholic Church or prominent members of society; it does not explore the lived forms of sociability of the popular classes, nor do the author’s sources allow her to get at their attitudes, although clearly the upper classes did reach out paternalistically to the popular groups. The author’s interpretation of Antioqueño society is somewhat idealized: I would like her to have addressed more directly the issues of paternalism, social discipline, and social control that she raises obliquely in her epilogue and that Ann Farnsworth-Alvear explored in her prize-winning study of industrial labor in Antioquia, *Dulcinea in the Factory: Myths, Morals, Men, and Women in Colombia’s Industrial Experiment, 1905–1960* (2000).

Another issue: innovative works by Peter Wade, Mary Roldán, Nancy Appelbaum, and Clara Inés García suggest that regional identity is often formulated in relation to an imagined “other,” and that the negative, racialized cultural distinctions inhabitants of the “civilized” central areas of Colombia drew between themselves and their darker-skinned compatriots on the frontiers may have fueled the violence that wracked Colombia in the 1950s and again today. Many Colombians from the cities and the highlands perceive themselves as moral, civilized, and progressive, and inhabitants of the resource-rich periphery as disordered, threatening, and barbarian. Roldán and Appelbaum point to an arrogant Antioqueño superiority complex and the domineering impulse manifested in central Antioqueño economic expansion into frontier zones as contributing to their particularly violent repression of some black, Indian, and mixed-race people who were perceived as culturally different and morally unworthy. Londoño-Vega’s book provides a useful methodology to map the areas of conformity to Antio-



queño values and those beyond the pale by attending to the unequal distribution of voluntary associations within the province. The areas that were to evolve into the lowland cattle ranching, mining, and banana regions of Antioquia (the foci of violence in the 1950s and today as well) had a weak Catholic Church presence historically and few, if any, cultural, educational, and civic associations in the early twentieth century. If, as Londoño-Vega maintains, participation in these associations socialized people to the Antioqueño ideal and embodied the values of "Antioqueño civilization," then the regional state and elites may have viewed inhabitants of the outlying regions as "the other" who had to be disciplined by force as Antioqueño investors penetrated those areas after 1940.

To conclude, this is a generative book that, through its deep research into associational culture in central Antioquia, opens many questions and suggests new paths for research. Beyond the issues described above, the book also sheds some light on the cultural influence of Europeans both within the Catholic Church and in other cultural domains, changing roles for women within the growing Catholic Church, evolving church-(regional) state relations, and the activities of local intellectuals. It is well worth reading.

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MARGARITA SUÁREZ. *Desafíos transatlánticos: Mercaderes, banqueros y el estado en el Perú virreinal, 1600–1700*. (Sección de Obras de Historia; Publicación del Instituto Riva-Agüero, number 194.) Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, and Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Lima, Perú. 2001. Pp. xiii, 528.

The seventeenth century in Spanish America is perhaps the least studied of the three centuries encompassing the colonial age. A time of decline of imperial Spain, as analyzed by John H. Elliott and Richard L. Kagan, the seventeenth century has been generally regarded as a stagnant and retrogressive phase in the Spanish colonies. Recently, however, authors such as Kenneth J. Andrien and Bernard Lavallé have initiated an overall reinterpretation of the seventeenth century in the Andean region, arguably a key period of growing albeit contorted colonial autonomy and identity-building. Among the important subjects recently reconsidered is the working of credit mechanisms in seventeenth-century Spanish colonial economies with chronic shortage of circulating silver coins. Margarita Suárez's book is a pioneering contribution to the study of the issue. She builds on recent work on colonial credit during the eighteenth century to assert that merchant credit and primitive banks were a key component of the early phase of colonial credit.

Hispanic colonies in the Americas developed a sophisticated credit system in which ecclesiastical institutions, merchants, and state finances intercon-

nected. The use of credit facilitated complex exchanges and investments for building and preserving colonial economies and institutions. After a short introduction on the credit role of Lima convents, Suárez provides abundant empirical information on merchant credit mechanisms, private proto-banks, and commercial activities based on detailed and extensive archival work in Spain, Peru, and Bolivia. Her research in notary records and fiscal accounts is particularly impressive. However, her sources fail to provide a balanced, overall view of the link between credit and the colonial economy beyond the obvious need to oil commercial transactions. Non-specialists would benefit from a more thorough introduction to the main characteristics of the seventeenth-century Peruvian economy. At times, the information on individuals and their detailed transactions overburdens this hefty volume. Suárez perhaps concludes too quickly that merchant credit was at the core of a sort of proto-nationalist elite competing with peninsular agents to reform the colonial trade and the inefficient fleet system. In sum, despite its sterling research and data analysis in useful charts, graphs, and appendixes, the book could have integrated more fully its particular cases with general arguments and conclusions.

Suárez's book is composed of three parts poorly knitted together. The first and the largest section (approximately the first 250 pages) centers on local merchant credit and proto-banking activities and is based on the author's work on banker Juan de la Cueva and his network of agents and debtors. A second section consists of only one chapter (sixty pages) discussing the increasing reliance of state finances on non-state creditors, mainly the merchants and their guild, in exchange for special favors. The third part (eighty pages) addresses the problem of transatlantic trade, in particular the conflicts faced by the Peruvian merchant guild over the weakest link of the fleet system: the isthmian transfer in Panama.

The originality and strength of the book under review are its treatment of the linkage between commerce and commercial credit. Several merchant networks grew on the basis of credit connections at colony-wide and transatlantic levels. Initially proto-banks promised to be helpful aids for these merchant networks. Due to deficient regulatory legislation at the municipal level, appalling abuses by merchant-bankers such as Bernardo Villegas, and the dangerous use of short-term commercial deposits for risky commercial enterprises and loans to the needy state, all seven banks failed between 1593 and 1640, leaving behind intractable legal problems.

Beyond this unique period of commercial proto-banks, peculiar to Peru among all other Spanish colonies, the merchants developed their growing influence over state and trade affairs. But after the year 1640, historians lack data on transactions by merchant bankers. Despite Suárez's effort to provide a century-long narrative on commercial and credit activities, more research on the latter part of the seventeenth

century is still necessary. However, Suárez's book on the subject is the most complete and ambitious contribution so far. Specialists will certainly welcome its original views and helpful information.

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MARINA DE MELLO E SOUZA. *Reis negros no Brasil escravista: História da festa de coroaçao de Rei Congo* [Black Kings in Brazilian Slavery: History of the Coronation Festival of the King of Congo]. (Humanitas, number 71.) Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais: Editora UFMG. 2002. Pp. 387.

The history of the coronation of African kings and queens in Brazilian festivals is the subject of this book by Marina de Mello e Souza. The popular festivals, which typically took place on Kings' Day (January sixth) have long attracted the attention of Brazilian folklorists, observers, and historians, but as the author notes, they were hardly unique to Brazil. The election of a king, his investiture, and subsequent processions, dramas, and dances were part of the experience of slaves in the African diaspora: in the Caribbean, Spanish America, and even the United States. It was in Brazil, however, that the festivals developed most fully. Beginning during the early decades of slavery and remaining an important cultural force until the abolition of Brazilian slavery, some festivals continue even to this day. According to Mello e Souza, these ceremonies reflected both the monopoly of power held by Europeans as well as the ability of Africans to maintain coherence with their origins and to create their own social institutions. Although slaves in Brazil came from many different regions, Bantu peoples from Congo and Angola dominated. The coronation of kings and queens, which recalled events deep in the history of Congo and Angola, served, in Mello e Souza's view, as a means through which Africans constructed an identity for themselves in Brazil.

Rather than simply recreating an African past, Mello e Souza argues that the naming of kings was part of an annual ceremony that dramatized for slaves and free blacks the founding of an African Christian people by their ancestors. Thus the coronations kept alive an oral interpretation of the first contacts between the Congo kingdom and Portugal in the fifteenth century. When the Portuguese made contact with Congo in 1483, Mello e Souza argues that the role of the king in each kingdom influenced the interaction between kingdoms: the kings recognized each other and sent presents and ambassadors. The motivation of the Portuguese king is not hard to discern; he intended to cement trading privileges and to spread Christianity. But the Congo king's motivations are more difficult for modern scholars to comprehend. Mello e Souza follows the work of Wyatt MacGaffey and W. G. L. Randles and suggests that the Congo king perceived the king of Portugal to be a sort of "living god" from

the "other world" across the ocean where the dead, who were conceptualized as "white," lived. The association with those from the other world thus increased his power. With the conversion of the Congo king and many nobles to Christianity, an African Christianity took root in the kingdom of Congo. King Afonso I became a well-known Christian king, and his son, Henrique, became the first African bishop. In the seventeenth century, the Angolan Queen Njinga, at one time baptized as Ana de Sousa and known for her wearing of luxurious clothing obtained from Portuguese merchants, became a symbol of resistance to the Portuguese.

Mello e Souza suggests that the coronation of kings and queens in Brazil symbolized both resistance (Queen Njinga) and accommodation (King Afonso). Throughout the diaspora, in public places, these popular festivals reenacted traditions once performed in the Congo kingdom. The crowning of kings began in Lisbon in the sixteenth century, at around the same time that the first lay brotherhoods (*irmandades*) of Africans, free and enslaved, formed around the devotion to Nossa Senhora do Rosário (Our Lady of the Rosary). In Brazil likewise, the elections of kings usually occurred in the *irmandades*, which tended to select an African slave or freedman of the Congo as king. The ceremony of coronation blended Christian with African traditions, visible in music, dance, and religion. This parallels the fact that in the Congo kings were traditionally elected, and that the investiture of the king was accompanied by music, a procession, drumming, and a Mass in the cathedral.

Mello e Souza's contribution rests in her synthetic portrayal of African kingship, the relations between Portugal and Congo, and the coronation ceremony. Her account of the historical roots to the coronation ceremonies, their common attributes, and their symbolic as well as historical meanings is a welcome addition to the Brazilian historiography on slavery and popular culture.

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FEDERICO FINCHELSTEIN. *Fascismo, liturgia e imaginario: El mito del general Uriburu y la Argentina nacionalista*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 2002. Pp. 159.

The development of right-wing nationalism in Argentina in the 1930s has not lacked studies by historians and others who have looked there for the roots of that nation's more recent right-wing violence. The book under review by Federico Finchelstein is part of this larger effort. In his preface, however, the author makes a major effort to differentiate himself from others who have written on the subject. In an addition to a critique of individual authors, Finchelstein argues that his approach is different because, instead of concentrating on the ideology of the creators of right-wing nationalism, his emphasis is on the far-right's

creation of a myth, in the wake of the coup of 1930, around the figure of General José Félix Uriburu, especially after his death in 1932. No attempt is made to examine who Uriburu was nor the size, scope, or impact of the groups that used his image. Finchelstein does show how numerous right-wing groups between 1932 and 1935 created a series of common myths and iconic images around Uriburu and the Revolution of September 1930.

The book starts with an interesting discussion and critique of the existing literature on the rise of right-wing nationalist groups. The author then moves into an examination of how these movements used the image of Uriburu in the years immediately after his death. He demonstrates that images and myths of Uriburu and the September Revolution became central to their public presentation and a rallying point for diverse organizations. Finchelstein begins with how the Far Right used Catholic imagery to identify Uriburu and the September Revolution with Catholicism. He then shows how Uriburu came to symbolize a break with the past, a good thing for the groups that used his image. He also examines the exaltation of violence and how this was tied to the memory of Uriburu. The author also looks at what essentially were pilgrimages to Uriburu's tomb and other places identified with his memory, including a museum that housed some of his belongings, such as his dress sword. Also discussed are the masculine images of Uriburu presented by the far-right organizations. The nature of the discussion is indicated by the fact that, of the six illustrations included, not one is of Uriburu himself.

Although this short book is informative and interesting, the reader is left wanting more information. If images are so important (and I believe they are), why were not the various right-wing movements, which appear to have shared the use of the image of Uriburu, able to cobble together some type of unified movement? Or are there other factors that need to be considered? The decline of the use of the Uriburu image after 1935 is not sufficiently explained either. It is passed off as the result of tensions in the society created by the Spanish Civil War and then World War II. In succeeding years, however, even those who rejected Argentina's liberal past have not necessarily looked back to Uriburu when they wanted to celebrate a historical figure. Since the use of the image of Uriburu is central to the work, would not some comparison to the use of images of other twentieth-century figures have given readers more of a sense of perspective? Although some comparisons are made to fascist leaders in Europe, none are made to key twentieth-century Argentine leaders, such as Hipólito Yrigoyen or Juan Perón. Both were exalted by their followers in life and their images were used and still are used for political purposes decades after their death. Comparisons would have permitted the author to show how the use of the image of Uriburu differed, if it did, from other attempts to shape the political landscape through the creation of political myths.

Finchelstein has given us an important look at the imagery of the early right-wing nationalists of Argentina. It should help us understand better how groups that failed to unite or even come close to achieving power developed an important ideological legacy that did have a long and tragic impact. Although the book is interesting and informative, its prospective audience is somewhat limited. Since extremely little context is presented, those without a good grasp of Argentine politics in the 1930s will find it extremely tough going. Those who have the background, however, will find it an important addition to the studies of right-wing nationalism in Argentina.

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#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

TIMOTHY S. MILLER. *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 340. \$44.95.

Orphan care and education is a vital theme in the history of any society. Modern debates about nurturing environments (family vs. outsiders, home vs. institution) often influence laws and funding decisions. Timothy S. Miller's new book, a detailed study of orphan care in Christian Constantinople, brings an important historical perspective to this issue. His study is especially welcome for its focus on legal texts, its translations and thoughtful use of many rare sources, and, above all, its careful study of the 1000-year history of the "Great Orphanage" (Orphanotropheion) of Constantinople.

Miller earlier described the Byzantine hospital as a public institution open to all (*The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* [1986]). Byzantine orphan care, however, depended chiefly on guardianship laws, which Miller here explores in light of the tripartite system implied in Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* 15.7.3. War orphans in Constantinople in 1116 were assigned first to local relatives, if they had any; second to monasteries, if they were baptized but had no relatives; and third, boys and girls with neither relatives nor prior education were committed to the Orphanotropheion. This last was no throw-away option: by Anna's day, the Great Orphanage was an impressive center of learning, highly prized for its choir, and under the spiritual direction of the patriarch.

Miller begins by defining Roman guardianship laws, varieties of *tutela* and *curia*, all designed to protect inherited resources that the orphan would need for "successful" adult life, including (for girls) the protection of virtue. Chapter three introduces the Great Orphanage, arguing for a fourth-century Arian origin and outlining its focus on music education, grammar, and Christian doctrine. Chapter four explores continuity and change in guardianship laws and how these changes influenced care. The most notable change was



that permitting women to serve as legal guardians, a radical shift Miller traces to new, stricter laws that effectively discouraged male landowners from guardianship to avoid liens on their own property. Tax and other records suggest family and community practices, especially in rural areas, did not always conform to juristic dictates.

Chapter five considers—more superficially than this reviewer would like—the role of the Byzantine church. Bishops replaced Roman magistrates in appointing guardians and deciding orphans' fate. Monastic orphans were often educated toward clerical roles. Miller briefly mentions the role of widows in religious orphan care; more on this and orphaned girls who became nuns would be welcome in future studies. Chapter five might have been enhanced by discussion of concurrent Byzantine theology and worship. One wonders, for example, how the iconoclastic controversy affected the education of orphans in monasteries and under the eye of the state.

Chapter six briefly considers infant abandonment and adoption. Eunuchs adopted older orphans, and an important witness here is Theophylaktos of Ohrid's eleventh-century treatise arguing that eunuchs protect both widows and orphans. (For more on Theophylaktos, see Margaret Mullet's essay in Shaun Tougher, ed., *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond* [2002], pp. 177–98.) Miller is at his best in chapters seven and eight, an exhaustive and fascinating study of the Great Orphanage: its administration, curriculum, students, teachers, relative "successes," and final demise between 1320 and 1347. His thesis concerning the orphan choir, the music curriculum, and its influence on music in Rome is provocatively and tightly argued.

The final chapters explore the problematic question of "success" (how does one measure a "successful" childhood?) and Byzantine influence on the West. Chapter nine considers the adult outcomes of seventy-seven cases (listed in an appendix) drawn not only from legal documents and court records but also hagiography, papyri, monastic *typikoi*, satire, and letters. While Miller readily admits the problems of generalizing from such a mix, this reviewer found troubling the degree to which (throughout the book) he generalized nonetheless, with distinctions among theory, ideals, and case reports often less than clear. Yet it is to Miller's great credit that he takes on this risk precisely so that readers will have as many rare textual scraps as possible, in hopes that modern child welfare policy might ultimately benefit from these reflected glimpses. Chapter ten invites further study, especially in light of recent data suggesting Byzantine and Islamic influence on orphan care in medieval Jerusalem.

This is an important study that will be welcomed by scholars in Roman and Byzantine history, music, religion, philanthropy, and social welfare policy.

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JAMES ALLAN EVANS. *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 146. \$29.95.

"Not another book on Theodora," one may well sigh. Other Byzantine empresses lack the same appeal, if only because we know so much less about them. In the 1980s, Theodora inspired seven monographs, including Lucia Fischer-Pap's *Eva, Theodora: Evita Peron, Empress Theodora Reincarnated* (1982), and novels like Gillian Bradshaw's *The Bearkeeper's Daughter* (1987) and Michel de Grèce's *Palace of Tears* (1988), not to mention dozens in the preceding decades. But Theodora, consort of the emperor Justinian (r. 527–565), continues to fascinate, even though not much new can be said about her. This readable book of ten chapters covering only 119 pages is compact and focused. Essentially it offers a difference of emphasis reflected in its subtitle. James Allan Evans highlights the particular role Theodora played in the development of imperial policy and the conduct of imperial business, suggesting that she offered a different style of rulership from Justinian (pp. ix, 26). They forged a complementary team based on loyalty and mutual respect. Even so, as Evans concedes, Theodora's power was still "second-hand" (p. 27), as it was totally dependent on the emperor's power. Her story shows how "a slut from the very dregs of society" (p. xi) rose to become the wife of one of the most distinguished of Byzantine emperors and a formidable empress in her own right. For just over two decades, she revelled in the ostentatious lifestyle reflected in the famous mosaic representation of her and her entourage in San Vitale, Ravenna (where Evans detects the gaunt look of a cancer victim [p. 112]). Theodora has not always been fortunate in her authors. In Evans she benefits from someone who for over three decades engaged critically with her and the contemporary sources of information for her life, predominantly Procopius and John of Ephesus.

Inevitably a verdict is required: what does this particular study of Theodora have to offer? How does it rate alongside the others? Is it worth the effort? To answer in reverse order: yes; it surpasses its predecessors by being properly annotated and up to date, but also by being generally more balanced in giving due emphasis to Theodora's religious activities based on a sensible approach to theological differences in the sixth century (p. xii). It is worth the effort because it offers some fresh insights. For instance: an interesting case made for the influence of Alexandria on Theodora's theological preferences (p. 17); a convincing account of the mission to the Nobadae in Upper Egypt (pp. 61–63); fresh arguments for suggesting complicity in the death of the Gothic Queen Amalasuentha in 535 (pp. 65–66). However, the quest to isolate the singular influence of Theodora leads to frequent exaggerations of her role and impact. To suggest that in 536 the Monophysites "came within a hair's breadth of victory" (p. 65) is belied by the *acta* of the Constantinople Synod; the crowd of persecuted monks who sought



refuge at the palace of Hormisdas mainly came to the capital after 536, not earlier (as implied on pp. 70, 74, 78, 82); a preference for the late tradition ascribing to Theodora responsibility for the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Apostles (p. 35) is dubious; that the plague in 541–542 provided her with the opportunity to launch Jacob Baradaeus on his mission to create a monophysite church (pp. 95–97); she was not excommunicated by Pope St. Agapetus I (p. 82), just refused communion. There are other contestable propositions too: that male chauvinism exacerbated criticism of her (p. xi); that Theodora was herself one of the causes of the Nika revolt in 532 (p. 41); that the plague made her a bolder monophysite with a greater sense of independence (pp. 61, 72); that the doubts she sowed in Justinian's mind led years later to his support for the extreme position of "aphthartodocetism" (pp. 24, 65).

Theodora easily fills her space. The question that remains unanswered is how unusual were her power and influence as empress. Evans insists that Theodora's low birth and powerful imperial husband elevate her to a category of "peerless empress" (p. 112), above those who were born into court circles and became the consorts of feeble emperors. Yet his case is weakened by the omission of those who defy this mold, such as Verina, wife of Leo I and the power behind the short-lived regimes of Basiliscus and Leontius, as well as the downplaying of Ariadne, who spent nearly sixty years in the palace as the daughter of one emperor (Leo I) and the spouse of two others (Zeno and Anastasius). Alas, they had no Procopius or John of Ephesus to amplify their stories.

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ANGELIKI E. LAIOU, editor. *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Centuries*. In three volumes. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. 2002. Pp. x, 391; vi, 394–905; 910–1205. \$180.00 the set.

Readers of this mixed review should probably be warned that the reviewer has strongly disagreed with the book's editor-in-chief (a former Director of Dumbarton Oaks) over Harvard University's decision to abolish Dumbarton Oaks' Center for Byzantine Studies under that name and to dissolve its research faculty in 1979. Both measures have, in my view, harmed Byzantine studies in America, despite Dumbarton Oaks' continuing a few highly visible projects, including publishing this three-volume work. Just three of the book's thirty-four collaborators are, to my knowledge, Americans, a proportion that only slightly exaggerates the eclipse of American Byzantinists. In fact, the book gives a broadly accurate picture of the present state of Byzantine economic history, now largely dominated by French and Greek scholars. (The National Bank of Greece is also publishing a Greek edition.)

After a short introduction by Angeliki E. Laiou on the problems of Byzantine economic history and the basic course of Byzantine political history, part one covers "The Natural Environment, Resources, Communications, and Production Techniques." Bernard Geyer's opening chapter on physical phenomena deals well with the difficult questions of erosion and climate and rightly emphasizes the catastrophic effects of the sixth-century and thirteenth-century plagues. Laiou's chapter on human resources gives a fair summary of current demographic estimates, suggests an estimate of her own that I find too high, and correctly remarks that our ignorance of Byzantine life expectancy results from insufficient research rather than inadequate sources. The chapters that follow vary in their success. Anna Avramea's chapter on land and sea communications summarizes much valuable material, but George Makris's chapter on Byzantine ships and Maria K. Papathanassiou's chapter on metallurgy seem too brief and rambling, even for topics that need much more study. Anthony Bryer's chapter on farming tools mostly poses witty questions that are unanswerable without further research. Klaus-Peter Matschke's chapter on mining skillfully summarizes the scanty evidence. Longer chapters by Jean-Pierre Sodini on marble and stoneworking and by Anna Muthesius on the silk industry are the most informative, being based on the most evidence and research.

Part two, "The Sixth Century Background," trying to compensate for the book's starting only with the seventh century, has a long chapter on the sixth-century economy by Cécile Morrisson and Sodini and a short, archeological "case study" on the Anatolian town of Anemourion by James Russell. Morrisson and Sodini seem uncertain as to whether the plague of 541–42 marked a decisive shift from economic expansion to economic contraction (as Laiou and I believe) or whether the evidence, which is often hard to date, reflects a less clear course of development. Russell's archeological data could be read either way.

Part three, "Structures, Organization, and Development of Production," begins with three surveys of agriculture. Jacques Lefort's chapter on the rural economy from the seventh to the twelfth century distills many years of research into a well-documented case for the strong growth and general prosperity of agriculture between the two long periods of recurring plague. Laiou's complementary chapter on the rural economy from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth, also long and detailed, draws on the research of Lefort and others to produce a picture of severe decline, although her reluctance to emulate Lefort in estimating peasant revenues is disappointing. A short but interesting chapter by Pierre Toubert comparing Western and Byzantine agricultural developments finds similarities in crop yields and demography and dissimilarities in the much greater role of the Byzantine state. On the urban economy, Gilbert Dagron's survey of the seventh to twelfth centuries consists largely of a commentary on the *Book of the Eparch*, while Matsch-

ke's continuation on the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries is shorter but more analytic. Charalambos Bouras's chapter on aspects of the city mixes valuable information from archeology with well-justified complaints about its scantiness. Paul Magdalino's brief chapter on Constantinople is mainly descriptive, with little about the city's economic role.

The rest of part three consists of many mostly short chapters. One by Bouras on the building industry stresses again how intractable the problems are. Chapters by Anthony Cutler on the art industry, the late Nicolas Oikonomides on books, Véronique François and Jean-Michel Spieser on pottery and glass, and Christopher Entwhistle on weights divide the evidence in ways that make trade or levels of prosperity almost impossible to trace, although Cutler and François and Spieser hint at what could be done. The economic evidence is similarly fragmented in nine brief chapters on archeological sites: by Clive Foss and Jane Ayer Scott on Ephesus, Klaus Rheidt on Pergamum, Aspasia Louvi-Kizi on Thebes, Maria Kazanaki-Lappa on Athens, G. D. R. Sanders on Corinth and Vasso Penna on coin finds at Corinth, Anne Bortoli and Michel Kazanski on Cherson and the Crimea, Ivan Jordanov on Preslav, and Konstantin Dochev on Tŭrnovo. Strangely, the important new site of Amorium is omitted.

Part four, "Exchange, Trade, and Markets," begins with chapters by Laiou on theories of exchange and on trade from the seventh to the twelfth century. While arguing plausibly for the persistence of monetary trade, she mostly ignores Michael Hendy's careful case that the state minted coins only for its own needs and that trade was usually insignificant in comparison to agriculture (see his *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300-1450* [1985]). Matschke's chapter on trade from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, which draws on more abundant sources, implies that trade only surpassed agriculture in the later fourteenth century, when the empire had lost almost all its land. John Day's chapter on the Levant trade makes the important point that Western Europe always imported more from the East than it exported but unfortunately says little about the consequences for Byzantium. While Morrisson and Jean-Claude Cheynet present their chapter on prices and wages as a work in progress, for the present it is an invaluable resource. Haris Kalligas's chapter on Monemvasia would seem to belong with the other chapters on sites. Frederick van Doorninck's chapter on the understudied subject of Byzantine shipwrecks is too short and badly needs a table and a map.

Part five, "Economic Institutions and the State," opens with two long chapters by Morrisson on coinage and by Oikonomides on the economic role of the state, plus a note by Day emphasizing that in the West the state's role was much smaller. Here major disagreements appear among the contributors, as Morrisson rejects Laiou's suggestion that bronze coins of ca. 668-820 are rare because they were withdrawn later

(c.f. pp. 956 and 712), while Oikonomides insists on the impossibility of estimates of the state budget of the sort Morrisson makes (c.f. pp. 1016 and 941). (On both counts Morrisson seems obviously right.) Major developments go unexplained, such as the scarcity of coinage from the seventh to the ninth century and the simultaneous prevalence of *kommerkiarioi*, who according to Oikonomides only taxed trade, though it must then have been minimal. (Hendy's and my explanation is low military pay ca. 660-840, when the *kommerkiarioi* helped supply the troops; see Hendy's *Studies* and my *Byzantium and Its Army, 284-1081* [1995], the latter never cited here.) Oikonomides's ideas that most land taxation was in kind from late antiquity until 769 (pp. 980-81) and that the soldiers of the themes probably received no regular pay (p. 1013) appear baseless and bizarre. This part concludes with five fairly technical chapters on legal matters: Eleutheria Papagianni on the state's efforts to curb the growth of church property, on the unsolved problems related to rights to buy property, and on the laws forbidding aristocrats to engage in trade, Demetrios Gofas on the law of interest, and Olga Maridaki-Karatza on commercial loans and partnerships.

Part six, "General Traits of the Byzantine Economy," consisting of two chapters by Laiou, forms a conclusion to the book. The first chapter surveys Byzantine economic theories of self-sufficiency, just prices, and just profits, and the second is a valiant attempt to pull together the many loose ends of previous chapters. It includes a speculative but interesting calculation that in the twelfth century the state took twenty-one percent of the empire's total product and derived eighty-one percent of its revenue from agriculture, and a plausible case that the state was usually a positive factor in the Byzantine economy.

Although the book now becomes by default the standard treatment of its underdeveloped subject, it mostly summarizes rather than advances current knowledge. It reads like a publication of papers from a congress that was never held, presenting (to generalize Bouras's description of work done on Byzantine cities) "research carried out unsystematically and on the basis of personal preference and chance" (p. 498). Hendy, the only truly systematic historian of the Byzantine economy, is absent, and his findings are adapted or ignored with little regard for his comprehensive vision. Most chapters lack conclusions, and some lack bibliographies. The indexes and even the table of contents are not detailed enough to be very useful. Yet overall, not much more could be expected (at least without including Hendy) of scholars working apart from each other. More progress, in this as in much of the rest of Byzantine studies, probably requires either a research institute with a faculty or a senior professor with several graduate students. Today America has neither.

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SIMON FRANKLIN. *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950–1300*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 325. \$65.00.

Simon Franklin is well-known for his numerous contributions to the study of Kievan Rus, including articles, translations (*Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'* [1991]), and co-authorship with Jonathan Shepard, of *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200* (1996). In his first monograph, Franklin analyzes the social and cultural dynamics of the adoption of writing among the early East Slavs. This excellent book goes well beyond the scattered discussions of its themes in the textbook and aptly summarizes the more detailed treatment in articles.

In the introduction, Franklin situates his research within the ongoing debate between the technocentric and anthropocentric approaches to technological change. Franklin emphasizes that his focus is not just about literature, but about writing, a far wider scope. Therefore he mobilizes data in a multidisciplinary fashion not just from parchment "literature" but also from art, architecture, and archeology.

Part one, "The Graphic Environment," presents the evidence itself, laying the foundation for part two, "Functions and Perceptions of Writing." The former includes a survey of the different languages and scripts found in Rus: Glagolitic and Cyrillic script of Slavonic, Greek (which enjoyed a brief vogue in the middle of the eleventh century), Latin, Hebrew, and runes. The latter contains thematic discussions of writing and social organization (various "textual communities"), writing and learning (attitude toward translation and the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage), writing and pictures (writing and pictures appear together only in a Christian context), and writing and magic (Rus imported even Christian magic). This organization necessitates a certain amount of repetition but on the whole pays significant dividends. An afterword adumbrates Franklin's conclusions with excessively modest disclaimers.

In grossly oversimplified terms, Franklin demonstrates that the interplay of technology and society shaped technological change. The Rus imported the Byzantine Church's institutionalization of writing but did not engage in philosophy or higher education even to the degree of Bulgaria, let alone Byzantium. The Rus did not imitate the Byzantine bureaucratic state structure's dependence on writing. Writing took hold when dealing with foreigners already accustomed to writing, such as foreign commercial partners, or internally at social or cultural boundaries where its introduction did not alter existing modes of behavior. In the church, writing spread top-down, but activity writing, evidenced in birch-bark correspondence, proliferated bottom-up. No single attitude toward writing could encompass both sacred writ and everyday business; therefore, writing itself did not acquire privileged status, nor did scribes come to the fore as a professional category. Chronologically, the middle of the eleventh century marks a significant upswing in the use

of writing in Rus, and the middle or the end of the thirteenth century the beginnings of the development of an administrative scribal culture. Technology could not automatically overcome tradition and custom.

The quality of thought that Franklin brings to bear on the topic of writing is matched by the quality of the writing with which he expresses himself. Illuminating classifications and categories structure his arguments: primary, secondary and tertiary writing; normative vs. contingent writing; ephemeral vs. formal administrative writing. Franklin's prose is replete with epigrams, aphorisms, and a sparkling wit (although he has a notable affection for phrasing questions with question marks). Each chapter abounds in penetrating insights, critical observations, and sound judgments about data, concepts, and bibliography. Franklin imaginatively walks the reader through an Orthodox church treated as a "multi-media graphic environment." Fourteen black-and-white illustrations and one map are fully integrated into the exposition. Franklin also employs a comparative framework of recent literacy studies. Thus, he adduces enlightening analogies ranging from Egyptian papyri to Roman Britain's Vindolanda wooden tablets.

This book is rich in significance for studies of later Muscovy. Franklin brings out contrasts between Kievan Rus and Muscovy, ranging from administrative practices to specialized omen-books for divination, but his conceptual and methodological approaches are also applicable. The most intriguing is his foray into the thorny linguistic question of the relationship of Eastern Slavic and Church Slavonic, which Franklin argues should be determined not linguistically but by the perception of those who read and wrote them. He prefers categorizing Eastern Slavic and Church Slavonic as registers, not as separate languages, which sounds quite fruitful for understanding sixteenth-century Muscovite language usage. This book is an outstanding contribution to early East Slavic history.

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CHARLES M. RADDING and FRANCIS NEWTON. *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 197. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$18.50.

This is a very clever book, an exciting detective story based on acute paleographic and political analysis. The late paleographer, Leonard Boyle, who had the same talents, would have loved it. Much has been written about Berengar of Tours and the eucharistic controversy, but Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton have discovered something new: a key treatise that they argue affected the whole movement of ecclesiastical reform.

The authors also see the eucharistic controversy as a seminal episode in the process by which an intellectual



and scholarly community took shape. The old view held that intellectual activity in northern France in the eleventh century was of a high quality and that it concentrated on the liberal arts. The authors contend that, on the contrary, the instruction of the masters was not particularly sophisticated, and that Berengar, one of the first of them, was more versed in patristics and scripture than in the trivium.

The issues concerning the eucharist go back to the ninth century, but were vigorously revived thirty years prior to the Roman All Saints Council of 1078 and the Lenten Council of 1079. All councils condemned Berengar, but the authors concentrate on these last two. Alberic, Montecassino's most famous scholar, wrote a treatise that played an important role leading to the capitulation of Berengar on the third day of the council of 1079. The authors have discovered this lost treatise embedded in a well-known manuscript entitled the Aberdeen Libellus against Berengar of Tours. They make their case exceedingly well.

A subtle theologian, Berengar was contemptuous of his many critics, including Lanfranc, eventually archbishop of Canterbury. The dispute centered around what happened to the bread and wine when they were consecrated by the priest in the eucharistic ceremony. Berengar's views defy easy description, and the authors are careful to present his citations as well as those of Alberic in English and Latin in the text. Essentially, Berengar believed that the bread and the wine remained in some form after the consecration. His opponents maintained that through consecration the bread and the wine were converted in substance into the Lord's body and blood. Berengar agreed to general positions held by his opponents but refused to accept the change of the bread and the wine *substantialiter*. In his treatise, Alberic passes over how or by what the bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ. What mattered to him was not what one sees but what one understands. Consuming the bread and wine without belief or faith is meaningless, or worse.

The authors explain the political significance of these distinctions. They contend that it was not fortuitous that Alberic was a monk from Montecassino, the spiritual armory of the reform papacy, or that he dedicated his treatise to its abbot, Desiderius. Gregory VII depended on the support of Montecassino, but he also desired *concordia* and wanted to maintain papal control of an issue of this kind. His strategy seems to have been to smother debate by requiring that Berengar take a general oath that sidestepped the issue of whether the substance of the bread survived the consecration. But when the bishop of Constance, supporting Henry IV, and the bishop of Pisa, supporting Gregory, united to attack Berengar, Gregory realized that he could not appear to be neutral. Desiderius and Petrus Neapolitanus, a monk from Montecassino, informed Berengar that the pope had ordered him to desist from public discussion and cease claiming that he shared the pope's views.

This politicization of the theological dispute and Montecassino's effort to protect Gregory VII from charges of being soft on Berengarianism form the background to Alberic's pivotal role in the council of 1079. The investiture struggle was at its peak, and the council drew partisans from both sides. Berengar was forced to prostrate himself, to confess that he had erred, and to swear a prescribed oath. Gregory then ordered him not to discuss the eucharist except to bring those whom he had led astray back to the fold.

My summary only scratches the surface of this rich volume, but here are a couple of observations. In "The Papacy and the Berengarian Controversy," H. E. J. Cowdrey suggests that Gregory became much more critical of Berengar between the two councils because he was seen as a threat to man's salvation (*Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, ed. Peter Ganz, R. B. C. Huygens, and Friedrich Niewöhner [1990]). As compared with Radding and Newton's political explanation, Cowdrey's is theological. Secondly, Gregory VII had the insight to see the profound implications of the eucharistic dispute. By contrast, Calixtus II left the trinitarian dispute of Abelard in the hands of his legate, Cuno of Praeneste, who, Abelard scoffed, was not quite up to the task.

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ROSS BRANN. *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 194. \$39.50.

Scholars hoping to reconstruct the social and political history of the Jews of Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries have had to work with a difficult, although fascinating, body of Arabic and Hebrew literary sources produced by Muslim and Jewish writers. Because of the richness and variety of this literature, which has allowed scholars to pick and choose according to particular interest or ideological bent, divergent interpretations of the Jews' situation have arisen. Some, focusing on Hebrew poetry and Jewish achievement in the religious and secular sciences, have portrayed the period as a utopian Jewish "golden age"; others, emphasizing the anti-Jewish remarks of Muslim polemicists and the legal restrictions on *dhimmīs* (protected minorities), have depicted the Jews as degraded and oppressed. In this book, Ross Brann does not seek to support either viewpoint, nor does he attempt to glean from the literary texts the social and political facts of Jewish life. Rather, he explores how elite Muslims and Jews imagined and represented one another in their texts. His textual analyses "emphasize the construction of social meaning and the reciprocal way in which texts both reflect and shape" social attitudes (p. 9). Brann negotiates the boundary between literary and historical studies with



considerable finesse and graceful erudition. From his readings of the texts two key concepts repeatedly emerge: the “ambivalence” with which Muslims and Jews viewed each other, and the “ambiguity” of the Jews’ position. For historians keen to grasp the realities of Muslim-Jewish interaction and of the Jews’ circumstances, these concepts are as useful and as accurate as any.

The first three chapters of the book treat Muslim representations of the remarkable Jewish figure Samuel ha-Nagid, or Ismācīl ibn Nagrīla (d. 1055–1056). Rabbinic scholar and Hebrew poet, Samuel rose in the service of the Zirid rulers of the amirate of Granada to occupy a position of great power. Brann is careful to inform the reader that Samuel thrived in a period of Muslim crisis: after the fragmentation of the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba into numerous “party-kingdoms,” which increasingly felt pressure from the Christian realms in the north. For Muslim pietists, Samuel’s exercise of power was a sign and a cause of Muslim weakness and failure. Through their textual representations of Samuel and other Jews, Muslim writers expressed their anxiety about the current state of Andalusī Islam. Still, their views of Jews were by no means uniformly hostile. Brann demonstrates how the textual construction of the Jew varied in accordance with the Muslim writer’s personality and purpose and literary genre. Šāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 1070), for example, described Samuel, in his universal history of science and culture, as the Zirids’ chief administrator who, as an upright Jew, was keen to defend and implement Jewish law. Yet, as Brann explains, this seemingly matter-of-fact portrait of Samuel functioned as an ironic commentary on the shortcomings of Andalusī Muslim rulers and their use of *dhimmī* officials. By casting Samuel in the image of a just Muslim ruler, who was supposed to uphold Islamic law, Šāʿid obliquely criticized the “party-kings” who violated Islamic law by according Jews like Samuel authority over Muslims. A different case is the last Zirid *amīr*, ‘Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn, who composed a history of his dynasty, the *Tibyān*, in exile. Intent on defending his family’s record, ‘Abd Allāh had to deal with the uncomfortable fact of his grandfather Bādīs’s heavy reliance on Samuel’s services. He therefore asserted, contrary to other accounts, that Samuel did not exceed the limits Islamic law placed on the *dhimmīs*’ exercise of power. ‘Abd Allāh vented his anxieties on this score in his description of Samuel’s son and successor in office, Joseph. Joseph appears as a conniving, subversive figure whose excesses damaged the Zirids and sparked the anti-Jewish violence of the Muslim mob in Granada in 1066. The contrasting portraits of Samuel and Joseph in the *Tibyān* highlight Muslim ambivalence and disquiet in regard to Jews and their place in state and society.

There was far less ambivalence in the work of the great Muslim scholar ‘Alī ibn Ḥazm, who was personally acquainted with Samuel and other Jewish intellectuals. One cannot briefly do justice to Brann’s fine,

contextualized analysis of Ibn Ḥazm’s views. In his explication of Ibn Ḥazm’s work of religious polemic, *Al-Fiṣal*, Brann shows how the author essentialized Jews as deceitful and heretical, whose very closeness to Muslims enabled them to influence Muslims adversely, causing Muslim heresy and political insubordination. Samuel appears in *Al-Fiṣal* as an easily vanquished interlocutor in a religious debate. He is likely the unnamed Jew, and alleged author of an anti-Quranic treatise, whom Ibn Ḥazm vehemently attacks in another work, *The Refutation*. This text was a vehicle for Ibn Ḥazm’s castigation of Samuel and of the Muslim rulers who employed him and other insolent Jews.

One of the strengths of Brann’s work is his outlining of a textual history of Muslim reflections on the problem of Jewish proximity, influence, and power. He shows how writers like Ibn Ḥazm or Ibn Bassām, a twelfth-century author who demonized Samuel, drew on a long-established body of anti-Jewish material for their purposes. Their treatments of Samuel and the events of 1066 in turn became part of the “classical paradigm” (p. 108) that North African Muslim writers would utilize when they grew distressed about the ills of the Muslim state and the role of Jews in it.

While Andalusī and North African Muslims developed conventions for the representation of Jews in their texts, Andalusī Jewish writers did not with respect to their Muslim counterparts. In fact, as Brann explains in the last two chapters, Jews rarely portrayed Muslims in their texts. This was in part the result of the Jews’ ambiguous position in al-Andalus: on the one hand, conversant with and admirers of Arabo-Islamic culture and close to the centers of Muslim power, and, on the other, acutely aware of their social and political inferiority. Some Jewish writers, like Moses ibn ‘Ezra and Judah Halevi, penned fantasies of Jews besting Muslim intellectuals, but their descriptions of the latter are muted and respectful, a far cry from the tone of Ibn Ḥazm. In poetry describing his triumph over his Muslim foes, Samuel ha-Nagid significantly moderated the depiction of the conflict as a religious struggle between Jews and Muslims by emphasizing the Muslims’ ethnic identities. Finally, Brann explicates a tale from Judah al-Ḥarizi’s *Tahkemoni* in which the Jewish protagonists are represented as degraded and powerless victims, silenced by the Muslim authorities. Jewish writers recognized that their cultural achievements and occasional role in government did not change the fact of Muslim hegemony; often the most reasonable response to the Muslims was avoidance or silence.

Brann’s subtle and challenging treatment of these Muslim and Jewish texts demonstrates the dangers in drawing hasty conclusions from them about social reality while contributing significantly to our understanding of how Muslim and Jewish textual constructions of the “other” grew out of particular sociopolitical contexts.

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MARTA VANLANDINGHAM. *Transforming the State: King, Court and Political Culture in the Realms of Aragon (1213–1387)*. (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500, number 43.) Boston: Brill. 2002. Pp. xv, 249.

For scholars of eastern Spanish history, this book will prove essential to the study of evolving curial, notarial, and fiscal institutions in the medieval Crown of Aragon, while providing an evocative recreation of a documentary landscape tantalizingly familiar to any investigator who has labored in the region's paramount archive, the Arxiu de la corona d'Aragó, in Barcelona. Linking her own research on the household of Pere II of Aragon (1276–1285) with the classic studies of Robert Ignatius Burns, Jesús Lalinde Abadía, Bonifacio Palacios Martín, Ferran Soldevila, Josep Trenchs i odena, and Helene Wieruszowski, Marta VanLandingham has produced an extremely well-written and organized study that is clearly intended for the specialist but is also accessible to a general reading audience. Eschewing some of the more radical Foucauldian views of state development, VanLandingham adheres to the more predictable but workable concept that medieval government essentially arose within the parameters of the royal court. Researchers of such developments in eastern Spain are blessed at least as much as their fellows in English medieval studies by the great surfeit of primary sources at their disposal. The most important of these for VanLandingham's work are the *Leges Palatinae* of Jaume III of Majorca (1324–1343) and the *Ordenacions de cort* of Pere III of Aragon (1336–1387).

Using these curial ordinances, Dr. VanLandingham carefully dissects the various aspects of courtly administration and thoroughly traces the evolving institutional path blazed by royal officials. Although dependent on the crown for their employment, these men slowly formed a free-standing bureaucratic existence for their offices that allowed these to be passed down through generations. VanLandingham has studied in detail the office of chancellor to better delineate the mechanisms of the chancery itself. She has done much the same for the exchequer with a detailed study of the treasurer and "master of accounts" (*maestre racional*). Some of the most entertaining sections of the book focus on the management of the households of the Aragonese king, queen, and princes. Based on an impeccable assessment of primary records of all sorts, this treatment provides the reader with fleeting glimpses of a curial life marked by gorgeous public display and the exigencies of all-but-constant travel.

This book leaves a reviewer wanting very little, but a few points of criticism must be noted. VanLandingham's treatment of the royal court in the Crown of Aragon could be greatly improved by a fuller discussion of its cultural and intellectual impact on the region it ruled. A good starting point for such a review would be the classic works of Antonio Rubió i Lluch on eastern Spain's emerging court culture in the later

Middle Ages. The appendixes at the end of the book (which consist of English translations of curial ordinances dating from 1276 to 1308) would be greatly improved by the addition of the original Latin or Catalan texts. Despite these minor shortcomings, this work stands as a very important contribution to the study of kingship and government not only for the medieval Crown of Aragon but for all of Europe in the Middle Ages.

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COLMÁN N. Ó CLABAIGH, O.S.B. *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400–1534: From Reform to Reformation*. (Maynooth Historical Studies.) Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2002. Pp. 208. \$50.00.

The Franciscans in Ireland have a long and rich history. This study by Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh, O.S.B., adds greatly to our understanding of the Franciscans in late medieval Ireland. There are few contemporary sources available to the scholar; what we know of the friars and their life during that period comes from references in the Irish annals, Irish church and legal documents, and papal registers rather than from Franciscan chronicles. One of the most important sources used in this work is E. B. Fitzmaurice and A. G. Little, editors, *Material for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland, A.D. 1230–1450* (1920). Ó Clabaigh makes excellent use of the available material to present a picture of Franciscan life in Ireland during the late Middle Ages.

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, there was a remarkable expansion of the Franciscan movement in Ireland. When the friars first arrived in Ireland, in the thirteenth century, they settled mainly in the towns and cities of the Anglo-Irish colony. The later expansion was largely into Gaelic Ireland. Many houses were founded by the Observant branch of the order. These friars, unlike their earlier brethren, were enthusiastic promoters of the Franciscan Third Order. From the ranks of the lay tertiaries there emerged groups who chose to live in religious communities. These Third Order friaries became a defining feature of the late medieval Gaelic church. Between 1426 and 1539 approximately forty-nine houses of regular tertiaries were established in the west and north of the island. While the Franciscan friars focused on preaching tours and the hearing of confessions, activities that frequently brought them into conflict with the secular clergy, the tertiaries were principally engaged in assisting the local clergy in their pastoral duties, and in conducting schools for the education of boys in the district.

Using sources that are still available, Ó Clabaigh looks at the expansion of the order, an expansion that would not have been possible without the support of generous benefactors. For example, the principal patrons of the Observant friary in Adare in 1446 were the earl of Kildare, Thomas Fitzgerald, and his wife Jo-

hanna. The records show that they were responsible for building the church and a quarter of the cloister, as well as glazing the church windows, providing a bell and two silver chalices. In 1474, when the Observant friars, gathered in provincial chapter, declined the request of Nuala O'Connor, mother of Aodh Rua O'Donnell, to found a house in Donegal, she so harangued them that the newly elected vicar provincial and others resigned their offices to go with her. Donegal was to become one of the most famous and influential of the friars' houses.

This book also gives us insight into the lifestyle of the friars at that time. It discusses liturgy and spirituality, the observance of poverty, and the friars and learning. The upsurge of interest in St. Francis and other Franciscan saints in late medieval Ireland is an interesting aspect of the fifteenth-century revival, corresponding with the emergence of the Observant movement in the Irish Province. The friars took their vow of poverty seriously. Ó Clabaigh shows that one of the first things the Observants did on taking over a Coventual Franciscan house was to divest themselves of any lands or rents that guaranteed a fixed income. The friars in Donegal refused to allow Hugh O'Donnell to support the community at a time when it was difficult for them to beg alms from the people.

A chapter is devoted to the pastoral role of the friars. In addition to preaching in their own churches, the friars traveled in pairs on preaching tours, especially during the season of Lent. The Irish annals record the names of friars famous as preachers in their day. This book also introduces us to a renowned preacher, Eoghan O'Duffy, who had his own particular style. He sometimes spoke for three hours and never looked at the faces of the people while he preached. In conclusion, he recited elegant verses in the Irish language that contained the pith of his sermon.

The Franciscan Order was one of the most influential forces in medieval Irish church and society. Ó Clabaigh's scholarly work provides valuable insight into its second flowering, which took place in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

GEORGES LIVET. *Histoire des routes et des transports en Europe: Des chemins de Saint-Jacques à l'âge d'or des diligences*. Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg. 2003. Pp. 608. €38.00.

The subject of this book is the construction of roads in Great Britain and throughout the European continent: extensive national highways, local secondary roads, and, eventually, a network of roads linking the entire continent. Georges Livet reminds the reader that roads are not merely settings for the movement of people or merchandise but are themselves a valid

object of research and analysis. The road, he writes, "has its own history" (p. 11). What the history of roads demonstrates is that the interaction of several factors—commercial needs, political and state power, and culture—determine their form and function. In turn, and this is an important part of Livet's thesis, roads, once established, have their own effect on the political, economic, and cultural history of Europe. The shape and trajectory of European roads, moreover, has changed from one historical period to another, and Livet charts developments from the Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century, taking into account elements of both continuity and transformation. This ambitious project relies largely on a plethora of secondary sources and aims at a synthesis of the existing literature—and conferences—that deal not only with roads but with the related topics of time, space, and transport facilities. While the primary focus is on land routes, Livet also integrates the use of water routes into his discussion.

Livet's explicit model for his book is the work of Bernard Lepetit on roads and cities. In 1984, Lepetit published *Chemin de terre et voies d'eau: Réseaux de transports; Organisation de l'espace*. Three years later, Lepetit, along with Guy Arbellot and Jacques Bertrand, published *Atlas de la Révolution française: Routes et communications* (1987). In the first book, Lepetit chronicles the role of roads in determining the structure of space in France from 1740 to 1840. Among the subjects he covers are the distribution and density of roads, their condition, and the network of interurban relations predicated on roads. In the *Atlas de la Révolution française*, Lepetit and his colleagues present—in the form of graphs, charts, and statistics—the state of French routes, both land and water, in the late eighteenth century. They discuss such matters as the financing of road construction, postal routes, the general state of navigable waterways, and the different types of vehicles that traversed Paris and the rest of France. Livet writes that he would like to do for all Europe what Lepetit and his colleagues did for France (pp. 11, 13). On the whole, he succeeds, albeit with a significant shortcoming.

Livet organizes the huge volume of material that is the subject of his book according to a standard periodization of European history: following a few insights on the Roman period, he concentrates, ad seriatim, on the construction of roads during the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. He investigates European national developments with respect to land routes within each era. Although his stated aim is a complete survey of road building in Europe, he devotes the greatest part of his analysis to Great Britain, France, the German lands, and Russia, while also covering the Balkans as well as northern Europe. Thus we learn that the Romans used their roads to advance the reach and power of the empire. The people of the Middle Ages had different needs. They constructed roads to meet the requirements of newly formed cities and monas-



teries, as well as the growing commerce at this time. New routes were created during the Renaissance to accommodate an important demographic expansion, the increased mobility of people, the growth of commercial exchanges, and their shift from the Mediterranean toward the Atlantic. The most important development in the history of roads during the seventeenth century was the increased participation of the state in road building. It was a time, too, of the emergence of an urban culture: Livet observes, for example, that at a time when the linguistic unity of Europe was disappearing and nationalism was on the rise, the construction and expansion of new roads were important elements promoting European unity as well as disseminating information and cultural production.

Developments in the second half of the eighteenth century establish a foundation for a radical transformation of road construction and transportation facilities that would occur during the following century. Among these are a rise in the importance and number of urban agglomerations; a significant growth in the European population; the beginning of an industrial revolution in England; the increased importance of engineers as agents of road planning and construction; technological improvements in road paving; and the emergence of national land and water routes as expressions of state power, as in Roman times. The eighteenth century also witnessed a cultural transformation of sorts in which an increasing number of people wished to travel, and guide books became increasingly important and plentiful.

It was during the nineteenth century, however, that Europe, led by England and France, experienced a profound revolution in road and waterway travel and transport facilities. This consisted of the application of mechanical power to the means of transportation in the form of a steam-driven railroad, which came to replace horse-drawn vehicles, and also the advent of steam ships. The railroad especially created new conditions in European life: "it tended to modify, by its very existence, the connections between people and the activity of cities and the countryside" (p. 66). One early consequence was the rise in the power of urban centers affected by rail travel and the related depopulation of the countryside. The railroad also facilitated national and international contacts, and rail travel attracted the general populace, capitalists, and the state.

While Livet's book is important and useful, it does have a major deficiency. Livet's comprehensive treatment of roads and transportation over a broad time period and different national spaces results in a certain superficiality when dealing with any one state at any one particular time. To take one example, that of railway building, François Caron has shown that the Saint-Simonian writings played a critical role in the emergence of a powerful lobby of intellectuals, engineers, and capitalists favoring rail transportation (François Caron, *Histoire des chemins de fer en France* [1997]). Livet acknowledges the influential role Saint-

Simonians played in the eventual construction of a railway network in France with no real explanation of what this means. Specialists in national histories other than France will undoubtedly find similar gaps in the text. The value of Livet's book, however, lies precisely in its encyclopedic coverage of the history of roads and public transport. As such, it is an important reference and guide to further more specialized research.

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MORDECHAI FEINGOLD, editor. *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*. (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 483. \$50.00.

About twenty-five years ago, historians of science who were not Jesuits discovered that the Society of Jesus contributed more to the Scientific Revolution than opposition to Galileo Galilei. The book under review (together with its companion volume, also edited by Mordechai Feingold, *The New Science and Jesuit Science: Seventeenth Century Perspectives* [2003]) is a showcase and, with its rich citations to the literature, also an inventory of the current state of scholarship. Although several of Feingold's contributors claim a novelty for their subjects that overlooks the pioneering work of Jesuit savants like François de Dainville and the coverage of the *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu* (whose first number, published in 1932, carried an article on the mathematician Angelo Secchi, S.J.), the interest and breadth of their essays mitigates their sin.

In addition to a long article by the editor, the book contains articles on the academy of mathematics at the Roman College by Ugo Baldini; Galileo's Jesuit connections (William Wallace); seventeenth-century Jesuit versions of Aristotelian cosmology (Edward Grant); René Descartes and the Jesuits (Roger Ariew); G. B. Riccioli (Alfredo Dinis); Athanasius Kircher and his museum (Paula Findlen); external patronage of Jesuit publishing (Martha Baldwin); Jesuit teaching of science in early modern Spain (Victor Navarro) and in the Spanish Netherlands (G. H. W. Vanpaemel); and Jesuit collaboration in the *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, a journal that ran from 1750 to 1758 (Brendan Dooley). The articles by Feingold and Findlen raise the largest questions.

Feingold complains that ill-informed people have interpreted unfairly the "inability [of Jesuit scientists] to measure up to the likes of Galileo, Descartes, or Newton . . . as something akin to moral failure" (p. 5). Do not blame the scientists for the shortfall, says Feingold, but the Jesuit hierarchy. "Young Jesuits desperate to secure opportunities to devote themselves to scientific studies" were thwarted by their superiors (p. 12). That judgment, too, is unfair.

In his sympathy for Jesuit savants, Feingold loses sight of the cardinal fact that they were priests who chose to join a particularly authoritarian company.



Writing originally on mathematics and natural philosophy, and thereby risking the society's reputation for sound learning, had a far lower priority among them than missionary work, teaching, and cultivating ties with influential people. They condoned and sometimes supported scholarly work if in service to teaching, but not if in service to self and science. The Jesuits had more schools and students and professors than the rest of Catholic Europe put together; they trained many who led the Scientific Revolution; but while they could educate a Descartes, none of them could be one.

Feingold knits together his many examples of Jesuits who contributed a fact or theorem or textbook with a concept that further obscures the corporate mission of the old Society of Jesus. It is "practitioner," sometimes "Jesuit practitioner," the practice being mathematics or natural philosophy. The term had currency during the Scientific Revolution in the form of "mathematical practitioner," which designated an Englishman who was to mathematics what a barber-surgeon was to medicine. As appears from the definitions and examples in E. G. R. Taylor's *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (1954), these men taught navigation, business mathematics, and surveying, made mathematical instruments, and wrote textbooks for money; they were tradesmen, not savants.

Jesuits occasionally played the part of mathematical practitioners, for example, in designing instruments, but they did so typically within their teaching function. Such performances qualified them as mathematical practitioners as little as grinding telescope lenses made Isaac Newton an artisan. Rather, from around 1600 the mathematicians at the Jesuits' main teaching establishment, the Roman College, sought to upgrade the status of the subject so as to bear on philosophy; they did not regard themselves as practitioners but as teachers and synthesizers who might chance to make a discovery.

This was the view and program of Christopher Clavius, the founder of a "mathematical academy" at the Roman College for Jesuits with an aptitude for mathematics. Baldini's judicious and well documented article places this academy, which ended its formal existence shortly after Clavius's death in 1612, within the framework of Jesuit purpose and policy. He stresses the importance of its library, its graduates, and its contributions to the formation of missionaries to China—that is, its pedagogical work.

If "practitioner" fails to indicate the epistemological status of mathematics claimed by Jesuits who were mathematicians, it misleads even more when applied to Jesuits who were natural philosophers. People who inquired into the natural world did not "practice" anything; they were savants, not dentists. From the notion of practitioners of natural philosophy it is an easy step to another inapt anachronism: "scientific community." "Few practitioners," Feingold writes, "considered the unequivocal commitment to a 'modern' world view to be a *sine qua non* for inclusion in the scientific community" (p. 36). Here "practitioner" is a

stand-in for "scientist," which historians of science recognize as an anachronism when applied to the seventeenth century. Something important is at stake. Thomas Kuhn employs "practitioner" in his *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) to paper over cracks in his claim that one model of change in natural knowledge fits all times.

Athanasius Kircher combined many qualities prized by the Jesuits in a form at odds with their doctrine that the society should stay close to established and reputable knowledge. A teacher of mathematics and natural philosophy at the Roman College, Kircher knew several oriental languages and was thought to possess the secret of Egyptian hieroglyphics. He invented instruments; did experiments; designed and performed natural magic; recovered the blueprints of Noah's ark; described the lives of people who lived beneath the surface of the earth; ascended, perhaps only in imagination, through the heavens to view the motions of the planets; published large lavish volumes on all respectable knowledge; and formed a "museum," housed in the Roman College, that contained artifacts and natural curiosities illustrative of his wide interests. At the threshold of the museum, two Egyptian obelisks welcomed visitors, among whom figured the great Catholic catch Christina, the formerly Lutheran former Queen of Sweden.

Findlen builds these shafts, collections, and visitors into a structure as impressive and as implausible as Kircher's Noachian architecture. "The museum was a theater that captured all drama of baroque Rome, and Kircher was the director who cast Christina as his heroine and [her friend Pope] Alexander VII as the hero of the play" (p. 238). They were the "living embodiments of the statues of Minerva and Isis [once a cow, perhaps, but never a pope] displayed in the corridors of the museum" (p. 233). These wonders were as nothing compared with the collection's potential for the conversion of unbelievers. "Kircher's museum demonstrated [!] the Church's and the Society's ability to reconstitute the Christian imperium" (p. 228). "The possession of the obelisks in Rome, and the knowledge they contained, became the philosophical equivalent of the battle for souls being conducted throughout the world" (p. 238). According to Findlen, the Roman Catholic priest Kircher rated the wisdom of Hermes over the revelation of Christ. "For Kircher, the obelisks, and the hieroglyphics drawn on them, represented the purest form of truth" (p. 236). These assertions rest on vague resemblances of the sort that gave Kircher the idea of a clock powered by a sunflower seed.

No doubt the phenomenon that was Kircher needs explanation. Contemporaries who admired his erudition often mocked his gullibility. That deepened the mystery. Why did Kircher's superiors tolerate and even promote his activities? Baldwin provides material for an answer. Big illustrated books were costly to produce, the Jesuits ordinarily sought patrons to pay for them, and Kircher had a genius for attracting patrons.

The arrangement benefited all concerned. The Jesuits thereby tied themselves more tightly to the rich and powerful; Kircher's most faithful supporters besides Christina were princes of the Holy Roman Empire. Patrons received a dedication praising their mind, valor, and family. Authors had the satisfaction of seeing themselves in print and also, in proportion to the power of the patron, a means to circumvent the Jesuits' internal censorship. Baldwin rightly emphasizes that Kircher and his followers cultivated experiments, games, and natural magic to interest a courtly audience, and that the society did not intend that its members cultivate natural philosophy as an end in itself.

Constraint of space allows only two words about the other articles in Feingold's collection. They are all useful, especially Navarro's, and also solid, with the exception of Dooley's. An indication of Dooley's negligence: he makes Giacinto De Cristoforo a "famous Jesuit . . . who had persecuted the atomists" (p. 436) in Naples in the 1690s, whereas De Cristoforo, no Jesuit, was the main victim of the affair. He credits Gottfried Leibniz with the oxymoronic concept of centrifugal force of a body at rest and botches bits of geometry, geodesy, and optics, a chrestomathy that omits minor blemishes like "Sebastiano Bartoli" for Daniello of that ilk (p. 448). Where was the editor?

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WILLIAM R. NEWMAN and LAWRENCE M. PRINCIPE.  
*Alchemy Tried in the Fire: Starkey, Boyle, and the Fate of Helmontian Chymistry*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 344. \$40.00.

On Monday, September 20, 1648, the Bermuda-born Massachusetts alchemist George Starkey exulted: "From the year 1647 to this very year and day, I have exerted myself in the search for the liquor alkahest with many studies, vigils, labors, and costs. Today for the first time it has been granted and conceded to my unworthy self by the highest Father of Lights, the best and greatest God, to attain complete knowledge of it and to see its final end. To Him let there be eternal praise both now and forever. Amen" (p. 201).

Two years later, this Harvard graduate set sail from Boston to London where he hoped to have better access to glassware, implements, chemicals, and books. Starkey's reputation as a skilled operator in chymistry preceded him and, once in London, he very quickly entered the circle around the German émigré intelligencer Samuel Hartlib. There he came into contact with Robert Boyle, who was then a chemical novice but is now sometimes called the "father of chemistry" and considered a central figure in the Scientific Revolution for his efforts to deploy chemistry in the service of a mechanical natural philosophy.

This is an important book by two leading historians of chemistry, William R. Newman and Lawrence M.

Principe. Their chronicle of Starkey's vigils and labors brings fascinating new insight into the practice of (al)chemistry (or "chymistry," as the authors term the inseparable disciplines of alchemy and chemistry in the early modern period). In the last two decades, such accounts of the pursuit of natural knowledge, especially of hands-on disciplines like chemistry and medical practice, have reconfigured our understanding of the transformation in attitudes toward nature that we call the Scientific Revolution.

That the colonist Starkey became one of England's most sought after chymical practitioners seems at first surprising, but Starkey's interests were fostered by his access to the latest metallurgical techniques in the nascent Massachusetts' iron industry and to chymical lessons—with an informally educated but chymically talented ironworker—which appear to have combined seamlessly with Starkey's medical practice. Perhaps the entrepreneurial experimentation and the more fluid social mixing of the colonies provided an arena for the development of such technological expertise. In any event, Starkey employed his "scholastic" Harvard education, steeped in logical analysis and disputation, in his careful experimentation in the laboratory. Indeed, the most innovative section of Newman's and Principe's account details how Starkey employed the formalized methods of scholastic inquiry and argumentation in the practices of experimental philosophy. This is possible because Starkey's laboratory notebooks still survive, and the authors' deciphering of his actual alchemical practices from these notebooks is brilliant scholarship, combining their deep knowledge of chemical texts, debates, and concerns with a very rare understanding of actual laboratory practice. Newman and Principe draw a host of remarkable conclusions to demonstrate persuasively that Starkey's practices in the laboratory were clearly informed by theoretical concerns, that his procedures tested his theories, and that he employed precise quantitative methods. All these characteristics of "modern" chemistry are found in Starkey's quite clearly *alchemical* pursuit of a transformative agent, the Philosophical Mercury, and a powerful solvent, the universal Alkahest. Along the way, the authors also give insight into Starkey's attitude to textual authority, the encoding and decoding of alchemical authors, and the place of divine authority in the laboratory.

Newman and Principe's book is one of the most significant to appear recently in the history of chemistry. It argues for a continuous development from the practices and theories of medieval alchemy up through eighteenth-century chemistry, including continuity between seventeenth-century chymical practice and the "new" eighteenth-century chemistry of Antoine Lavoisier, which has always been regarded as an almost total break with the chemistry of the preceding centuries. The authors show convincingly that Lavoisier's celebrated quantitative analysis emerges out of centuries-old chymical practices rather than being borrowed from mechanical physics. They demonstrate

that practices such as gravimetric analysis, as well as conceptually informed experimentation, can be traced directly to the work of the Flemish chymist Jan Baptista van Helmont in the early seventeenth century, and they thus claim the centrality of Helmontian chemistry (which itself developed out of a synthesis of medieval assaying techniques and Paracelsian alchemical concepts). In addition, they call for a reassessment of the place of Robert Boyle as the "father of chemistry," making clear his debt to Starkey (and ultimately to Van Helmont) as well as to long-established chymical practices.

This book will be read by historians of chemistry, but it ought to be read much more widely, by historians of science more generally, of course, but also by anyone interested in the processes of intellectual change and in the problem of understanding practice, particularly past practices not textually grounded or even intentionally hidden. Newman and Principe's investigation of Starkey's alchemy shows in a truly remarkable way the actuality of historical practices of alchemy, practices that once appeared to be only dreams and phantasms to an earlier generation of scholars.

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URSULA KLEIN. *Experiments, Models, Paper Tools: Cultures of Organic Chemistry in the Nineteenth Century*. (Writing Science.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 305. \$65.00.

The archive of the greatest chemist of the mid-twentieth century, Linus Pauling, includes the paper models he made when working out molecular structures. Ursula Klein calls our attention to the not wholly dissimilar use of what she calls "paper tools" by the greatest chemist of the early nineteenth century, Jacob Berzelius, who struggled (along with his contemporaries) to make sense of organic chemistry, then perceived as a jungle. It was Berzelius who invented the chemical symbolism wherein O stands for oxygen, H for hydrogen, and so on, that has been used ever since. Antoine Lavoisier had brought an accountant's vision into chemistry, balancing the books in recognition that the total weight of reactants and of products must be equal. He also had a vision of chemical language as algebra, from which metaphor would be excluded. Berzelius's symbols allowed chemists to develop the equations that realized these visions, and indeed, for many people nowadays, chemistry is par excellence the science of equations, highly deterrent to outsiders.

But, as Klein emphasizes, Berzelius's symbols were not as rigidly defined as Lavoisier would have liked: they might stand for atoms, weights or volumes, or chemical proportions. This is how chemists later in the century could admit to using atomic theory without believing in it: one could be agnostic about one's symbols. Klein shows how this flexibility allowed chemists to create organic chemistry anew, not as the analysis of natural products coming from animals or

plants but as the synthesis of new compounds belonging to certain chemical families. Berzelian formulae were more than recipes, but they committed the chemist to less than John Dalton's little pictures of atoms as circles: they were open ended.

Chemistry is the science of the secondary qualities, colors, tastes, textures, smells, and even sometimes noises. It is essentially experimental, and the pleasure of watching and then doing experiments, of hands-on science, has always attracted people to what Victorians called "stinks." Physicists have indeed tended to see chemists as doing advanced cookery rather than real science. But while some chemists (notably Humphry Davy discovering the properties of laughing gas) have done suck-it-and-see experiments, most have been guided most of the time by some kind of expectations. Klein shows how manipulating symbols on paper was as important as the appropriate use of apparatus, to which Michael Faraday devoted his only book, *Chemical Manipulation* (1827). She takes us back behind the bewildering array of "radical" and "type" theories to look at what chemists were up to, thinking not only with their noses but also with their papers and pens. This could be controversial, and Berzelius denounced Thomas Thomson for making experiments at the writing desk, uncritically finding results that confirmed hypotheses. There were other similar denunciations, but Klein makes her case for the importance of paper.

She is careful in her historical reconstructions to avoid whig history and thus never gives us the modern formulae for the substances derived from alcohol on which her chemists were working. This forces us into the position of the participants, as they sought to classify, to predict, to follow the course of stepwise reactions, and to synthesize. The move from the classic objective of investigating natural products, which had led by Berzelius's time to the isolation of quinine and morphine from Jesuit's bark and opium, and to work by Thomson and others on dyes, was not pleasing to everyone. It made organic chemistry the most intellectually exciting branch of the science, as Berzelius's electrochemical dualism had to be modified by the discovery of substitution reactions, where chlorine might replace hydrogen without producing much change in the properties of the compound; but it took it away from concern with life, where organic compounds were clearly produced in very different ways from those used in the laboratory. Moreover, the substances synthesized seemed generally useless at the time.

Klein is to be congratulated for focusing clearly on a period when chemistry began on its triumphant course that was to lead toward synthetic dyes, margarine, plastics, and all the other things that make the modern world, and for showing how manipulation of apparatus and of paper were both essential. Her book is also interesting as indicating the revival, happening particularly with chemistry, of "history and philosophy of science": historians had escaped by the 1970s from the too-close embrace of philosophers and their urge for



generality into the particularity of the past. Klein avoids the concentration on heroes and their psychology, class background and social mobility, or institutions, national traditions, and sources of funds that many of us have found valuable. Hers is thus a rather austere history, but it is certainly not the tidied-up "rational reconstruction" characteristic of some earlier philosophical history of science. This is a very valuable and stimulating book.

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JERRY Z. MULLER. *The Mind and the Market: Capitalism in Modern European Thought*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2002. Pp. xvii, 487. \$30.00.

These days, even the World Bank argues that markets will only work their wonders if coupled to suitable institutions, including the right sort of state. In his explication of European thought concerning markets from the eighteenth century to the recent past, Jerry Z. Muller shows that the possibility and character of a beneficent balance between markets and other social institutions have preoccupied every major writer on the subject from Voltaire to Friedrich Hayek. Admirers of Albert O. Hirschman will rediscover many of Hirschman's cherished themes and authors here but will find them treated less schematically and more in the idioms of intellectual history. Muller confines his agreements and disagreements with such predecessors as Hirschman, Karl Polanyi, C. B. Macpherson, and Quentin Skinner to endnotes, concentrating in his main text on exposition, explication, and (rarely) critique of his principal authors. Usually devoting one chapter at a time to a writer and his setting, Muller surveys the arguments of Voltaire, Adam Smith, Justus Möser, Edmund Burke, G. W. F. Hegel, Karl Marx, Matthew Arnold, Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Werner Sombart, Georg Lukács, Hans Freyer, Joseph Schumpeter, John Maynard Keynes, Herbert Marcuse, and Hayek. No woman, not even Rosa Luxemburg, figures in this intellectual history.

All the thinkers that Muller does treat sought somehow to reconcile markets with institutions of public order. Still, the balances they struck between the two elements varied dramatically. Some of Muller's subjects (notably Möser) saw little or no good in market expansion, while others (notably Hayek) considered markets as almost purely beneficial. At one extreme, Möser's "visions of local virtue," as Muller translates the Osnabrück sage's *Patriotische Phantasien*, worried at length about commercial corruption despite conceding that well controlled exports promoted the prosperity of an enlightened state without necessarily undercutting its moral control. At the opposite extreme, Hayek's admiration for markets as efficient purveyors of information did not keep him from assigning the state an essential role as guarantor of liberty through the rule of law. In between the extremes, every one of the thinkers on Muller's roster struggled to reconcile

the pursuit of self-interest with untoward consequences of that pursuit. Conservative Burke, for example, generally followed Smith in portraying market expansion as serving the general welfare. Yet Burke's bitter campaign against the British East India Company presumed that unbridled avarice was not only destroying India but also corrupting British politics. Radical Marcuse generally followed other Marxists in condemning the alienation produced by wage labor and mass consumption markets. Yet Marcuse counted on central control over the market as the means by which technology could facilitate human liberation.

Muller proposes neither a grand scheme for analysis of interactions between politics and markets nor a general argument concerning the evolution of shared ideas on the subject. Nor does he seriously examine how the changing forms of capitalism altered the circumstances his authors were observing or their reactions to those circumstances. Indeed, he self-consciously equates the terms "capitalism" and "market," thereby sidestepping questions about the differential impacts of monetization, capital accumulation, credit, financial institutions, industrial production, corporate expansion, communication technologies, and mass distribution except in so far as the authors themselves distinguish these items. Relations between capitalism and democracy come up only in passing, for example with regard to Hayek's fear that democracy would undercut liberal economies. Muller does, however, offer accessible, even-handed expositions of highly varied thinkers, situating each one deftly in his intellectual and political setting. In a characteristically neat transition, he moves from a chapter on Marx to another on Arnold by pointing out while both took bourgeois philistinism as their enemy, Marx identified religion as the masses' opiate, where Arnold considered business to be an opiate that kept the middle classes from finding religious satisfaction. On the role of religion, Muller shows that European thinkers often identified capitalism with Jews, more often in the antisemitism of a Voltaire or a Sombart than in the shrewdly mixed defense of a Marx. Without making the point explicitly, Muller's combined chapter on Weber, Simmel, and Sombart brings out how much from the publication of Ferdinand Tönnies's *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* in 1887, the upstart discipline of sociology organized its inquiries around the causes, concomitants, and consequences of commercialization. Muller's history of reflections on market society since Voltaire opens up important questions about modernity in general.

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MASTER AND COMMANDER: THE FAR SIDE OF THE WORLD. Directed by Peter Weir. Screenplay by Peter Weir and John Collee, based on novels by Patrick O'Brian. USA. 2003; color; 138 minutes. Distributed by Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation.



The spectacle is irresistible. Captain Jack Aubrey (Russell Crowe), master and commander of H.M.S. *Surprise*, sets out along the gray Atlantic coast of Brazil in 1805 to pursue the larger French frigate *Acheron*; exceeding his orders, he chases it down the coast of South America, around Cape Horn, and into the Pacific to the Galapagos Islands. Along the way there is much to look at. There is the ship with its maiden figurehead and lacy riggings; there are the changing seascapes, from grey Cape Horn to the colorful Galapagos; there is Jack in his jacket of blue and gold; and there are the sailors, firing the guns in factory rhythms. A feast for the senses, then, this film, which lades out heaping courses of costumes, toasts, and songs.

The translation from page to screen promotes bold clarity. Patrick O'Brian, author of the twenty-volume series of books that inspired the film, worked his epic of the Napoleonic era from many sides. From the opening pages of the first novel (*Master and Commander* [1969]) he dramatized the friendship between Aubrey, the Tory captain, and Stephen Maturin (Paul Bettany), his ship's physician, an Irish intellectual with republican politics and a naturalist avocation. Peter Weir, director of the film, respects the Aubrey-Maturin counterpoint, which is played as taut as their evening violin and cello concerts. Jack is all for king and country and reveres Lord Nelson; Stephen chases beetles and birds across the Galapagos. The film leaves out many asides that would only muddle the screen narrative, grandly picking plot elements from different books (especially *The Far Side of the World* [1984], the tenth novel in the series) to make the tale a broad straightforward sweep across the oceans.

All done in the right spirit; but what deeper motive drives the voyage? Herman Melville's Ahab trailed a whale and Joseph Conrad's Marlow a madman, both in search of moral truths; but what is the meaning of this quest? Like one of the film's officers fixing his glass on a distant ship, Weir draws our attention to one trait of the books and the historical moment: Jack's gift for leadership. As A. O. Scott points out in his *New York Times* review of November 14, 2003 (which would make excellent classroom reading to go along with the film), Jack's preaching on leadership can sound too much like a twenty-first-century contemporary. In one idiom or another, a ship's order depended on leadership. An ominous example of breakdown—unmentioned in the film—was the 1789 *Bounty* mutiny, which in Greg Denning's interpretation (*Mr. Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* [1992]) turned precisely on the theatrics of power versus authority: Captain Bligh being not unusually punishing, but an exceedingly inept reader of subordinates' expectations. Aubrey by contrast understands them well and wins the sailors over to his outsized ambitions.

Maturin objects. He objects to the navy's practice of flogging, to the absolute authority it reaffirms, and to the forced pace that allows so little time for science.

Naturalists could in fact be cantankerous and self-absorbed and republican, and Maturin is all of these. His stature grows over the course of the film: naturalists had their own authority as scientists, and a captain sometimes put up with a good bit amount of guff from them, as does Aubrey.

Ships traveled to the far side in more ways than one. Loneliness, disobedience, and radical cultural difference were part of their destination, enough at times to unstring the complacent rule of Enlightenment reason. Teachers who wish to open up this dimension of the story can assign pages from Denning's study of Bligh. We get just a tremor of it as Aubrey's daring starts to look like hubris, but there was more madness in the O'Brian novels, and more in the worldwide mayhem of the Napoleonic era. Perhaps a sequel to this fine film will sound the turbulent depths of the era.

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GLENN WATKINS. *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War*. With CD. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 598. \$49.95.

Edith Wharton was dining on the rue Royale in Paris on that first day of August 1914. Between courses she was forced repeatedly to stand to attention for seemingly endless renditions of *La Marseillaise*, *God Save the King*, and *God Save the Tsar*. Music, too, she remarked, was being mobilized for war. And so it was. Music was to be both ubiquitous and central to the war experience. It played a political role in stirring emotion, a practical role in accompanying troops marching, and a cultural role in articulating sensibility in crisis. Outstanding books on the literary, visual, and filmic art of the Great War have appeared, but to date, apart from biographies of individual composers and performers, there has been no broad study of music in that conflict. Glenn Watkins sets out to provide that, at least in part. In a long but entertaining book, full of wondrous detail (including a delightful CD with seventeen short samples), Watkins attempts to make sense of the musical landscape during and after World War I. His work, it must be said, is not about the war and the place of music in it; it is about music and the impact of war on it. That makes it no less valuable in and of itself, but, our present difficulty of definition notwithstanding, this is a study by a musicologist interested in history rather than a historian with a focus on music.

Historical generalization is neither the intent nor the forte of the author. Still, he does feel compelled to speak, even if at times obliquely, to the wider historiographical debate on the Great War: the war's role, that is, in stimulating a "modern" outlook, one where escape from existing category was more exciting than mere revision. While acknowledging the provocative and disruptive influence of the war on composition,

Watkins is inclined to hear at least in serious music a turn to neoclassicism, with its ear attuned as much to past accomplishment as to future need. In this vein he regards Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem* (1961) as a composition that, while articulating modern anxiety and aspiration, is nonetheless firmly fixed in tradition—emblematic of the effect of World War I on twentieth-century music. Watkins thus tends to side with those who see the war as affirmation and continuation, albeit pained, rather than as a disaster opening the sluice gates to a century of catastrophe.

His material, one must insist, has everything to do with his historiographical perspective. His book is essentially about music in the victor states. It is divided along national lines, with sections on Britain (three chapters), France (six), Italy (one), Germany-Austria (two), and the United States (six). There is nothing on Russia, although the exile, Igor Stravinsky, does pop up repeatedly like the irrepressible jack-in-the-box he was. Germany and Austria get short shrift (thirty-two pages out of 400), especially when one considers the enormous German influence in the Western musical tradition and the attempt, central to this study, of Allied composers to define their art in distinctly non- and anti-German terms. (Not only are German issues underrepresented, but the incidence of error in the quotation of German texts is unacceptable in a book brought out by a major university press, one that in fact publishes a distinguished series on German history.)

That said, there is much to cherish here. Departing from Claude Debussy's comment in 1913 that "the century of aeroplanes has a right to a music of its own," Watkins has a splendid section on the influence of flight on music, concluding with a discussion of the "Toccata" in Maurice Ravel's *Le Tombeau de Couperin* where the mechanical sounds of war are unmistakable. The treatment of Ravel's "Concerto for the Left Hand," with its charged symbolism, written as it was for the "enemy," Paul Wittgenstein, is excellent. Outstanding also are the chapters on the United States, which include delicious accounts of, for example, the goings-on at the Boston and Chicago symphonies, where, as a flag-waving fervor gripped audiences and administrators, the language of rehearsal remained German.

Based on admirable research, full of new and intriguing material, this volume adds an important dimension to the debate on war and culture in the modern age.

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PETER MARSHALL. *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 344. \$74.00.

In this important book, Peter Marshall takes us into unexplored territory as he traces the often complex

series of shifts in beliefs and practices regarding the dead in Reformation England. With the doctrine of purgatory and its abrogation as the common thread, he investigates "how religious and cultural ideas about the dead interacted with political processes and ecclesiastical politics, with representations and reaffirmations of the social order, with notions of 'community' and 'identity'" (p. 3). His central theme is "the role of the Reformation in shaping attitudes towards the dead, and the role that attitudes towards the dead played in determining the shape and outcomes of the Reformation" (p. 3).

The organization of this volume supports the author's aim and focus admirably. The first three chapters are devoted to the explanation and history of beliefs concerning the dead in the three decades preceding Elizabeth's accession to the throne. After examining beliefs and practices concerning the dead in the late medieval church, Marshall turns to exploring the nature and theological justifications of the Henrician evangelicals' refutations of the validity of the doctrine of purgatory and the efficacy of intercessions for the dead. He points out that, before the Reformation, the living and the dead were all members of one community, but that community was being reshaped by the end of 1546, effectively destroying "the web of customary connections regulating relations between the living and the dead" (p. 92). This was the situation when Edward VI came to the throne and Protestantism was definitively introduced, resulting, Marshall says, in the reconstruction of beliefs concerning the dead. Marshall goes on to suggest that this process "must rank as one of the most audacious attempts at the restructuring of beliefs and values ever attempted in England" (p. 107). Adding another layer of complexity, Marshall further asserts that, by 1560, "the dead themselves had come to comprise two opposing camps, papists and heretics" (p. 121), as the contest over what constituted true religion spilled across the boundary of death into the afterlife, weakening communal ties and beliefs in purgatory and intercessory prayer even more than had earlier evangelical and Protestant polemics.

Having established the theological and doctrinal context, Marshall devotes the final four chapters of his book to an exploration of factors that contributed significantly to the development and manifestation of Protestant beliefs and practices concerning the dead during the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I. In particular, he examines changes in authorized burial rituals, the development of an imagined Protestant afterlife, the meaning of ghosts, and means of commemorating and remembering the dead. Key to the developments described in those chapters was a recognition by the reformers of the powerful need human beings had to remember the dead. As a result, "the process of expunging Catholic associations from the commemoration of the dead was slow, messy, and never entirely successful" (p. 166). For instance, Marshall says, praying for the souls of the departed was

forbidden, but even good Protestants could not resist the strong urge to intercede with God on behalf of the dead.

This carefully considered analysis of the abrogation of purgatory and ways in which “the living and the dead continued to coexist in post-Catholic society” (p. 265) does indeed help us to understand more clearly the “complex and protracted process of cultural exchange, in which the teachings of the reformers were adapted and internalized . . . and in which the concerns of the people helped to shape and direct the priorities of reformers” (p. 311). Other recent scholars of the English Reformation have noted the complexity of responses to reforms and the wide range of Protestant beliefs and practices in evidence across the length and breadth of England. Extending his reach beyond scholarship on death, dying, and the dead, Marshall does, in this sophisticated and nuanced analysis, shed substantial, welcome light on the entire creative process that led to “that *de facto* religious pluralism which was perhaps the most significant and enduring overall result of the Reformation in England” (p. 315). In so doing, he makes an important contribution to the ongoing discourse concerning the nature of religion during and after the English Reformation.

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ETHAN H. SHAGAN. *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 341. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.00.

In recent years, the historiography of the English Reformation has visibly retreated from the high water mark of revisionist skepticism about its impact and reach. Simultaneously the center of scholarly interest has begun to shift chronologically backward from the Elizabethan period to the heady decades straddling the middle part of the century, during which Henry VIII broke with Rome and Protestant policies evolved, matured, and were imposed by royal decree and act of Parliament. In both these respects, Ethan H. Shagan's book represents a significant landmark. Concentrating on the twenty years between 1534 and 1553, its central thesis is that the English people were not passive or hapless recipients of the religious changes brought in by the Henrician and Edwardian regimes but rather active participants in the making of them. “The Reformation was not done *to* people, it was done *with* them,” Shagan insists, in a dynamic process of engagement between governors and governed.

Turning away from the analysis of wills and churchwardens that has dominated research since the 1980s and toward the records of court cases and local clashes reported in the official state papers, Shagan explores the “points of contact” between the Tudor state and its subjects. A series of illuminating chapters captures the color and texture of the fractious grass-roots disputes that accompanied the theological, liturgical, and polit-

ical upheavals of the era and casts fresh light on well-known episodes such as the furor surrounding the prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, the “holy maid of Kent,” the Pilgrimage of Grace, the dissolutions of the monasteries and chantries, and the rebellions of 1549. Shagan defines the “popular politics” of his title inclusively but somewhat imprecisely as “the presence of ordinary, non elite subjects as the audience for or interlocutors of a political action” (p. 19). In practice, however, much of his discussion is devoted to townsmen and gentry. The peasantry do not feature very prominently.

Throughout the book, the focus of attention is not the zealous minorities who enthusiastically embraced and fervently rejected the Reformation but rather the many individuals who neither wholly accepted nor wholly opposed it. Taking his inspiration from studies of the relationships between twentieth-century repressive regimes and the people over whom they ruled, Shagan sees the concept of collaboration as the key to resolving the puzzling riddle at the heart of historical debate in this field: how did a state that lacked an extensive bureaucracy, standing army, and police force manage to achieve near compliance with its disruptive and destructive ecclesiastical policies? He repeatedly shows how people who had no prior ideological commitment to Protestantism were implicated by their own vested political and economic interests in the implementation of the Reformation, how they “forged new consciences to navigate the unprecedented circumstances in which they found themselves” (p. 309), how they became, as it were, accomplices after the fact. Spiritual transformations, he argues, “often followed political positioning rather than preceding it” (p. 304). This theme pervades all three parts of the book but is nowhere so compellingly demonstrated as in chapter five, which brilliantly dissects the process by which local people cooperated in the ransacking and desacralizing of Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire, graphically describing “the uneasy alliance of evangelicals and thieves” (p. 262) that carried out this extraordinary collective act of sacrilege.

In pressing his thesis that the English Reformation was “a Reformation of strange bedfellows and nitty-gritty practicalities, negotiated and finessed rather than won” (p. 303), Shagan seeks to effect a shift away from “the meta narrative of conversion” (p. 7) that he believes has seriously distorted our understanding of this event. Here revisionists, no less than their predecessors, are the targets of his bold and, at times, unnecessarily aggressive and polemical critique: he holds both guilty of judging the success or failure of the Reformation according to the exacting criteria employed by contemporary Protestants themselves. Instead, he offers us a Reformation that “entered English culture through the backdoor, not dependent upon spectacular epiphanies but rather exploiting the mundane realities of political allegiance, financial investment and local conflict” (p. 306).

While this change of focus and perspective yields



valuable new insights, it is not entirely invulnerable to criticism. Shagan constantly emphasizes the inseparability of religion and politics in this period, but more than occasionally it is possible to detect him operating with a model that conceptualizes the two as separate spheres. Equally, in his eagerness to stress the rarity of dramatic "tower experiences" like that which famously transformed the outlook of Martin Luther, he may be in danger of underestimating the power and appeal of Protestant theology and the force exerted by genuine evangelical zeal. To this extent, it may be suggested, his book ironically if indirectly reinforces one of the central tenets of the revisionist case: it continues to work within a framework that assumes or at least implies the inherent difficulty and unattractiveness of Protestantism as a body of practice and belief. If we need to recognize a Reformation comprised of pragmatic choices and casuistical calculations, we also need to be sensitive to its co-existence with one, to use his own terms, "loosed by the Holy Spirit" (p. 303).

Nevertheless, these points do not detract from the extent of Ethan Shagan's achievement in this lively and readable monograph. Acute and penetrating in its analysis, it successfully transcends the confessional polarities within which historical interpretation has so often been constrained to reveal a far more complex and interesting spectrum of positions and possibilities. Although Shagan perhaps overstates his case, the publication of his book represents a notable juncture in the ongoing debate about the nature and consequences of the religious movement and legislative processes by which England became a Protestant nation. It will surely come to occupy an important place in the historiographical landscape.

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AUSTIN WOOLRYCH. *Britain in Revolution 1625–1660*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 814. \$35.00.

Revolutions may be short and sharp, but they occasion big books. Academic study of England's revolution of the mid-seventeenth century originated over a hundred years ago with the seventeen volumes of S. R. Gardiner's account of the years 1603–1656, still the benchmark for perceptiveness as well as enterprise among early modern historians. But if Gardiner won the prize for authorial heroism, writers have not altogether abandoned narrative on the grand scale, and Austin Woolrych's new book weighs in at 800 pages, or nearly twenty-four pages a year.

The worth of a narrative on this scale may need some justification, and that surely lies in the audience. Two or three generations ago, serious English historians like G. M. Trevelyan set out to provide a general readership with serious histories, and the very unacademic Winston S. Churchill even won a Nobel Prize in that enterprise. The recent successes of scholars like Simon Schama and David Starkey on British television

suggest that the taste has not died, although the market has shifted. Woolrych and his publishers seem to assume that some at least of the massive television audience can be won by a book that does not condescend but instead seeks to explain complexities of structure, circumstance, motivation, and outcome and that carries inexpert but curious readers along by the virtue of its narrative. All historians must hope that their assumption about the market is borne out.

A skillful historian writing on the grand scale has the chance to assess the conduct of multiple actors on more than one stage, a signal benefit given the complexity of the political geography here. Although emphatically an English historian, Woolrych pays careful attention to Irish and Scottish as well as English dynamics, and to the often catastrophic processes by which these were connected. He may justly claim to have written the best study yet of the revolution as a crisis of three kingdoms: his account of alignments in Scotland in the later 1630s, of the chaotic situation in Ireland in 1648–1649, and of the way these played out in English eyes shows how high-level three-kingdom history can be done. Nevertheless, the slightly awkward transitions among the geopolitical theaters that sometimes disturb the flow of even Woolrych's narrative remind us of the expository as well as the analytical difficulties implicit in his book's title.

Not surprisingly, then, the chief strength of the book lies in its assured relation of the breakdown of successive English regimes, and of the confused attempts to replace or restructure them. Woolrych takes a refreshingly no-nonsense approach, declaring the dissolution of Parliament in 1629 "no bad thing" (p. 61) and dismissing the "sane (if mediocre) politicians" responsible for the 1647 Declaration of Dislike (p. 355). Detailed narrative has come to seem almost synonymous with revisionist preoccupation with the short term, but although Woolrych's concern for narrative flow rules out systematic analysis of the long term and the contextual, he deftly and throughout reminds readers that the roots of Britain's troubles extended beyond the shallow soil of personality and incompetence. To this postrevisionist reader, his judgments seem historiographically up to date, balanced throughout, and sometimes brilliant, as in his felicitous description of the "Catholic chic" (p. 127) of the royal court in the 1630s, or his account—which could scarcely be bettered—of the complex distinctions between Presbyterians and Independents in 1646. But since this is a big narrative, it has to come alive, and Woolrych ensures this with a series of brief but sometimes vivid character sketches of protagonists great and small, of Colonel Rainsborough the Leveller sympathizer with a "chip on his shoulder," and of what the atrocity at Drogheda showed of the effect of racism and propaganda on Oliver Cromwell, who was otherwise so "capable of nobility" (p. 471). The royalists may not quite hold their own in the struggle for the author's sympathy, but, an old soldier himself, Wool-



rych redresses the balance through his even-handed sensitivity to the crucial factor of military honor.

It is rare for a book of this size to contain so few mistakes. Beyond the suggestion that the Scottish bishops were to be plaintiffs, rather than defendants, in the 1638 General Assembly, most of the errors seem simple matters of transcription. But the book does contain one significant interpretive weakness in a certain imperviousness to the meaning of religion. Woolrych divides Scots' reactions after Dunbar between "the more rational" and "the dogmatic party" (p. 489) and throughout shows himself impatient with apocalypticism. One may doubt quite how thorough an understanding of the seventeenth century general readers even of this large book will gain when they are denied a sympathetic encounter with zeal; in all other respects, however, they can be confident of both entertainment and enlightenment.

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D. SZECHI. *George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1681–1731: A Study in Jacobitism*. East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 230. £20.00.

George Lockhart of Carnwath was regarded by contemporaries, and is still regarded today, as one of the pillars of Scottish Jacobitism after the Revolution of 1688. As a member of the Scottish Parliament, he strenuously opposed the loss of Scotland's independence, and he was virtually the only Jacobite member among the English and Scottish commissioners appointed by Queen Anne to hammer out the Treaty of Union. After that took effect in 1707, Lockhart served as MP for Edinburghshire from 1708 to 1715, acting mainly with the Tories but supporting any party that might undermine the hated union. His parliamentary career was brought to an abrupt end with the 1714 publication of a pirated copy of Lockhart's *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland* up to 1708, in which he not only exposed the atmosphere of corruption, venality, and betrayal that had characterized the union negotiations but also drew extremely unflattering portraits of his fellow commissioners, both friend and foe.

Lockhart did not participate actively in the 1715 rebellion (D. Szechi claims that he was prepared to do so when the rebel army reached Edinburgh, which it never did). During the 1720s, Lockhart served as one of the "trustees" of the Jacobite party in Scotland, trying to preserve its coherence and dedication despite an English military occupation of the Highlands. Despite his devotion to the exiled Stuarts, Lockhart grew ever more exasperated with the Pretender, his apparent reliance on favorites, and his treatment of his wife, Clementina Sobieska, which led her to flee to a Roman convent in 1725 and began a separation that became a European scandal. Lockhart finally severed his ties to the Stuarts in 1727. Immediately after the death of George I, the Pretender had left Italy in a rush to

Lorraine, hoping to persuade the French government headed by Cardinal Fleury to jettison the Triple Alliance of 1717 and provide him with an army to invade England or Scotland and overthrow George II. When, predictably, Fleury refused, James sent envoys to Scotland to propose that he come, without foreign troops, or money, or munitions, to head up another rebellion. Lockhart exploded at this demonstration of Stuart intransigence and stupidity: such a proposal went against all the advice and cautions the Jacobites had been offering for years, and such an uprising would be suicidal for those who joined it. Lockhart went into exile in Brussels but returned to Britain in 1728, on the implicit understanding that he would publicly pay homage to George II and recognize his title. Lockhart apparently spent the last three years of his life expanding his memoirs to cover the period from 1702 to 1715, which he took great care to store securely, enjoining his heirs not to publish them until they would no longer be politically explosive. (Published as *The Lockhart Papers* [2 vols., 1817] and including Lockhart's correspondence with James III, the Old Pretender, they constitute probably the single most important source for the history of Scottish Jacobitism.)

No one is better equipped than Szechi to write the biography of Lockhart, presenting him "warts and all." Szechi has previously edited the *Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath* (1989) and "Scotland's Ruine": *Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs of the Union* (1995). The first part of this biography is devoted to Lockhart's background and career. The second part, "The Mind of George Lockhart," deals with his fundamental beliefs (human nature, society, family, honor, revenge, anti-Presbyterianism, anti-Catholicism, anticlericalism, partisanship, paranoia), his political principles (duty, disinterestedness, honesty, unity, legalism, monarchism), and, finally, with the Jacobite movement. This book undoubtedly will become "must" reading for anyone interested in Britain during the first three decades of the eighteenth century.

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HILDA L. SMITH. *All Men and Both Sexes: Gender, Politics, and the False Universal in England, 1640–1832*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 235. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

This ambitious book aims to renew the project of explaining the exclusion of the female gender from central aspects of early modern English social identity. Expressing dissatisfaction with the inconsistency of historians in attending to gender issues, Hilda L. Smith finds herself at war on two fronts: she interrogates a variety of early modern political and religious texts, which emphasize male household heads and female dependents, and she criticizes the oversight of historians who have simply dealt with documents of the period on their own exclusionary terms. As a result,

she argues, we have repeated the mistakes of the past, as we have failed to recognize women where their contributions have been obscured. Superimposed upon this general project is a more specific problem, which Smith examines intermittently throughout the book: the seventeenth-century revision of civic identity as a notion of universal "man." This happened, she points out, as a result of a consistent privileging of the "male maturation process," which functioned as an organizing principle of gender exclusion.

The seventeenth century offers an important ground for situating the problems set out in this book. As historians of political theory have shown, the debates that emerged from discussions of absolutism generated the framework for the modern state and the independent citizen, and one might expect that arguments concerning the subordination of women (or their erasure) might be situated in this nexus of developments. Universal constructs were worked out gradually, through contract theory, reformed religious ideology, and gradual modifications in assumptions governing the family. As these constructs emerged in various texts, space opened up to contest limits set by gender. The political and social unrest of mid-century provided plentiful opportunities for tensions relating to male authority to surface, which scholars like Susan Amussen, Rachel Weil, and others have explored. Context therefore seems particularly important, especially as Smith is interested in moving her argument through and beyond this century of change.

But Smith's double agenda, weighted on one end by a very general argument and on the other by a considerable amount of existing scholarship, never gets played out in full. Her method of argumentation, first of all, is stretched across too many topics and fields. She relies on different strategies in each chapter, moving from economic history in a treatment of women guild members in late medieval London, through political definitions of "the people" during the trial of Charles I, to a smattering of texts discussing womanhood in the eighteenth century. An epilogue on women in the era of the Reform Bill of 1832 is added to this lengthy chronology. The results are uneven, and they lack a purchase on any clear presentation of what scholars have already ascertained in these areas. For example, Smith reveals a highly specific cache of evidence on women guild members to supplement what is known about women workers in the late medieval period, arguing that these examples prove that women, single and married, indeed belonged to guilds at this time. But because she devotes too much time to challenging the assumption that most guild women were widows, she fails to examine the changing status of women in any systematic way. Thus, she leaves the reader with a rather frail picture of compensatory history. In a later chapter, Smith suggests that the argument for exclusive male guild membership at mid-century was related to freemen's larger struggle for political standing, and so she provides a tantalizing entry into a potentially important argument. But the

evidence she pursues is highly selective and somewhat brief, ending in the inexplicable choice of John Bellers's *Proposals for Raising A Colledge of Industry* (1696). Bellers, a renowned Quaker, mentions women in a charitable way in his plans for a kind of social mercantilism, but he has nothing to say about guild membership or political standing.

Judging from the many puzzling omissions in this book, Smith seems to have determined to make her own way, and this is unfortunate. It would have been interesting to learn, for example, how arguments concerning the association of women with political disorder were discussed in political tracts, which might have built on the work of Amussen or extended the arguments on patriarchy offered by Judith Bennett. But what Smith finds from her examination of texts is that women are seldom mentioned at all, and we can only surmise what this meant. That the radical Digger Gerrard Winstanley left Eve out of his creationist story is certainly significant, but how this "contributed to Winstanley's justification for his group's right to plow the commons" is not clear in the discussion that follows (p. 122). We learn little when the use of male pronouns provides the main evidence for what we already knew to be the case: the subordination of women to the status of dependents and the privileging of an elite group of males as active citizens.

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KATHRYN TEMPLE. *Scandal Nation: Law and Authorship in Britain, 1750–1832*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 242. \$45.00.

Kathryn Temple builds insightfully on recent works such as Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (1992) that emphasize the violence, anxiety, and tenuousness of national identity formation—English, British, Scottish, Irish—during the 1700s and early 1800s. She offers four "scandals" involving the authorship, ownership, and authenticity of stories. The first concerns the "pirating" of Samuel Richardson's novel, *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753–1754), by publishers in Dublin. The 1710 copyright act was not applicable to Ireland (p. 48), so the Dublin printers did nothing illegal. The main culprits were Richardson's own employees who filched the text. But just as Richardson in the novel constructed a "normative" English gentleman opposed to foreign threats including the "wild Irish," so in his pamphlets against textual "piracy" he asserted English authority and authorial originality against Irish criminality. Temple claims that this controversy "allows us to see the origins of originary authorship" (p. 62), although there are earlier moments when those "origins" can be seen (e.g. in Ben Jonson). But she is right that the individualist notion of intellectual property via "originary authorship" predates the Romantic era.

Temple next examines the controversy about James Macpherson's Ossian "forgeries." Here the nationalist

stakes are even clearer. Macpherson seemed to provide Enlightenment Scotland with the preliterate, epic-bardic text that it needed to shore up Scottish national identity after the Act of Union of 1707. As literate Scots strove to rid their language of Scotticisms, the Ossian texts reached both backward to a pre-Anglicized past and outward to a nationalizing and anti-English present. Samuel Johnson, busily securing a "little Englander" national identity via his *Dictionary*, *Lives of the Poets*, and the works of William Shakespeare, tried to prove Macpherson fraudulent by traveling to the Hebrides with his Scottish friend James Boswell. "Johnson's account of the trip seems calculated to demonstrate that Scotland had no separate identity but was merely a lesser, primitive subordinate to England" (p. 102). Against the vagaries of Macpherson's poetic patchwork and Highland orality, Johnson in person "provided . . . an authentic presence to replace Ossian's falsity" (p. 102). In this contest between "authenticity effects" (p. 97), Johnson prevailed, although Macpherson was not the total fraud Johnson claimed him to be. Temple shows also how both Johnson and Ossian served as examples in legal debates over copyright, through which the public, collaborative nature of authorship modified less flexible notions of it as individual ownership.

Temple turns next to Catherine Macaulay, who authored a history of England that seemed to some an "antidote" to the Scot David Hume's history (p. 122). Macaulay might be a "man-woman," but she was English, and between 1763 and 1779 she was also a celebrity. At age forty-six, however, she married a man less than half her age, and her elderly patron, who had set her up in luxurious style in Bath, felt betrayed. The apparently "conciliatory letter" she wrote to her patron he showed to friends, "allowed copies to be made, and even started" to publish (p. 122). The ensuing scandal, generating numerous misogynistic satires, ruined her reputation and career while reinforcing the judgment that, as Peter Whalley put it in 1746, "History is a manly composition" (p. 129). Again, Temple deftly shows the relevance of Macaulay's story to national identity, authorship, and the evolution of copyright law (Macaulay herself wrote about copyright).

The questions of who owns and who can authenticate stories are central as well to Temple's fourth case, which concerns the libel trials generated by the 1831 publication of Mary Prince's slave narrative. Helped by abolitionist Thomas Pringle, Prince told a tale of "thinly veiled hints of sexual abuse, [that] intrigued and scandalized the public" (p. 173). In the first trial, Pringle sued the publisher of *Blackwood's* over claims it published in a proslavery article. But Prince's "owner," John Wood, then sued Pringle "for remarks recorded in Prince's narrative, eventually winning because Pringle could not bring the witnesses he needed from Antigua to bolster the truth of Prince's narrative" (pp. 173–74). Both the trials and the narrative challenged normative ideas of English domesticity; Prince

thus forms an interesting contrast to Dr. Johnson as stalwart embodiment of Englishness.

In all of these "scandals," a central theme is the ownership of stories, and hence of culture. All four reveal the importance of notions of authorship and cultural authenticity to national identity. Because each involves a challenge to some version of normative, English authority, they also reveal anxieties about the instability of that authority. In her epilogue, Temple offers some intriguing ideas about how anxiety over textual "piracy" has resurfaced as anxiety over globalized, digital or electronic "piracy" today. I would have preferred a fuller conclusion focused mainly on parallels and contrasts among the four main studies. Nevertheless, this book offers many interesting insights into Englishness, Britishness, gender, and authorship from 1750 to 1832.

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KATHLEEN WILSON. *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xiii, 282. \$24.95.

To such terms as "inventing," "imagining," and "forging," now found routinely in scholarship on nations and national identities, Kathleen Wilson makes the case for another key term: "performance." The conceptual emphasis on the social performance of national identity links the five sparkling essays that make up this book. They demonstrate the variety of ways in which national identity was "understood, performed and consumed" by different groups whose member's gender, class, and ethnicity shaped the "groups' and individuals' (unequal) access to the resources of the nation-state" (p. 4).

The focus on performance here draws as much from the particular eighteenth century provenance of the study as from contemporary theorists (most notably Judith Butler). For much of the Georgian period, as Wilson argues, ideas about identity had less to do with the "internal lives" of people than with "behavior, social position, and reputation" (p. 2). Eighteenth-century ideas about the self as public performance and about social display and masquerade provide the crucial context for Wilson's analysis of identity as performance or social practice. The performance of national difference, as the insightful case studies in this book reveal, was both theatrical and deconstructive in the sense of constituting the very difference it was supposedly meant to express (p. 151). Wilson's central argument about the "staging" of Englishness in the crucible of the eighteenth-century British "empire of the seas" rests on an astute blend of both theoretical and historical scholarship. Her book offers an interpretive advance for our understanding of national identities in general, and of the entanglement of empire and nation in particular, precisely by using and developing eigh-



teenth-century thought from David Hume to Adam Smith and Samuel Johnson.

The major contours of the book's argument are nicely encapsulated in the discussion of Captain James Cook, whose three South Sea voyages between 1768 and 1780 provide the subject of two of the book's five essays (chapters two and five). First of all, Wilson's retelling of the apotheosis of this low-born English islander into an emblem of the "Island Race" draws attention to the reconstitution of Britain's imperial power in the late eighteenth century. The celebration of Cook as a particularly "English" hero, who combined an intrepid, scientific, and humane masculinity, mediated the transition from an idealized view of empire as a domain of free white British peoples to an increasingly uneasy view of imperial power exercised over diverse colonial peoples. The lionizing of Captain Cook as a new kind of popular national hero—an exemplar of a new imperialism and a new masculinity—served to recuperate the anxieties about Britain's empire produced in the wake of wars and the American setback in the late eighteenth century. The book's emphasis on the shifting parameters of Britain's imperial power underscores the importance of specific historical contexts in giving meaning to particular performances of "Englishness."

Second, Wilson's account of the impact of the wide circulation of stories about the voyages of Cook and of his followers on the construction of an important component of English ethnicity itself—the rediscovery of the English as a unique island race—highlights the ways in which English culture in the eighteenth century was made "from the 'outside' as well as in" (p. 5). The popularity of the South Pacific voyages in literary, scientific, and religious discourses of the period served to define the English, and more generally the British, as a special people through a complex logic of both similarity and difference: that is, the ethnology of the South Seas in the present provided a "mirror" of Britain's own ancient past and produced heightened interest in the origin of competing British ethnicities. The eventual result of this logic was only to confirm the superiority of contemporary British culture and civilization.

Finally, the instabilities that resulted from the "mutual confusions" about gender and sexual practices in the initial encounter between Cook's men and the Pacific islanders were later folded into more absolutist ways of thinking about race, nation, and gender in the late Georgian period (p. 170). Notwithstanding the endless British accounts of the shape of women's breasts and the allegations of sodomitical practices among men in the Pacific, the social typologies of gender and sexual practices adopted by European observers were at first destabilized by the misrecognitions and confusions produced in the encounter with the customs and practices of the Pacific islanders. Only later did the social and sexual customs of the South Pacific peoples become coded as signs of absolute difference: a legacy not so much of the secular ethnog-

raphies of the time as of the subsequent evangelical evaluations. The imperial encounter thus fed back into the metropole to produce new (and far less performative) ways of thinking about gender, sexuality, and nation. Wilson's attention to the multiple vectors of the entanglement of empire and nation in the eighteenth century opens up a revised understanding of national identity itself: that is, as a staging of "difference" operating both between and within nations.

The three other essays in the book further develop the central themes of the book. The two middle chapters are especially notable for their attention to the social performances of "Englishness" by women in the networks of empire. The book is elegantly written and handsomely produced. The illustrations, also discussed in the text, complement the prose well. It would have been nice, however, to have a more explicit explanation for the ordering of the essays. Such quibbles aside, this is an important book that specialists and nonspecialists alike will find rewarding.

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GLENN R. WILKINSON. *Depictions and Images of War in Edwardian Newspapers, 1899–1914*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xiv, 185. \$65.00.

The research that constitutes the bulk of this book is fascinating. Glenn R. Wilkinson has undertaken an exhaustive survey of the popular Edwardian-era press to demonstrate that the popular discourse on war relied on sanitizing, metaphorical imagery to make war comprehensible and even appealing as sport, theater, gaming, or hunting. Readers will find a wealth of information, much of it ideal for translation into classroom lecture material, illustrating Edwardian assumptions and anxieties about race, maintaining the empire, and the mythology of "Britishness," especially British masculinity. Yet while all of this is to the good, Wilkinson opens a much more tendentious debate about exactly what it all means.

Wilkinson proposes that, prior to 1914, British print media created a popular delusion about war that made the general population likely to embrace it. He asserts, in a complaint that may now be dated, that historians of World War I have limited themselves to diplomatic communiqués, and other official government documents. Quoting a 1970 address delivered by Michael Howard, Wilkinson suggests we would do better to study "the works of military thinkers, pre-war editorials, speeches . . . and contemporary military literature," since such material would open to us the actual minds of participants. He then proposes that the imagery of the Edwardian popular portrayal of warfare, as derived from contemporary newspapers, will say something new about the actual causes of the Great War. As Wilkinson writes in his introduction, "Attitudes make war possible." However, what makes war possible is not necessarily what causes a particular war. Wilkinson neglects the serious question of the



necessity of World War I. If, as scholarly studies from the 1960s and 1970s claim, the war was essentially unnecessary, or if it was unavoidable but horribly mismanaged by “donkeys leading lions,” then Wilkinson’s effort to explain the war in terms of general delusion might have traction. But current historiography has moved well past the assumptions of a generation ago. As noted historians Ian Beckett, Brian Bond, and, to a lesser degree, John Keegan have shown, the war had a terrible but very real logic in the containment of expansionist German militarism. In the early 1960s, German historian Fritz Fischer produced ground-breaking work rejecting old antiwar assumptions and stripping bare the Weimar-era dissimulations about Germany’s real culpability. Building on this, many contemporary historians have swung to the idea that the war, as brutal and disgusting as it was, had a very rational basis in the realities of the day: the political necessity that Britain and France combine to eject the invading German army from territory seized by an unprovoked offensive in August and September of 1914.

Although Wilkinson would argue that the imagery he finds in the British press played a significant role in priming the British public to fight in 1914, he admits that by necessity it is material gleaned from discourse about colonial or far distant wars. He assumes that the British public raised on Edwardian images of colonial warfare thought similarly about a war with Germany. The evidence in fact suggests something else. The British public mind, if it is to be discerned at all, seemed to fear a war against an aggressive and militarist Germany. Alongside the newspaper culture sanitizing war, there existed a war hysteria culture that imagined German fleets at the Thames, invading armies at Dover, and Britain cut off from its ocean-going trade and its colonies. One might as easily argue that an important assumption of the popular mind in Edwardian Britain was not that war was fun but that Germany was scary.

In the event, as Beckett has argued, the onset of war gave little time for people to react or think at all. The public did not demand a fight with Germany because of its delusions, or for any reason. War set upon them in a sudden rush of international crisis at the very end of July. It is simply not clear what choice the British government had by August 4, 1914. If in fact it had no good option short of war, then public misperceptions about the nature and human cost of military conflict are beside the point. In that context, soldiers volunteered to fight because Germany had long rattled the saber, had now invaded Belgium and France, and had forced an emergency on Europe.

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JAMES J. NOTT. *Music for the People: Popular Music and Dance in Interwar Britain*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 274.

James J. Nott fuses social and business history to fill a significant gap in the history of leisure in modern Britain. Although a good deal has been published in recent years on the growth and impact of the cinema and radio broadcasting during the first half of the twentieth century, much less attention has been paid to the growth of popular music and the industry that provided it. This scholarly and highly readable study thus makes a welcome contribution to the field.

Nott’s central claim is that, during the 1920s and 1930s, music came to play a more prominent role in the lives of the majority of the British population than ever before. The book is divided into three main sections. The first considers the “mechanized” popular music industry and examines the rise of the gramophone, the relationship between the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and commercial radio stations, and the huge popularity of musicals among cinema audiences. Domestic production of gramophones peaked at 780,000 in 1930, with almost sixty million gramophone records produced for domestic consumption that year. Sales of gramophone records plummeted to less than twenty million per annum in the wake of the economic downturn of the early 1930s, yet the gramophone was by now entrenched in a sizeable proportion of British homes. Multinational producers such as Columbia and the Gramophone Company (His Master’s Voice) promoted American jazz and dance music, effectively transforming British musical tastes. Broadcasts of dance music by the BBC were hugely popular, with commercial stations such as Radio Luxembourg exploiting the BBC’s more somber Sunday programs to capture two-thirds of the Sunday audience by the 1930s. Hollywood musicals brought further American glamor to eager British filmgoers, yet home-grown stars such as Gracie Fields and George Formby were as popular as their American counterparts, as the demotic music-hall tradition quickly adapted to the new media of cinema and radio.

The second section examines the “live” popular music industry. Here, Nott argues that the growth of the gramophone and especially the radio “transformed the domestic habits of Britons of all classes, in all regions, turning them, at a stroke, from ‘performers’ to ‘listeners’” (p. 109). Yet as private musicmaking, including “piano culture,” rapidly declined during the interwar decades, public performances of popular music grew exponentially as a consequence of the dance-hall boom of the early 1920s. The *palais de danse* quickly became a fixture of public entertainment throughout urban Britain, leading to a massive increase in the popularity of dancing among the working and lower-middle classes, especially the young and single. American cultural influences were again paramount with the Charleston, for example, sweeping Britain in 1925–1926, but British band leaders like Jack Hylton became household names through a combination of constant touring, radio broadcasting, and their incessant work for gramophone companies. From the late 1920s, the commercialization of dancing in-

tensified with the establishment of a number of dance-hall chains such as the Mecca group, which owned 2,000 establishments across Britain by 1938. Nott's exploration of the culture of the dance hall highlights the glamor and the respectability of the halls. Dancing provided young women, especially, with a significant new means of independence and physical expression, yet the atmosphere was characterized by orderliness and seriousness of purpose, with intense concentration on dancing prowess and little overt sexual promiscuity.

The book's third section more briefly examines tastes in popular music, and here again Nott stresses the Americanization of British culture. American song writers increasingly dominated British popular music, which lost its "parochial" nature and became "increasingly concerned with the universal theme of love and romance" (p. 225).

This book will become a standard work of reference for historians of leisure, and deservedly so. Some of Nott's claims undoubtedly merit further empirical scrutiny, however. The use of trade journals and contemporary social surveys lends powerful support to his picture of the standardization of British musical tastes, yet one wonders whether future case studies might uncover enduring local traditions, perhaps among the choral societies of South Wales or in the adaptation of traditional Irish music and dance among the vibrant Irish Catholic communities of Glasgow or Liverpool. Equally, greater use of retrospective testimonies would allow a fuller exploration of both domestic entertainment and the public world of the dance hall, and a more nuanced account of the ways in which an increasingly commercialized popular culture was adapted by the listening public, among whom celebrated musicians and crooners were widely imitated and mimicked, song lyrics were altered with frequently ribald intent, and radios and gramophones enriched the communal life of the streets as well as the private world of the parlor.

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LAWRENCE BLACK. *The Political Culture of the Left in Affluent Britain, 1951-64: Old Labour, New Britain?* (Contemporary History in Context.) New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 2003. Pp. ix, 263. \$72.00.

At the heart of this book lies the persistent concern of the postwar British Left with the problem of "affluence." Its core argument is that leftwingers (and not only those in the Labour Party) viewed the general rise in living standards that characterized Britain in the mid-to-late 1950s with deep suspicion, because they considered affluence to be morally corrosive. Imbued with the moral egalitarian values of British socialism's late nineteenth-century "founding fathers," leftwingers expected great things of the British working class and were disappointed when this repository of their cherished hopes embraced the new prosperity so enthusiastically. Their sense of disappointment could turn to

impatience, and this contributed to an image of the Left as arrogant, moralistic, and, above all, out of touch with a society increasingly at ease with welfare capitalism and open to the growing influence of modern popular culture.

Lawrence Black gives us a clear and accessible account of the Left's cultural mindset in the 1950s. The analysis is wide ranging. There are chapters on the (downbeat) political culture of Labour's constituency organizations as well as others that look at the Left's attitudes to the emergent youth culture of the 1950s and popular culture more generally. Disapproval and disappointment abound here (not least with the United States, where the emergence of rampant commercialism was regarded as synonymous with a loss of moral vision). Later chapters concentrate on the extensive debates within the British Labour Party over the nature and political impact of affluence, and particularly how the party should position itself in relation to a more acquisitive and better-educated electorate. Especially interesting is the examination of the efforts of the "revisionist" wing of the party to assimilate cultural modernity. Key figures like Tony Crosland recognized that Labour had to adjust to the social, economic, and cultural changes that affluence brought in its wake, and particularly to the fact that Labour's traditional working-class voters clearly wanted a piece of the action. What Crosland argued, which those to his left failed to address, was that there was no necessary contradiction between the enjoyment of greater economic prosperity and voting Labour. In his view, to ensure electoral success Labour had to become a modern "people's party"; economic inequalities had effectively been eliminated and all that remained, in Crosland's opinion, was for Labour to ensure that social and cultural inequalities were also removed, thereby guaranteeing equal opportunities for all.

Of course, both leftwingers and revisionists failed fully to understand the nature and consequences of the profound changes with which they were confronted. To believe, as the Left did, that "embourgeoisement" would destroy the Labour vote betrayed an extraordinarily unidimensional understanding of class, while revisionists underestimated the continuing impact of economic inequalities and were overoptimistic about the ease with which sociocultural inequalities could be reduced. This lack of understanding meant that little got resolved in ideological or policy terms. Leftwingers remained defensive and apparently in thrall to a vision of socialism that was narrow and, frankly, anachronistic, while revisionist "modernizers" seemed incapable of getting beyond Crosland's unedifying formula of "Keynes-plus-modified-capitalism-plus-welfare-state" to appreciate that real (economic) poverty still existed. As Black suggests, neither side really spoke to "the people." No wonder, then, that when the party finally returned to office in late 1964, discourses of affluence and social equality were marginalized in favor of policies designed to enhance economic efficiency and

redistribution through “planning”—this technocratic vision being underpinned in the minds of politicians like Harold Wilson by a new (and misplaced) faith in science and technology.

What lessons does this story of the British Left in the 1950s have for today’s “New Labour” Party? Not many, perhaps, but in order to give the book contemporary relevance, Black tentatively suggests that New Labour seems to have resolved the enduring tension between retaining socialist purity and acting as the people’s champion in favor of the latter, *at least for the time being*. As socialism has obviously been eliminated as an idea capable of giving Labour any ideological or political motility, Black is surely right in this judgment. One irony, however: the apparent victory of the modernizers and the shift toward pragmatism under Tony Blair’s leadership has not eliminated, so much as displaced, Labour’s traditional propensity for moral judgment. The briefest assessment of Blairite social policy, for instance, shows that policy makers remain preoccupied with moral behavior. While the Labour Left of old hoped to encourage *socialist* behavior among the working class, today’s leaders have developed policies for education, area regeneration, and lone parenthood that seek to enforce standards of *individual* morality and conduct among the worst off. However, in view of people’s enduring capacity to resist politically imposed solutions for individual betterment, New Labour, too, may be end up disillusioned and disappointed.

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NIKOLAUS BRAUN. *Terrorismus und Freiheitskampf: Gewalt, Propaganda und politische Strategie im Irischen Bürgerkrieg 1922–23*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 54; Publications of the German Historical Institute, London, number 54.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2003. Pp. 597.

Ireland’s Civil War was, by far, the most important event in the modern history of that country, more significant even than the Anglo-Irish war of independence (1919–1921) that had ended little more than a year before. Both these conflicts were related in that the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which officially ended the latter, became the object of the former. For someone like Michael Collins, the treaty was a necessary compromise, providing “the freedom to achieve freedom.” His opponents, by contrast, believed that only full independence from the British Empire, not dominion status, would have honored the memory of the “Republican martyrs,” who had died in the name of the republic.

Much is known about the hard military and political facts of this tragic schism. The most prominent narrative is undoubtedly that of Michael Hopkinson (*Green Against Green* [1990]), yet any review also needs to include some of the more recent works, such as Tom Garvin’s *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy* (1996) and

Joost Augusteijn’s intimate study of individual soldiers’ experiences, *From Public Defiance to Guerrilla Warfare* (1998). Nikolaus Braun’s new book (the title of which translates as *Terrorism and Freedom Struggle: Violence, Propaganda and Political Strategy in the Irish Civil War, 1922–23*) extends the spectrum of existing research in several respects. First, with its focus on the content and organization of propaganda and censorship, it explores a little researched aspect of the conflict. Most importantly, in doing so, it also provides a fresh interpretation of the events in 1922–1923, which sees the civil war as a fight for legitimacy and the right to historical truth rather than simply one for measurable political and military advantage. In Braun’s own words, his study is “a book about storytellers, and how and why they told their stories” (p. 30).

The “story” told by the pro-treaty side was one of consolidation, law, and order, but it also emphasized values like liberal rights, majority rule, and democracy, as most of the population supported the treaty. The anti-treaty side’s “story” stressed the traditional Republican legacy, including the sacrifice made by the revolutionaries in the Easter Rising of 1916. As Braun puts it, it was “a sort of Republic” versus “*the Republic*” (emphasis added; p. 64). Given this constellation, it comes as no surprise that the supporters of the treaty were soon faced with a crisis of legitimacy, which could only be overcome through nationalist overcompensation (for example, by painting the letter boxes green rather than red). The supposedly true Republicans on the anti-treaty side, however, had maneuvered themselves into a “cultural cul de sac” (p. 440), which allowed for neither compromise nor a viable political or military strategy.

Braun provides a convincing interpretation based on the deconstruction of the implicit cultural assumptions, ideologies, and values that were advanced by both sides. Almost as a by-product, his analysis thus exposes some of the myths, ambiguities, and contradictions inherent in modern Irish nationalism. Braun shows, for example, how both sides’ idea of Irishness was primarily based on the rejection of anything English, and how, consequently, the propagandists routinely tried to include accusations of “Englishness” in their portrayal of the enemy. While the opponents of the treaty argued that the “Free Staters” were London’s henchmen, who continued imperial oppression under the guise of the treaty, the pro-treaty propagandists compared their opponents’ disregard for public opinion with that of the British government. “At the level of propaganda,” Braun contends, “it was as if Englishman fought Englishman” (p. 260).

The significance of much of what Braun elaborates goes far beyond the Irish context. Contemporary historians (as well as political scientists) will be interested in his findings on the role and practice of wartime “information management” and also in his description of “martyrdom” and self-sacrifice as deliberate tools of propaganda.



However, Braun's claim that this book is the first attempt to deconstruct the values underlying modern Irish nationalism, and that existing studies have only looked at "objective" political and military facts, is, quite simply, wrong. Michael L. R. Smith's approach, for example, is explicitly based on the idea that cultural assumptions and ideologies inform "hard" military decisions, and his landmark study on Irish Republican strategy manages to include both military "fact" and cultural "fiction" (*Fighting for Ireland?* [1995]). Furthermore, at almost 600 pages the study is about 100 to 200 pages in excess of what the topic would justify. This should not, however, diminish Braun's achievement. He has produced an excellent piece of scholarship that contributes significantly to our understanding of this important period in modern Irish history. His use of sources is masterly, and the overall argument is both coherent and original. As an addition to the relatively small body of works on Irish history in German, this book is undoubtedly welcome. For it to have the impact it deserves, it urgently needs to be translated into English.

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JESÚS IZQUIERDO MARTÍN. *El rostro de la comunidad: La identidad del campesino en la Castilla del Antiguo Régimen*. (Colección Estudios, number 12.) Madrid: Consejo Económico y Social, Comunidad de Madrid. 2001. Pp. 795. €9.02.

This book is more important than its concentration on a few Castilian rural communities northwest of Madrid, particularly El Escorial and Zarzalejo, would indicate. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, these villages separated themselves from larger territorial entities, and the process produced so many judicial conflicts between the resulting self-governing towns and the city of Segovia, aristocratic lordships, the crown, each other, and some of their own citizens that Jesús Izquierdo Martín had available abundant judicial records to add to information extracted from municipal archives and the major eighteenth-century royal surveys.

Izquierdo Martín does several remarkable things. First, he defends a promising general theory of collective action, which he uses to reject an understanding of these peasants as actors only motivated by a desire to maximize their individual, utilitarian interests. Instead, they shared a number of interpretive schemes that allowed them to understand the world as a basis for confident action and gave them a sense of security about the future. Because all used the same schemes and expressive language during their dense, frequent interactions, they recognized each other as community members, and this mutual recognition provided each of them with his or her identity as a citizen of the group and with a basis for solidarity. Izquierdo Martín argues that something like this process characterizes

any group capable of collective action sustained through changing economic and political circumstances over a long period of time.

As theory, his formulation suffers a few defects. The most serious is that he asserts, without demonstration, that these interpretive schemes were organized hierarchically for community members. In light of recent research in cognitive psychology, however, it appears much more likely that citizens shared a set of such schemes and that the one cued for an individual depended on experience and the immediate circumstances. Moreover, Izquierdo Martín needs to offer some explanation of personality variation and the impact of the variety of economic and political roles within the social environment, including those differentiated by gender. Because of these theoretical weaknesses, he misses much of the dynamism within these small communities, which his own evidence abundantly shows, and concludes the book, not unexpectedly, by endorsing increasingly discredited aspects of modernization theory.

Second, the author provides an excellent description of many aspects of rural life and small-town government, an area that has received little scholarly attention, with a special emphasis on the ways that reciprocity, redistribution of resources, and official municipal representation reinforced the use of certain interpretive schemes, especially those whose pronounced local context contributed to their importance in defining peasant identity and community citizenship. During various epochs, the Castilian monarchy sold to hundreds of interested villages the right to disaggregate themselves from larger territorial entities and constitute themselves as self-governing towns (*villas*), and Izquierdo Martín discusses this process in considerable detail. Because of the shared usage of various types of communal property, separation could not be achieved cleanly, which gave rise to numerous, expensive lawsuits, and these challenges demanded displays of solidarity. The chapter about sale and rental transactions is particularly valuable both for its details and for the author's explanation of what made an individual creditworthy. The following chapter offers a fascinating discussion of municipal stores and granaries as a vehicle of wealth redistribution and of their role in giving political leaders opportunities to display their adherence to communal interpretive schemes. In the final chapter, the author shows that illegal hunting was not primarily the act of desperate individuals but instead constituted an activity tied to community values and defended by town leaders, sometimes at great personal risk and cost. The order of these chapters is effective in developing the complex argument. Given the focus on values and identity, however, the book is weakened by a failure to make more of the obvious importance to peasants of "justice" as an interpretive scheme and by the almost complete lack of attention to religious institutions and devotional practices and to the interactions of those of different economic means within this context.



Finally, the book contains descriptions of the activities of royal agents and institutions. I found particularly revealing several hundred years of negotiations, begun when the royal forest of El Escorial was established, over hunting and property destruction by game. Izquierdo Martín makes it abundantly clear that Castilian royal government was frequently a process of negotiation with municipal leaders and that the crown could accomplish little, no matter how much it centralized procedures and threatened punishments, without the willing cooperation of these people and of their communities. Unfortunately, the author hides these revealing processes behind a reductionist abstraction called "absolutism" or the "absolutist State," which is never explained and is often reified into an actor whose supposed motivations are offered without evidence.

Its flaws aside, because he challenges so directly the basic premises of so-called neoliberal economic theory, Izquierdo Martín's book provides refreshing reading at a time when this theory dominates the thinking of those who formulate policy for the major institutions of globalization. The book merits publication in an abridged English edition in order to widen its audience.

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LU ANN HOMZA. *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 118th series, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiii, 312. \$39.95.

Armed with useful parallel studies on the reception of Erasmus in Italy, Lu Ann Homza sets out to slay the durable ghost of Marcel Bataillon, whose thesis on Spain's rejection of Erasmianism originally appeared in 1937 during the Spanish Civil War (it was reprinted in the original French, in three volumes, as recently as 1991). Homza's method employs a variety of case studies in order to problematize both Erasmian-type humanism and its scholastic antithesis among Spain's predominantly clerical intellectuals during the "Bataillon era," roughly 1520–1570. While achieving its basic purpose of persuading her readers that pre-1570 Spanish intellectuals were neither monolithically humanistic nor relentlessly scholastic, her hopscotch organization is somewhat perplexing; despite its considerable merit and clear central thesis, the book never quite equals the sum of its parts.

Opening with a wonderful chapter reexamining the tantalizing Inquisitorial trial of one of Bataillon's heroes, Juan de Vergara, and following with a reappraisal of Bataillon's centerpiece, the Inquisition's 1527 Valladolid conference on Erasmus, Homza then investigates Pedro Ciruelo (1470–1548), one of thirty-three participants at Valladolid (pp. 75–76), an "intellectual polymath who [apparently] practiced a full-blown scholasticism" (p. 81). Her third chapter surveys

Ciruelo's Latin versions of parts of the Hebrew Old Testament with hawk-eyed care for any signs of non-scholastic approaches. Her remaining three chapters offer topical surveys of Spanish instruction manuals for secular clerics, treatises on the art of confession, and condemnations of witchcraft, mostly written in the vernacular and printed between 1520 and 1570. Although he wrote no handbook for priests, Ciruelo returns to dominate her two final chapters. His *Arte de bien confesar* (1514) had twenty-two editions by 1560, far outstripping its competitors in this genre (p. 163); if Ciruelo's *Reprobacion de hechicerias* (1530) saw only eight editions between 1538 and 1628 (p. 183), it virtually monopolized this genre in Spain.

The warp of Homza's connective tissue for her variegated tapestry is a continuous and successful search to discover carefully executed exercises in scholastic method in a supposed arch-humanist like Vergara; the woof is to locate the kind of historically informed critical insights usually associated with humanism in a supposedly arch-scholastic like Ciruelo. The variety of opinions at the Valladolid conference, which she summarizes in considerable detail, suggest that Spain's leading intellectuals (ten of whom had trained at the Sorbonne) opposed humanist methods of studying the Bible; even the eight delegates most familiar with his writings "declined to express their agreement with Erasmus' methods in any but the most limited terms" (p. 70). However, none of the Valladolid delegates opposed humanism in any consistently monolithic "scholastic" fashion.

A second major subtext dominates the second half of the book. Under Charles V, in an age when Spaniards were more literate than Bataillon supposed, Castilian intellectuals addressed their prescriptive discourses about confession or the care of souls to lay people as well as clergy, and to women as well as men. One consequence is that vernacular manuals for confessions, Ciruelo's in particular, seem relatively sanitized on sexual matters (p. 169). And only Ciruelo brought historical and philological insights to bear on the Ten Commandments, which was also the explicit starting point of his work on superstitions (pp. 162–64).

The Holy Office, the great bugbear of Spanish history and presumed slayer of Spanish humanism, holds center stage in Homza's first two chapters and lurks occasionally in the later parts. For example, three of the six authors publishing guides for priests were indicted by the Inquisition, including two of the three who were most closely associated with the Council of Trent (p. 118). If Ciruelo was never indicted by the Holy Office, two of his nephews were, five years after his death (p. 99). Homza highlights Ciruelo's *converso* status—his paternal grandfather was reportedly burned for this offense—while barely mentioning that Vergara also had *converso* ancestors (p. 101). She shows in fascinating detail how the Inquisition arrested Vergara, an extremely prominent official, for carrying on a secret correspondence with his imprisoned broth-

er; although they collected much miscellaneous gossip about Vergara's possible religious deviance, including Protestantism, they eventually punished him largely for obstruction of justice. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of these various Holy Office intrusions into sixteenth-century Spanish intellectual history between 1527 and the reign of Philip II is that none of the charges mentioned here, not even those against Ciruelo's *converso* nephews, involved "Judaizing."

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JAMES D. TRACY. *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 344. \$70.00.

As is so often the case, the subtitle is a far better indicator of this book's contents than its title. This is not a biography of Charles V, nor even a study of his politics or policies: it is about the material and financial demands of the emperor's wars and their consequences for the balance of domestic forces within three of his most important territorial possessions, Castile, Naples, and the Netherlands, as represented by the three "core provinces" of Brabant, Flanders, and Holland.

The book comprises three parts, dealing respectively with the fundamentals of Charles's imperial strategy and the financial and credit systems that sustained it; Charles's campaigns between 1529 and 1552; and the fiscal politics of parliamentary war taxation. The central core of six chapters, nearly half the total text, surveys chronologically the nine "enterprises" in which Charles took personal command of the troops (Italy 1529–1530, the Danube 1532, Tunis 1535, Provence 1536, Algiers 1541, the Rhineland and France in 1543 and 1544, the Schmalkaldic War of 1546–1547, and Metz in 1552). In each case, a useful account of the specific political context and strategic purpose of the campaign is followed by a painstaking calculation of the manpower required, the costs involved, and the sources of the financial provision made. The point of concentrating on these personal campaigns, James D. Tracy argues, is that by choosing on occasions to risk his own person in defense of his honor and reputation, Charles V greatly increased the cost of his wars and hence the burden of his debts and the control the bankers held over his finances. On average, twice as much was spent during these *empresa* years as in other war years.

Why the bulk of the charge for all of this should have fallen disproportionately on Castile, and then on Naples, rather than on the Netherlands, is the issue addressed in the third part of the book through a comparative study of the responses of the parliamentary elites of those three territories to the demands made of them. The parliaments, representing localist concerns against what Tracy calls a "higher selfishness" (dynastic and national), exploited the need for

money in their own long-term interests, but because in each case the balance of social and political forces differed, so too did those interests, and so inevitably did the outcomes. In the Netherlands, the pressures of war and the reality of invasion "forced the birth of a new fiscal order" that gave the towns more say in how the government managed its war budget, ensuring that their financial contributions were spent on their own defense and largely preventing their being used to subsidize "the grand strategy of empire." In Naples, by contrast, where about forty percent of parliamentary subsidies were spent outside the kingdom, the interests of the barons did not lie in taking advantage of an opportunity just to strengthen the institutional and bargaining powers of the parliament, but rather to make their own private accommodation with the crown. To explain how Castile came to bear the lion's share of the burden of empire in these terms is less straightforward, for the institutional and representative structure of the Castilian Cortes was in most ways a lot closer to that of the estates of the Netherlands than it was to the *parlamento* of Naples. As the author of *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands: Renten and Renteniers in the County of Holland, 1515–1565* (1985) and *Holland under Habsburg Rule, 1506–1566: The Formation of a Body Politic* (1990), Tracy is authoritative and most at ease writing on the Netherlands. With regard to Castile, however, he underrates the representative role of the cities in the Cortes as capitals of provinces rather than just town-states and overpersonalizes the socioeconomic interests of their representatives, who were *caballeros*, urban gentry more like Dutch regents than Neapolitan barons. The crucial point, as Tracy recognizes, is that in proportion to the ordinary tax revenues of the crown, parliamentary subsidies were far less important in Castile and Naples than they were in the Netherlands. The crown also had access to a far greater range of regalian rights and expedients (offices, honors, alienations, sequestrations). Thus, while Castile enjoyed significant economic and demographic growth, Charles was able to sustain his wars largely by borrowing against his own naturally expanding regalian resources; indeed, the share of his income requiring parliamentary assent halved during his reign. The result was that whereas the devolved fiscal system created to fund Charles's wars in the Netherlands was, as Tracy says, the key to financing the wars of the Netherlanders against his son, in Castile the shift from a regalian, product-based fiscality to a parliamentary fiscal system and the corresponding transformation in the relations between crown and Cortes only came about half a century later, in the context of an increasingly negative economic climate and even more exsanguinating wars.

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SANDIE HOLGUÍN. *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain*. Madison: Univer-

sity of Wisconsin Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 264. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$21.95.

With this book, Sandie Holguín joins David Ortíz, Pamela Beth Radcliff, and a growing number of other cultural historians who are attempting to revise our understanding of modern Spain by giving primacy to the role of culture in their historical analyses. Holguín challenges the widely held view that it was the combined impact of deteriorating economic conditions and the breakdown of democratic politics that led to the collapse of the Second Republic (1931–1939) and the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. Instead she argues that it was the failure of any one political group to achieve “cultural hegemony” that led directly to these events. By focusing throughout on three key elements of the cultural sphere—print culture, theater productions, and film—Holguín’s study provides an illuminating and often compelling explanation of how the development of peripheral nationalisms and extremist political movements on both the Left and Right militated against the formation of a coherent and integrative national culture in Spain. Holguín avoids one of the major pitfalls commonly associated with doing this kind of history: that is, she does not allow the specialized concepts and language she incorporates in her analyses to burden the general narrative. The result is a lucid and elegantly flowing prose that is accessible to the specialist and nonspecialist alike.

At the outset, Holguín carefully spells out the various assumptions underlying her historical approach. First and foremost is the view that culture is a site of power in society that is neither fixed nor monolithic. Rather, she contends that culture—broadly defined by the author to include not just the traditional arts and forms of intellectual productions but also their means of social expression—is an aspect of society that is always subject to change through negotiation and contestation. A second and related premise of the study is that cultural projects are never neutral in so far as each mediates the values and beliefs of the formal and informal groups promoting them.

Holguín’s study is pathbreaking in two important respects. It is the first study in English that is devoted to an in-depth exploration of the relationship between culture and the political fate of the Second Republic. It is also the first monograph of its kind to focus on the role state apparatuses played in the production of “official” culture. Her detailed discussion of the activities of the republic’s cultural programs known as *Misiones Pedagógicas*, for example, is particularly valuable for the light it sheds both on the operation of these agencies at the local level and on the mindset of the progressive liberals who served in the socialist-republican coalition that ruled during the first two years of the Second Republic.

Although the author’s analytical framework holds up well throughout much of the book, it cannot adequately support the weight of all the themes that

are introduced in this slim volume. The result is that some particularly complex issues receive short shrift in Holguín’s attempt to map out the main contours of the cultural landscape of the Second Republic. The problem of peripheral nationalisms is a case in point. With the exception of Catalan regionalism, the nationalist question does not receive the attention it deserves in a study that sets itself the goal of explaining the fractured process of identity formation in the Spanish nation-state.

The book also suffers from a narrowness of focus. For example, Holguín’s survey of republican cultural activities during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) ignores the ways in which visual (posters) and aural (radio, loudspeakers) media were employed by the different factions in their educational and propagandizing programs. No less problematic is the author’s failure to analyze the profound impact that foreign influences—particularly the Soviet Union’s efforts to project its ideological concerns into the Spanish arena—had on shaping the cultural responses of the various republican factions during the civil war. This is illustrated by the fact that many of the cultural projects sponsored by the procommunist administrations of the socialist premier, Juan Negrín, were so thoroughly imbued with a Russian accent that most republicans came to regard his Popular Front government (1937–1939) as a vehicle for Soviet (read communist) colonization.

Another dimension of Spain’s cultural sphere that is not sufficiently explored is the role of the Catholic Church, an institution that, more than any other, defined the personal and social identities of the vast majority of Spaniards. In one section of the chapter entitled “Theater as Secularized Religion,” Holguín tells us something about the religious context of theater productions inherited from the Golden Age (sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) but does not elucidate the specific cultural messages embedded in them. Above all, the cultural currents that the author delineates throughout the manuscript are products of long-standing and uneven social and political movements toward secularization in Spanish society. While we are indebted to Holguín for tracing the historical development of Spain’s principal secularizing and modernizing forces, her assessment of their respective cultural projects does not give sufficient weight to the fact that the Catholic Church was highly successful at asserting and sustaining its own cultural hegemony within the liberal state system.

Despite these flaws, this is an important book that deserves a wide readership. Students of Spanish history will be indebted to Holguín for unearthing a rich and varied research base that can be exploited for future investigations into this fascinating area. Indeed, it a testament to her resourcefulness and imagination as an historical sleuth that, out of an evidential record that is largely fragmentary, she has managed to construct a lucid and highly readable narrative of the different types of cultural traditions that evolved over



the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Perhaps Holguín's greatest achievement has been to demonstrate that historical change cannot be fully understood without taking into account the role of "culture," for, as she convincingly argues, it is within the cultural sphere that long-standing and deeply rooted social change takes place. Finally, the arguments advanced and questions raised in this book will inform the ongoing historical debates and discussions that are centered on a particularly complicated and controversial period of Spanish history.

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GUY ROWLANDS. *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest, 1661–1701*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xxi, 404. \$70.00.

For many years, discussions of the nature of French absolute monarchy have neglected a key element of the story, the army. Several recent studies have dramatically changed this picture. The latest, this exhaustively researched volume by Guy Rowlands, examines the interaction of the royal government and the officer corps in the key years between 1661 and 1701. It is neither a history of battles nor a social history of the troops. Instead, it scrutinizes power relations and the personal ties that influenced them.

Rowlands starts with a critique of existing studies of absolutism, including mine. He gives a very helpful account of the growth in importance of the secretary of state for war and analyzes the Le Tellier dynasty's domination of the war ministry from 1661 to 1701. He examines the civilian agents assigned to manage the army, the funding of the military, the officer corps, and the high command. His dense, factually rich chapters provide a wealth of information on rules, procedures, and especially behind-the-scenes personal relations. They will be essential reading for anyone serious about studying this important subject.

Rowlands is highly critical of older works that stress the modernization of the state through bureaucratic routines and civilian control. He thus places himself in the company of the majority of present-day scholars who see absolutism as a compromise between kings and elites and who prefer to stress historical differences rather than interpret every development as a step toward the centralized modern state. But what kind of compromise? Following his mentor, David Parrott, he stresses the backwardness of the army under Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin and sets out to explain how Louis XIV managed to expand it dramatically without having substantially greater resources (see Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624–1642* [2001]). He argues that the king simply wanted to expand the size and impact of the traditional army, and that he had no conception of any sort of modernization. Unable to dictate to an

officer corps of influential nobles who still had control over most of the business of their units, he opted for accommodating their needs in order to keep them serving the crown and pouring their private resources into their regiments.

Louis was sensitive to the financial needs of his officers and to their desire for personal advancement. He catered to their vanity with arbitrary honors and favors; he bailed them out of bankruptcy; he accommodated their requests for support of their clients. The new policy of selling venal offices to colonels and captains was actually a benefit because it guaranteed them marketable property in return for their investment in regiments and equipment. Louis did improve civilian surveillance of troop musters and military expenditures and he did make some headway with disciplining the rank and file, but all these improvements were mitigated by setbacks. Far from being all-powerful, the intendants and other civilian inspectors were relatively powerless when confronting well-connected colonels and captains who did what they pleased. Corruption and favoritism were rampant.

Rowlands rejects some common ideas. The king did not direct his later wars from the cabinet at Versailles; he left strategic decisions to commanders in the field. Contrary to the claims of Roger Mettam, he did not rule by promoting one "royal faction." Rowlands sees instead "an effective political balance of the leading families of the realm" (p. 347). The author is especially critical of John A. Lynn's recent study (*Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610–1715* [1997]). Lynn, he claims, has miscalculated the magnitude of contributions levied on occupied foreign territories; he has underestimated the amount of fraud at musters; he has put too much stock in the effectiveness of bureaucratic reorganization; he has misunderstood the officers' quest for glory, and much more. Without pronouncing on these matters, I will simply note that the two authors seem to be arguing over nuances. Lynn is more impressed by the army's successes and he thinks state institutions lagged behind. By contrast, Rowlands tends to stress problems and limits in the army, while underplaying the advances. Both authors reject teleological views of the rise of the state and argue against the "military revolution" thesis.

Rowlands's overall view of absolutism is hard to decipher. His picture of Louis XIV skillfully balancing the dynastic and personal interests of those around him suggests a rather favorable—perhaps too favorable—assessment of a king who comes across as traditional minded but very effective. It also comes close to reviving the old "divide and conquer" idea of absolutism. Louis was in tune with his social peers—granted—but what about the relationship of the army to the rest of society? This study of officers and courtiers, which is conducted exclusively "from above," does not give us the whole story.

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MICHAEL KWASS. *Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France: Liberté, Égalité, Fiscalité*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 353.

In their preoccupation with discourse, ideology, and politics, many recent studies of the origins of the French Revolution have neglected the issue of Old Regime taxation. Michael Kwass seeks to reverse this trend. His impressive book focuses on the issue of direct “universal taxes”—the *capitation* and the *dixième*, later known as the *vingtième*—instituted by Louis XIV at the end of his reign and levied throughout the eighteenth century on the entire lay population, including “privileged” elites. Although much of the study is based on the province of Normandy (especially the *généralité* of Caen and the Parlement of Rouen), the author also draws on a wealth of comparative materials from other regions, lending his conclusions greater applicability for the nation as a whole.

Kwass begins with an analysis of the real impact of the new taxes on nobles and other privileged groups in various parts of the kingdom. In response to a long-standing debate on this question, he provides strong evidence that most nobles were not able to avoid payment and that, by the later eighteenth century, the two levies took a small but significant portion—as much as ten percent—of their total income. He is also careful to point out that nonprivileged commoners still paid a far greater proportion of these taxes, and of all taxes, than did the nobles. (This is especially true if one includes the onerous indirect taxes of the *gabelle* and *aides*, which Kwass does not mention.)

Examining a mass of appeals for lowering the taxes, he concludes that individual nobles did not contest the crown’s right to impose the *capitation* and *vingtième* but commonly grumbled over the amount to be paid. The greatest elite opposition to the fiscal innovations came not from individuals but from the parlements. As Kwass recounts it, the sovereign courts were particularly unhappy for two reasons: first, because from 1749 the royal ministers began an increasingly vigorous policy of verifying elite taxpayer incomes; and second, because jurisdiction over the new taxes was given entirely to the intendants, thus circumventing the traditional oversight authority of the courts themselves. The political struggles between Louis XV and the parlements in the 1760s and 1770s have often been recounted. The interest of this study comes from Kwass’s insights into the factional divisions within the Parlement of Rouen and above all, from his subtle analysis of the evolution of parliamentary rhetoric. By the mid-1760s, in widely published remonstrances against royal fiscal policies, the magistrates of Rouen were commonly using words like “despotism,” “liberty,” “citizens,” and “nation” and were calling for a revival of both provincial estates and the estates general. Although they drew on the language of authors like Boulainvilliers and Montesquieu and on the Jansenist-Gallican rhetoric of the 1750s, they greatly

expanded the range and meaning of this vocabulary and added altogether new elements. Nevertheless, the goals of the magistrates, Kwass argues, were ultimately particularist and conservative. Indeed, he rejects the thesis that the parlements contributed in “desacralizing” the monarchy.

More radical proposals and language concerning taxes, the author contends, emerged rather from the Enlightenment “literary sphere” and from the royal government itself. He charts the sharp increase over the century of books written on finance, taxation, and political economy, offering more extensive developments on the works of Pierre Le Pesent de Boisguilbert, Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, Victor Riquetti de Mirabeau, and Jacques Necker. The last, in particular, emerges as a central figure. Both through his decrees during two ministries and through two remarkably widely read books, Necker played a major role in popularizing the concepts of public opinion and *patrie* and in promoting the virtues of consultative representative assemblies—largely adapted from the ideas of physiocrats like Pierre-Samuel Dupont de Nemours. Although it was not the government’s intention, the provincial assemblies, organized through two-thirds of the French provinces in 1787–1788, had a genuinely “revolutionary” impact. During the final fiscal crisis of the Old Regime, the language and ideas of the parlements, of Necker, and of other royal ministers were adapted and transformed by the Third Estate—as the Parlement had earlier adapted the Jansenists—in developing ideas of “modern political representation” with sovereign powers over taxation.

In its conclusion, this book offers a critique of interpretations that would link the origins of the revolution primarily to certain ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The revolution would not have occurred, Kwass argues, if “a crucial number of vocal elites” had not first believed they were oppressed. Such feelings of oppression were “both culturally constructed—as part of a story people tell themselves about the world—and rooted in unarticulated social experience” (p. 311). Richly documented and theoretically and methodologically sophisticated, Kwass’s book will be requisite reading for anyone interested in the long-term political, social, and ideological origins of the French Revolution.

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TIMOTHY B. SMITH. *Creating the Welfare State in France, 1880–1940*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 241. \$75.00.

We tend to think of France as a classical land of the welfare state—and so do the French, as the recurrent waves of demonstrations and strikes there testify. But it was not always thus. Perhaps the major virtue of this volume is to demonstrate how and why a striking volte-face occurred in the Third Republic after World

War I. From a nation of laissez-faire liberalism to an *état-providence* that offers a full range of social entitlements, France underwent a marked transition in welfare reform.

Although, at the outset, Timothy B. Smith seems to adopt a programmatic stance that France should not be considered a laggard before 1914, nearly all of his evidence argues to the contrary. Whereas Germany and Britain moved vigorously in the prewar years to address social problems like health insurance, retirement pensions, public housing, and tuberculosis care, France remained wedded to a tradition of voluntarism, faith-based charities, private endowments, and spotty communal controls dominated by a provincial notability. The central state was loath to intervene, and when it decided to do so, it was ordinarily met with resistance or noncompliance. This circumstance, as Smith defines it, meant a reign of "localism," the major obstacle to effective social reform.

The Great War changed all that. France's demographic lassitude, already quite apparent before the conflict, became an acute problem after the loss of 1.4 million men, further raising apprehensions about depopulation and stirring a campaign of pronatalism. To be more precise, it was the population deficit vis-à-vis Germany that chiefly motivated new efforts to adopt state-funded measures to assist unwed mothers, founding children, disabled workers, retired pensioners, and others in need. As the demand for such social services grew and France became more medicalized, local financial means were manifestly inadequate. City fathers therefore abandoned their prewar negativism to demand increased state appropriations for hospitals, clinics, unemployment offices, and welfare institutions. Smith contends that this evolution, and with it the demise of localism, was well underway before 1940, especially in several ("at least" ten) large urban centers. His own evidence is drawn largely from the municipal archives of Lyon, the subject of his previous Ph. D. dissertation.

Smith's analysis works best when it remains close to its origins as a monograph on health care and public assistance in Lyon. His attempt to expand this focus into a general theory for all of France is far less convincing. Indeed, his suggestion that the story of French social reform should be approached only from the perspective of municipal politics is faintly absurd, and he himself does not do so. One of Smith's main contributions, in fact, is to rescue the 1928 national insurance law from obscurity and to portray it as the real basis for the creation of France's vaunted social security system after 1945. Whether he thereby vitiates Eugen Weber's notion of the interwar period as "the hollow years" remains, however, open to debate.

The book is notably weakened by two astonishing lacunae. One is mutualism. This nationwide association of voluntary health insurance agencies was as close as many millions of French citizens came to social security before 1945. Yet mutual aid societies do not rate a single mention in Smith's index, and he

completely ignores the considerable historical literature that has accumulated on the subject. The second oversight is the French prefectural system. Even though Smith recognizes that, after 1918, matters of public assistance were raised from the communal to the departmental level, the prefect of the Rhône, the central government's man in Lyon, is nowhere in sight. State funding to French departments increased exponentially during the interwar years, yet we are left without a clue about how this money was allocated and administered through negotiation. Surely it is proper for Smith to emphasize the importance of Mayor Edouard Herriot, who presided over the city of Lyon for a full half-century, but his quotidian relations with the prefecture go unexamined.

Finally, any reviewer must lament that Smith was unable to take account of the recent parallel study by Paul V. Dutton (*Origins of the French Welfare State: The Struggle for Social Reform in France, 1914–1947* [2002]). Had he done so, it is possible that a more balanced view of the relationship between center and periphery—that is, Paris and the provinces—might have emerged. Still, Smith does offer a welcome complement to presentations that concentrate solely on the development of a social security scheme at the national level, thereby neglecting rich archival resources outside the capital. In the wake of Smith's work, it might be worthwhile to dispatch a team of researchers to examine the records of other provincial municipalities in order to establish just how particular or typical was the example of Lyon.

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LAURA LEE DOWNS. *Childhood in the Promised Land: Working-Class Movements and the Colonies de Vacances in France, 1880–1960*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 411. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$24.95.

In this informative and lively book, Laura Lee Downs succeeds admirably in portraying perceptions of childhood from the 1880s through the 1950s. Her focus is on the *colonies de vacances*, where many thousands of French urban working-class children spent summer weeks in the countryside or at the seashore. These *colonies* originated in the last decades of the nineteenth century when Protestants, Catholics, and secular republicans expressed renewed concern with the health and hygiene of working-class children. In the 1920s and 1930s, these groups, with the addition of the Socialists and Communists, envisioned a better future for France based on improving the bodies, minds, and souls of working-class children. In the 1940s and 1950s, the *colonies de vacances* also became features of middle-class as well as of working-class childhood. The demise of the *colonies* occurred in the 1960s as workers gained paid summer vacations and took family holidays with their children. This engrossing book explores

the relationship of childhood to society, class, and government and contributes to the literature on hygiene, on public health, on education, on politics, and especially to the growing literature on the history of childhood.

Protestants, secular republicans, and Catholics founded *colonies de vacances* in the late nineteenth century to get children out of the cities for the summer, to restore them from winter's hardships, and fortify them so they would better resist disease. The early *colonies* resembled the rescue missions typical of these decades in other countries. Although they may be considered a form of social control of the working classes, Downs does not push that theme. The Protestant movement favored placement of the poorest and palest underweight children among rural families, while the republican *colonies scolaires* preferred a structured group placement of Paris's public-school children where the country air would be good for their lungs and where they could learn from their surroundings. The Catholic *colonies de vacances* came later, as a way to wrest working-class children away from the secular ideas of their parents and the public schools and lead them back to the church. The Catholic *colonies*, which housed children in groups, were less interested in the children's weight gain than the others were; rather they featured children's play and religious instruction. By the 1920s, the *colonies de vacances* were expected to provide a moral and ideological education—whether republican, religious, or political—along with fresh air, ample food, good hygiene, and organized leisure for working-class children. Pedagogues, however, continued to debate the relative value of familial or group placements.

Case studies of the *colonies de vacances* of two municipalities just outside Paris, one Socialist and one Communist, lie at the heart of this book. During the interwar period, each sought to assure its children's health and political education. The Socialists developed family placement among the peasantry in an area where Public Assistance had been sending the abandoned children of Paris for over a century and relied on those administrators to vet the host families. Downs neglects to address adequately why these families in one of the poorest peasant areas of France accepted working-class children. They may have taken the children for the money or for the children's work on the farm: the same reasons many took in abandoned children. This Socialist *colonie* had no intended educational component; it was to provide food, fresh air, some healthy farm labor, and rest. By the mid-1930s, the economic depression and the preference of urban families for an educational group *colonie* contributed to the demise of this system. Downs might have further analyzed the "civilizing mission" of this *colonie* whereby healthy, moral, hard-working rural families, with the help of a tutelary apparatus, would "civilize" the urban children, actually called *colons*. With the emphasis more on pedagogy than hygiene during the 1930s, family placements ended.

Ironically, the Communists borrowed some of the practices of the Catholic *colonies* and of the scouting movements that featured play-centered pedagogies as a means of moral and political education to mold the children. Both the Catholic and Communist *colonies* wanted to create resilient and independent children and adults through directed play activity. But their similarities ended there. The Communists saw their *colonies* as the beginning of the social and political transformation of society, with children in the vanguard. The Communist colony became a model of idealized equality, more apparent, however, in the propaganda than in the children's experiences. It declined with the Cold War of the 1950s, as it lost some support because of its strict political orientation. The *colonie* then shifted its politics to safer ground: a cultural battle against American comics and films.

Downs has written a sensitive book in which childhood is not gendered male; she pays particular attention to the gendered organization of space and activities. Based on exhaustive research in archival and printed primary sources, her book represents social history at its best, informing and informed by political and cultural history.

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PAUL-ANDRÉ ROSENTAL. *L'intelligence démographique: Sciences et politiques des populations en France (1930–1960)*. Paris: Odile Jacob. 2003. Pp. 367. €27.00.

"Demography haunts the political culture of France" (p. 9). With these ominous words, Paul-André Rosental begins his penetrating history of the science, ideology, institutions, and public policies that mark demography in France. Rosental concedes that France presents an exceptional case when it comes to the influential role that demography has played in the twentieth century. Indeed, his study is clearly motivated by this exceptionalism and goes further than any previous work in explaining it. In so doing, Rosental provides a fascinating new regard on the tumultuous interwar, Vichy, and postliberation years. He convincingly ties the French obsession with demography to some of the most important social and political developments of the twentieth century, including the origins of the welfare state.

There is substantial evidence that France holds a special status among industrialized countries due to the nature of its demographic transition. Fertility declined relatively early in the nineteenth century and mortality rates fell at approximately the same pace, resulting in stagnant population growth projections for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this time, a pronatalist discourse solidified, which set vigorous population growth as a necessary precondition for national greatness. But population, per se, is not the subject of Rosental's history. He is interested in the interaction among scientific theories of population, pronatalist ideology,



and their filtering through state institutions. The resulting public policy recommendations are what Rosental terms "demographic intelligence" (p. 13).

Demography, notes Rosental, is only one of several social sciences whose object of study is population. Yet in France, in contrast to comparable disciplines, demography has achieved a preponderant presence in the halls of government. So influential was demographic intelligence, argues Rosental, that its own existence became self-perpetuating with the founding in 1945 of the state-financed Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (INED). In fact, much of Rosental's evidence is assembled from INED's archives, which were usefully reorganized during the move to their present location in 1998.

Rosental carefully traces what might be termed INED's antecedents, beginning with the High Committee on Population. The High Committee represented the zenith of state-sponsored pronatalist policy under the Third Republic (1871–1940) and it is most often associated with the Code de la Famille of 1939. The code inscribed a litany of pronatalist measures into French law, including harsh sanctions for abortion, funds to combat alcoholism, loans to newlyweds that could be repaid by having children, and substantial birth bonuses for a couple's first child. Rosental dallies little on the code itself, preferring instead to analyze the broader ideological and political context of the High Committee. Among its members he finds legislator and sometime minister of labor, Adolphe Landry. Landry played a principal role in promoting employer-paid family allowances and in the implementation of social insurance laws during the interwar years. In 1931, Landry appointed a well-connected twenty-three-year-old named Pierre Laroque to his cabinet. Laroque would deservedly become known as the "French Beveridge" for his founding directorship of Social Security immediately after World War II. Rosental insists that the direct implication of Laroque in the network of demographic intelligence colored his approach to social policy. Indeed, fifty percent of France's Social Security outlays in 1946 went to pay family allowances. Such a statistic prompts Rosental to ask "how, at this date, can one distinguish between social policy and population policy?" (p. 26).

Rosental also devotes significant space to the Vichy years; however, like his treatment of the Code de la Famille, he eschews programmatic details in order to privilege a discussion of the science (or pseudo-science, as the case may be), ideologies, and personalities who shaped demographic intelligence during the war. Of note here is Rosental's analysis of the growing cleavage between pronatalists and profamily groups, which would affect not only the wartime state's population policy but also that of the postwar period. Alfred Sauvy presents Rosental with his most daunting ideological and character analysis. Sauvy was a prominent interwar pronatalist and statistician who became well integrated into the pronatalist network that Rosental traces throughout the text. By 1944, Sauvy had

emerged as France's foremost population expert, but his prominent service for Vichy threatened his political viability. In a stunning reversal of fortunes, which underlines Rosental's larger claim of demography's primacy, Sauvy was appointed founding director of INED within fifteen months after the liberation.

Since INED's founding in 1945, it has influenced French politics in myriad ways, from immigration policy in the 1950s to France's position on world population questions at the United Nations. Too often INED is credited (or blamed) with originating the demographic intelligence that has so influenced the country's political leaders. Rosental has written a grand corrective to this view by crisscrossing the frontiers of science, political, and institutional history. This is not a book for the uninitiated, but it should be of interest to those working on questions of knowledge and power, social policy, and twentieth-century political culture.

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CRAIG HARLINE. *Miracles at the Jesus Oak: Histories of the Supernatural in Reformation Europe*. New York: Doubleday. 2003. Pp. 324. \$22.95.

This is the third of what are fundamentally three contextual biographies that Craig Harline (the second, *A Bishop's Tale: Mathias Hovius among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders* [2000], coauthored with Eddy Put) has presented to a mixed trade-book and academic audience. All three are clearly the result of extensive exploration of Belgian and Dutch archives. This volume differs from its predecessors in offering five brief stories for our delectation. The first chapter is not so much an exploration of an individual or an event in one life as it is the account of a popular shrine from its humble inception to its present state. It is the biography of a holy site. The Jesus Oak as a sought-after and contested pilgrimage destination arose out of one tradesman's fear to pass through the dense, dark Sonien Woods lying between two villages and Brussels. He placed a statue of the Virgin Mary under a great oak tree there to make him feel safe. So popular did the site become that a woman began to guard it and to sell candles. Two competing priests struggled to appropriate the shrine from the woman as soon as it became a source of money and fame. A feat of historical anthropology, Harline places the entire phenomenon of this place's growth and ultimate decline into a matrix that includes attitudes toward miracles, ecclesiastical anxieties about Protestantism, economic trends, fears of approaching war, and territorial politics. The book's chapters, with their separate protagonists, are united by precisely this endeavor to sort out the complicated mentalities of sixteenth and seventeenth-century people.

Maria Caroens believed that she experienced a miracle when, in going to a Jesuit church to pray for enough milk to nurse her fourteenth child, her breasts



filled. Little did she realize that the Jesuit community sought to use her personal good fortune to enhance its own status in relation to a secular hierarchy inclined toward Jansenism. Harline explores the lines of theological reasoning probably engaged in by the higher authorities in determining whether Maria's experience was indeed miraculous.

Harline does not explicitly state that the struggle between Abbess Maria van Hamme, mother superior of the claustrated convent of Groenebriel, and the tailors' guild of Ghent had marked class connotations. The convent's residents boasted the loftiest social origins of all thirty-one female religious houses in the city. The sisters and the impoverished tailors fought over St. Fiacre, the former possessing actual relics at their chapel, the latter merely a small, old church named for the saintly healer. There was likely no doubt as to who would win.

In the account of Aldegonde, a prostitute forced into the House for Penitent Daughters in Brussels, we find not a pardon tale but an attention-getting tale. As a child, Aldegonde slept in the same bed with her father and stepmother, and her father raped her. That much was probably true. When Aldegonde was apprehended for retaining the Host in her mouth for later use or sale, she embroidered a life story of multiple transgressions up to and including murder. Harline treats us to his annotation of the records left by the diocesan interrogators, who ultimately did not believe her. But Aldegonde's wild story, accurate or not, permits us cautious entrée into the mental and social world of the early modern outcast.

The most demanding chapter is on the great iatrochemist, Jan Baptista van Helmont. We who teach early modern surveys usually serve up Galileo Galilei or perhaps Giordano Bruno to our classes when presenting the conflict between the church and scientific and other unorthodox thinkers. Van Helmont's twenty-year persecution and his insistence that scientific discovery came in part by means of divine illumination provide a most useful alternative in a region removed from Italy. In doing so, Harline provides an admirable survey of the Natural Philosophy movement.

Lightly documented by means of brief topical bibliographies at the back, this book impels to serious thought even while entertaining. It illuminates early modern cultures and states of mind. We see the anxieties produced in Catholic clergymen by nearby Protestantism, and by divisions within the Catholic Church. We are led into the semi-magical world of the ordinary laity—or is it also the world of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the powerful, and the educated? The author might have engaged in the analysis of this sort of question. Gender and class issues appear and beg in vain for comment. Factual errors are few, but a Reformation historian cannot let pass the serious misrepresentation of Martin Luther's thought on the Eucharist (p. 136). Many of us will take this book into the classroom to good purpose and with great plea-

sure. Ideally, we would then accompany our students on a class trip to the Shrine of Our Lady of Fatima. Maria Caroens bought waxen breast votives in her time, and these are on sale at Fatima today.

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GEERT VAN DEN BOSSCHE. *Enlightened Innovation and the Ancient Constitution: The Intellectual Justifications of Revolution in Brabant (1787–1790)*. (Nieuwe reeks, number 4.) Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten. 2001. Pp. 276.

Geert Van den Bossche's book sets out to rescue the revolutionary Belgian conservatives from the neglect to which they have been consigned by historians of the Brabant Revolution. Henri Van der Noot's *Estatists* established the independent United States of Belgium when the Brabant revolutionaries secured Belgian independence from the Austrians in December 1789. Their conservative party ruled the Belgian provinces until the Austrians returned in November 1790. Their political culture, not that of the Vonckists who merely echoed the democratic ideals of their revolutionary neighbors, constitutes the uniquely Belgian contribution to the Atlantic revolution, according to Van den Bossche.

The Brabant Revolution originated in 1787 in protests against legal reforms introduced by Austrian Emperor Joseph II. Van den Bossche explains that, like his mother Maria Theresa, Joseph was preoccupied with the integration and the centralization of the Austrian Empire. Belgian pamphleteers, journalists, and legal scholars such as F.-X. de Feller, H. J. Van der Hoop, and Henri Van der Noot asserted the legitimating traditions of the body of ancient law that had safeguarded Belgian society for generations against the reforming emperor who had willfully separated himself from their political community. In October 1789, Van der Noot and the Breda Committee pronounced their revolutionary intent in a proclamation modeled on the American Declaration of Independence. The Vonckists who had organized the armed resistance of the Belgian provinces joined the *Estatists* on the revolutionary Breda Committee.

Van den Bossche argues that the *Estatist* party remained consistently committed throughout the period 1787 to 1790 to conserving the constitutional structure, the body of laws, that guaranteed the traditional order of the Belgian provinces. She carefully delineates these legal concepts in the texts that she charges have been overlooked by historians who are more interested in the Vonckists.

In the midst of the era of democratic revolution, she explains, the Belgians won a revolution and created an independent republic based on an "impersonal notion of political authority" (p. 27). The *Estatists* vested sovereignty in the Estates, not to defend their privi-

leges, she asserts, but to preserve their conception of the nation, their "imagined community" (p. 19).

Van den Bossche's approach to the intellectual history of the Estatist party is framed by the Cambridge School "that posits political writings as 'actors'" to be "understood within the highly normative context of existing political languages" (p. 32). She eschews diplomatic as well as social and economic history in her argument that the revolutionaries can best be understood through their writings. She focuses on the ideological context that she explains determined the limits of the revolutionary discussion at the end of the eighteenth century in the Belgian provinces. Curiously, religion plays a very minor role in her account, whether because the vivid images of God descending to earth with thunder and lightening to strike dead the religious infidels would detract from the seriousness of purpose she wants to establish or because the claim to be God's chosen people, the second Israelites, in fact echoed from Philadelphia to Warsaw at the end of the eighteenth century.

Van den Bossche dismisses Belgian historians who, she charges, have subordinated the Brabant to the Belgian Revolution of 1830 in their studies of the building of a liberal Belgian nation-state. In her "rehabilitation" of the Estatists, she also denigrates the contributions of the Vonckists as derivative of foreign ideals and downplays any collaboration between revolutionary parties. I agree with Van den Bossche that the Estatists have not received the serious attention that they deserve, that they have been too readily ridiculed as fanatics. But to make her case for the significance of the eighteenth-century Belgian conservatives and for their identity as a party, is it necessary to denounce the revolutionary democrats and to discard the work of all of the previous historians of the Brabant Revolution? To my mind, what makes the eighteenth-century revolution in the Belgian provinces unique is neither the Estatists considered in isolation nor the Vonckists heralded in eventual nineteenth-century triumph but rather the continued sparring of revolutionary parties in this "land of pamphlets" over questions of natural rights, popular sovereignty, and revolutionary strategy.

For specialists steeped in the debates over early modern legal and political theory, this book, with its painstaking analysis of Austrian and Estatist texts and its comprehensive bibliography, will be an invaluable resource. However, the lengthy though informative footnotes, substantial citations in French, inattentive editing and inadequate attribution (for example, a "new baked Belgian" appears on page 15 and sentences taken from my first book on page 42), and lack of an index may limit its accessibility to general readers. Readers unversed in eighteenth-century Belgian history may find this work difficult.

Read together with the work of other Belgian historians of the Brabant Revolution including Suzanne Tassier, Luc Dhondt, Jan Roegiers, Herve Hasquin, and Yves Van der Berghe, Geert Van den Bossche's

book adds an important piece to our understanding of this traditional political culture in the midst of the Age of Democratic Revolution. This history of the Brabant Revolution constructed on the foundation of Estatist writings persuasively establishes the consistency and credibility of their conservative political culture.

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PETER BLICKLE. *Kommunalismus: Skizzen einer gesellschaftlichen Organisationsform*. Volume 1, *Oberdeutschland*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2000. Pp. ix, 196. DM 78.00.

PETER BLICKLE. *Kommunalismus: Skizzen einer gesellschaftlichen Organisationsform*. Volume 2, *Europa*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2000. Pp. ix, 422. DM 138.00.

In a series of essays and monographs published over the last thirty years, Peter Blicke has developed a seminal and broadly influential analysis of Germany's social history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This analysis pivots around the commune, or *Gemeinde*, an elemental unit of social organization that contributed significantly to the germination and shaping of the popular demands for religious, political, and economic change associated with the early Reformation (particularly its Zwinglian variety) and the German Peasants' War. Here Blicke broadens the scope of his argument both geographically and chronologically to explore how communes in different parts of Western Europe collectively asserted themselves, thereby effecting, from the high Middle Ages to the French Revolution, notable transformations in the social and political landscape. Given the project's vast compass, Blicke's two volumes can present only a selective outline of communalism's historical significance. Nevertheless, the work raises fundamental questions about the organizing framework used in different narratives of Western Europe's political and social history.

In the first volume, Blicke presents the study's basic building blocks: working definitions of "commune" and "communalism" based largely on published sources and archival evidence from Upper Germany, a region that includes much of Switzerland, Vorarlberg and the Tirol in western Austria, and southern Germany. Roughly, communalism signified the capacity of a town or village to defend and promote its interests vis-à-vis various forms of lordship. This capacity emanated from the commune's authority to regulate its economic and social life by issuing statutes and punishing their violation. Moreover, the inception of this regulatory authority did not in any way depend on lordly consent, which would have gravely compromised the commune's leverage in asserting its interests.

One of Blicke's central arguments is that the concept of communalism does not and should not recognize any fundamental distinction between urban and rural communes. Both possessed, for example, similar

political and judicial structures, including, most importantly, a communal assembly, usually an annual meeting of all the householders who, if necessary, could deliberate serious matters that affected the entire commune and issue appropriate statutes. Moreover, a careful study of the late medieval and early modern usage of terms such as “subject” (*Untertan*), “housefather,” and “common man” reveals that contemporaries made little political distinction between villagers and townspeople. For these and similar reasons, Blickle insists that regarding town and country as two essentially separate political spheres yields a deficient understanding of preindustrial popular movements and that the concept of communalism skirts this shortcoming.

In aggregating towns, hamlets, and villages under one sociopolitical banner, Blickle also explores the sharp divergence of their collective interests from those of lords. Numerous urban and rural revolts and the republican states established in eastern and southern Switzerland by communes that had overthrown their political masters highlight this antinomy. It also manifests itself, Blickle emphasizes, in the political and administrative language of communes. This language appealed to norms and values such as the common good, household sufficiency, and public peace that pointedly did not reflect lordly social, political, and economic concerns. Also noteworthy is Blickle’s discussion of how the use of imperative mandates for the representation of peasants and townspeople in the territorial estates reflected the vitality of communal principles.

Particularly in its discussion of norms and values, the first volume offers fresh perspectives on and new evidence for some of Blickle’s long-held views. But the work does not adequately reinforce all the elements of his argument. Blickle treats the social and economic divisions within the commune superficially, although they could plausibly have affected communal politics in significant ways. Indeed, Govind P. Sreenivasan has recently suggested how such divisions can account for the local dynamics of unrest during the German Peasants’ War (“The Social Origins of the Peasants’ War of 1525 in Upper Swabia,” *Past and Present* 171 [May 2001]). Blickle also does not engage the considerable body of evidence that suggests that towns and villages, despite perhaps having a common political language, did not forge a genuine bond during the German Peasants’ War.

The second volume is a tour de force, an impressively erudite survey of the enormous scholarly literature for Western Europe, from Scandinavia to the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, that illuminates various facets of communalism. It is disappointing, however, that Blickle comments relatively little on medieval Flanders, an epicenter of urban and peasant revolts and a region in which communes flourished politically and economically. In his account, Sweden and the Swiss Confederation possessed particularly vibrant and enduring forms of communalism, but England, re-

markably, could sustain nothing of the sort. England lacked communal structures, Blickle contends, because its medieval villages never acquired for themselves a legal identity independent of the manor and thus the interests of the lord. The judicial system that eventually emerged in the kingdom reflected this situation. The gentry in effect controlled the entire hierarchy of courts, and the predominance of English common law prevented customary law from nourishing provincial and communal autonomy. Thus Blickle’s decision to situate England beyond the communal pale reflects subtly some of the traditional arguments about the rise of the English gentry. More importantly, this decision also leads him to contrast English parliamentarianism and continental communalism as two distinct passages to political modernity in Europe.

Continental communalism deserves more appreciation, Blickle affirms. In Sweden, for example, communalism provided the social and political foundations for a strong national assembly, the Riksdag, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This assembly included peasant representation, and roughly half of all adults, including many women, could vote for delegates. Thus the Swedes enjoyed a more inclusive franchise than the English. Moreover, since about 1610 the Swedish monarch could not pass any laws, conduct war, or conclude peace treaties without the approval of the Riksdag, and after 1660 this body had to convene every three years, irrespective of the monarch’s wishes. Sweden, where communalism thrived, advanced more swiftly than England toward the establishment of a limited monarchy and thus, Blickle suggests, perhaps represented a more successful model of pre-1789 political modernization.

In one of the finest chapters in the volume, Blickle explores the commitment of early communalism to the establishment of public peace. Here he argues that the peace movement of the high Middle Ages paled in comparison to the unflinching efforts of communes to suppress feuding and other forms of armed violence and to establish judicial procedures for the resolution of conflicts. In carefully detailing the pacificatory measures taken by late thirteenth and fourteenth-century Swiss peasant communal associations and then outlining comparable activity in Spain, France, northern Italy, and Scandinavia, Blickle demonstrates that public peace represented a fundamental goal of European communal politics. In similar fashion, he examines institutional structures, popular revolts, and the notion of the common good and finds that many of the key elements of communalism in Upper Germany were present elsewhere in Europe.

By the mid-sixteenth century, communalism began to atrophy as a viable political force in many parts of Western Europe. In response to the tumult of the early Reformation, Protestant authorities severely restricted the ability of congregations to exercise communal autonomy in religious matters, and the development of absolutism gradually undermined forms of local power and independence. But communalism continued to



survive, Blicke maintains, in various guises in the political theory of early modern Europe, gained new vigor through Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the French Revolution, and thus found entry into the modern political world.

Together these two volumes represent a stimulating and masterful reconsideration of some of the principal lines of development in Western European history. Although specialists of particular national histories may perhaps find occasional overreaching in Blicke's arguments, scholars will undoubtedly esteem this extraordinary work.

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ALISON D. ANDERSON. *On the Verge of War: International Relations and the Jülich-Cleves Succession Crises (1609–1614)*. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Humanities Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 276.

The diplomatic history of early modern Europe has experienced something of a revival in recent years, the like of which we have not seen since the days of Garrett Mattingly. This book by Alison D. Anderson is an exemplar of that trend. It is the first English-language treatment of perhaps the most important of the second-tier conflicts of the era: the fight for the succession in Jülich-Cleves on the eve of the Thirty Years' War. The book is notable for its wide-ranging research, drawing on archival sources from France, Spain, England, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, and five German territorial states, and for its judicious balance between the internal German and international dimensions of the conflict. The result is a thorough, workman-like study that brings to light the central issues of the conflict and their relation to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War a few years later.

Like the better-known crisis of the Spanish succession a century later, the Jülich-Cleves succession crisis had a long lead-in, as several claimants jockeyed for position while a mentally and physically enfeebled, but surprisingly long-lived, ruler failed to produce a direct male heir. Ambiguities in the right of succession led two claimants, Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg and Johann Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia, to fight over the succession to the duchies. Both claimants insisted on their legal rights for the duration of the crisis, and their intransigence would undoubtedly have provoked constitutional problems (and the danger of war) within the Holy Roman Empire no matter what the larger diplomatic context. But the true precipitant of a wider crisis was Emperor Rudolf II's decision to invoke his authority as overlord of the empire in order to install his own governor in the territories until he decided who the rightful heir should be.

Anderson skillfully charts the international twists and turns that followed from the rigid stance of these three claimants. She shows how Henry IV of France, Philip III of Spain, Albert and Isabella, administrators

of the Spanish Netherlands, James I of England, and the States General of the Netherlands all perceived the Jülich-Cleves succession in the context of broader strategic issues, which sometimes brought them closer to war and sometimes took them farther from it. Anderson emphasizes that growing confessional tensions within the Holy Roman Empire increased the stakes of the conflict but argues that individual actors were often motivated as much by their notions of "right" and "reputation" as they were by purely religious or power-political considerations. She makes it equally clear that, while both Wolfgang Wilhelm and Johann Wilhelm were convinced of the legitimacy of their claims, they dithered in the execution of those claims. She concludes that François Ravallac's murder of Henry IV in 1610 defused what would likely have become a general European war. After Henry's death, a new crisis caused by the Dutch seizure of Jülich did not result in a wider European war because none of the major powers saw an advantage in escalating the conflict. The duchies were divided into spheres of influence from both sides, with the "possessory princes" as the proxies for each side. The final decision to split the duchies between the two claimants was a purely pragmatic solution, forced on the claimants by their outside allies and only fully ratified after the deaths of all the original participants.

Although the story of Jülich-Cleves has the potential for some high drama, Anderson approaches it with scholarly detachment. Historiographically, she adds nuance and detail to broadly familiar trends rather than radically altering our view of events. This is not a work of historical revisionism. In early chapters, Anderson integrates her discussion of "what happened" with "why did it happen?" effectively. But as she moves deeper into the crises, the narrative and analysis become separated. Chapter eight, "The Jülich-Cleves Succession Crises and the Thirty Years' War," conveys the lion's share of Anderson's deeper explanations of why events unfolded as they did. I think she would have written a more compelling book if she could have developed these arguments more fully in earlier chapters.

Nor am I fully convinced by her conclusion that the crisis "represents . . . a significant achievement, a triumph for diplomacy, as the first international crisis in early modern times to be concluded without a large scale war" (p. 234). I certainly did not finish Anderson's book with admiration for the diplomatic insights of any of the participants. In the first crisis, war was averted almost solely because of Ravallac's dagger. In the second crisis, the great powers did not go to war because they did not view the stakes as worth the risks. The possessory princes did not go to war because they were unable to do so. No one apparently learned from their handling of the crises how the lesson to avoid escalating later crises into a large-scale war. In such circumstances, it seems tautological to claim that the mere fact that something that might have become a war did not, was a "triumph of diplomacy." But that



bit of hyperbole is a small flaw in a well-researched and clearly presented study.

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DAVID THOMAS MURPHY. *German Exploration of the Polar World: A History, 1870–1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. x, 373. \$49.95.

David Thomas Murphy's history of German polar explorations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will certainly hold readers' interests. Utilizing numerous secondary and published primary sources as well as evidence from six archives, it breathes life into the exploits of six explorers: Karl Koldewey's mission to the Northeast Coast of Greenland in 1869–1870; Erich von Drygalski's research off Antarctica from 1901 to 1903; Wilhelm Filchner's expedition to Antarctica in 1911–1912; Hugo Eckener's zeppelin flight over the Arctic in 1931; Alfred Wegener's Greenland mission of 1930–1931; and the National Socialist expedition to Antarctica in 1939.

Although Murphy certainly does justice to the drama-packed adventures of these men, his book lacks a comparative framework. Few readers can be expected to be familiar with the careers of foreign giants of polar exploration like Roald Amundsen, Fridtjof Nansen, Frederick Cook, Robert Peary, Ernest Shackleton, and Richard Byrd, and without some perspective on their accomplishments and setbacks it is difficult to assess the significance and analyze the importance of their German counterparts. Constraints of space may have sacrificed such comparative passages to the copyeditor's floor, but their absence, or deletion, is the study's main drawback.

This omission is all the more striking because Murphy is clearly a very good historian who knows how to digest his material and render mature judgments on often complex and controversial situations. Thus he delves into the tragic role of Filchner's captain, Richard Vahsel, a hard-drinking, syphilitic, seemingly borderline sociopath who bears historical responsibility for landing the research team on an ice shelf that soon broke away. The author also deals judiciously with the tragic death of Wegener. His mission was one of the most successful from a scientific standpoint, using seismic data to determine Greenland's underground structure of earth and ice, but the team leader need not have died. That Wegener paid the ultimate price resulted, ironically, from his own willingness to set an example of self-sacrifice, coupled with the inexperience and poor judgment of Johannes Georgi, the man in charge of the central ice station four hundred kilometers inland.

Murphy is undoubtedly right to claim that the overall historical significance of German polar exploration lies in what it tells us about Germany and the Germans. The harrowing tale of the shipwrecked *Hansa*, the second ship on Koldewey's 1869 mission, quickly became for some Germans proof of their

superior national character. The disappointing pre-World War I expeditions of Drygalski and Filchner were set against the backdrop of Europe's great power rivalries, which helps to explain the nation's hypersensitivity to these failures. The author is also correct that Eckener's flight and Wegener's ill-fated research were attempts at national redemption after the defeat of 1918, and that the Nazi mission emanated from the same land-grabbing mania that triggered World War II. These themes highlight the largely unknown history of German polar explorations, the illumination of which is the book's major contribution. While it must be admitted that these themes tell us nothing especially new about Germany and the Germans, restating them is beneficial: indeed not to reiterate them would have been another glaring omission.

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SABINE HANRATH. *Zwischen "Euthanasie" und Psychiatriereform: Anstaltspsychiatrie in Westfalen und Brandenburg: Ein deutsch-deutscher Vergleich (1945–1964)*. (Westfälisches Institut für Regionalgeschichte, Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe Münster: Forschungen zur Regionalgeschichte, number 41.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2002. Pp. xiii, 511. €46.40.

It is time to undertake a new evaluation of the German Democratic Republic's (GDR) policies and their instrumental application to institutions in East German society. Sabine Hanrath's contribution to this re-evaluation is a comparison of the Janus-headed development of institutional psychiatry in both Germanies in the two decades after World War II. In German history particularly, psychiatry in many ways mirrors the dominant political and ideological values of the society. The scope of this book is larger than these twenty postwar years; it presents the background of Nazi mental health policies from which East and West German psychiatry had to rebuild. Hanrath examines the middle and micro levels of social structures, particularly the informal relationships and governance within institutions. In West Germany, she focuses on Provinzialheilanstalt Gütersloh in Westphalia; her East German institutional comparison is Landesanstalt Brandenburg-Görden.

Nazi health policy was based on eugenic racial hygiene theories whose assumption was that mental illnesses are inherited and therefore are, in individual cases, incurable. Psychiatry was no longer concerned with the welfare of the single person but rather with the "health" of future generations. This meant child euthanasia, forced sterilizations, and, eventually, the murder of those who were ill (*Krankenmord*, a terrible Nazi neologism). During the wartime food shortages, institutional patients were starved as an "inferior" population group. Thus the clinical perspective moved from therapy to prevention and the focus shifted from the unique individual to the abstract "people."

In the Third Reich, physicians had the highest

percentage of Nazi Party members of any profession, including lawyers. By 1937, 43.4 percent of German physicians were party members. In Gütersloh, the figures were higher; eight of the nine psychiatrists were party members (the exception had a Jewish grandfather), and three were members of the Sturmabteilung (SA), including the director. The proportion of Nazi Party members declined lower in the institutional hierarchy among nurses and orderlies, administrative and technical staff, kitchen, housekeeping, and custodial staff.

With the German capitulation and American occupation in May 1945, Nazi ideological presuppositions were carried over to "Zero Hour" when the slave labor camps were liberated. A report from the medical director of Gütersloh drafted a few hours after the arrival of American troops describes a German attack on Polish slave laborers and the "Negro soldiers" who came to their assistance. This report demonstrates that its author had not yet comprehended that individuals, including slave laborers, could no longer be punished without the sanction of law and due process, and that he adhered to Nazi ideology that regarded blacks as racially inferior.

With National Socialism discredited, the Federal Republic looked to the West and the GDR turned to the Soviet Union for intellectual models. The GDR was more self-critical than the West about the role of psychiatry in the Third Reich. After 1953, Ivan Pavlov's views became the new GDR paradigm for medicine. Mental health was politicized in the Cold War under the cover of theoretical differences, which were framed as Freud versus Pavlov. Pavlovian reading circles were initiated in Brandenburg. Processes in the higher nerve centers were contrasted with Freudian focus on "subjective irrationalism." While in West Germany the debate was between the "somaticists" and the "psychics," in the GDR psychoanalysis was condemned as a "bourgeois," "idealistic," "western-capitalistic method." Soviet Pavlovian "sleep therapy" was introduced. The use of medications was restricted because they were costly Western imports.

In the GDR, dictatorial policies released a cascade of unforeseen consequences, not necessarily leading to a socialist society. When "democratic centralism" failed at the centralized ministerial level, local decision making took place. Brandenburg introduced psychologists to support treatment a decade before West Germany because the GDR did not have organized medicine as a pressure group fighting their entry. However, health policy and the treatment of mental illness enjoyed a level of public political support in the Federal Republic that did not exist in the GDR.

This book would be even more useful if it had a topical index as well as the name index.

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LUKAS STRAUMANN and DANIEL WILDMANN. *Schweizer Chemieunternehmen im "Dritten Reich."* (Veröffentlichungen der Unabhängigen Expertenkommission Schweiz—Zweiter Weltkrieg, number 7.) Zurich: Chronos. 2001. Pp. 358.

Until relatively recently, it was rare for professional historians to study the activities of industrial firms and their managers in the Third Reich. Instead, insofar as industry came into the picture at all, it was dealt with at a macroeconomic rather than microeconomic level. Pioneering studies by John Gillingham (*Industry and Politics in the Third Reich: Ruhr Coal, Hitler, and Europe* [1985]) and Peter Hayes (*Industry and Ideology: I. G. Farben in the Nazi Era* [1987]) changed that. Since then, a large number of studies of companies of all sizes and sorts has appeared, with a primary focus on business-government relations. Major themes include investment patterns, especially in light of autarkic policies; Aryanization; activities in occupied areas; contributions to planning and implementing the war; and, of course, the use of slave and forced labor.

There are many reasons for this historiographical development. Discovery by a new generation of historians of this neglected, yet extremely important, topic of inquiry figured prominently, as did the arrival on the scene in West Germany of a new generation of professionally trained business archivists. German unification also provided unprecedented access to company and state records held in the former East Germany. Yet one of the most important factors in this outburst of scholarly activity has been investment by the companies themselves. Pressure of public opinion, class-action lawsuits in the United States by former forced and slave laborers, and genuine concern by a new generation of managers about their companies' past have spurred firms to commission professional historians to produce a number of monographs on German firms' activities during the Third Reich.

More recently, some of these same factors have brought about an increase in scholarship relating to non-German firms operating in Germany during the Third Reich, with General Motors and Ford two of the most prominent examples. But the Swiss have been most active and organized in this regard. In late 1996, the country's parliament and government established an independent commission of experts with a broad remit to investigate financial and business relations between the Swiss federation and National Socialist Germany.

To date, the commission has overseen the publication of more than two dozen detailed studies, with the primary focus on companies' provision of services to the Third Reich. The current volume differs from many of the others in its attention to the Swiss chemical industry, which had not only extensive sales networks but also production facilities in Nazi Germany. The spotlight is on the activities of the so-called "Basler I.G." firms, which included all of the key Swiss chemical producers (i.e. Geigy, Ciba, and Sandoz). All

three companies ranked among the oldest and most innovative organic chemical firms in the world, with the latter two especially well known for pharmaceuticals. From the beginning of the firms' existence, their leaders were keenly aware of the need to be active in markets abroad because of Switzerland's resource limitations and relatively small domestic market. Germany was traditionally a key export destination for the Swiss chemical industry, but also a focus of significant direct investment, especially directly across the border. Swiss chemical firms also depended upon Germany for supplies of key raw materials and for chemical intermediates.

During the Nazi period, the authors show, Germany represented an increasingly important and lucrative market for the Swiss firms. This was in part due to the products they held patents on and manufactured, including critical pharmaceuticals, medicines, and, later in the war, DDT. The reich thus accorded many of the firms' German operations highest-priority status for allocations of raw materials and labor during the war. But, more importantly, as the authors demonstrate, the Swiss companies were not just passive recipients of Nazi largesse. Instead, they actively curried favor with the government and the party from the outset, for instance by firing or reassigning "Jewish" employees abroad well before this became official government policy—and well before most "German" firms did so.

This careful and well-organized study centers on issues of knowledge, control, and room for maneuver. Swiss firms possessed deep and extensive knowledge of National Socialist Germany. They also retained considerable control over personnel policy, production, and finance in the Third Reich. Their freedom of maneuver was thus considerable. Swiss chemical firms exploited their country's neutral status and existing strengths in Germany to participate actively and profitably in the German market. They thus became inextricably entangled in the regime's racial policies, in the use of forced labor, and in active and indispensable support of the German war effort.

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JAMES R. BANKER. *The Culture of San Sepolcro during the Youth of Piero della Francesca*. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. x, 277. \$62.50.

James R. Banker's richly documented new book does not fit comfortably into any of the usual historical genres. It is not a social history of a particular community, nor is it a traditional art historical study of the early career of a major artist. Instead, it is a hybrid, something that Banker calls "a social biography," a genre that endeavors to describe the "dense network of the social values and practices of [the subject's] family, friends, neighbors, townsmen, and patrons, illuminating [the subject's] social character and allow-

ing a fuller sense of [his] formation" (p. 5). Banker's study was motivated in part by the publication, beginning in the mid-1980s, of a significant body of documents concerning Piero della Francesca's activities as an artist in his hometown of San Sepolcro prior to his appearance in Florence in the workshop of Domenico Veneziano in 1439. Banker sets out to describe the role which Piero's earliest pre-Florentine experiences may have played in his formation as an artist "at the forefront of innovations among the second generation of Quattrocento painters" (p. 247).

The first chapter is devoted to a description of the political, religious, and economic character of early fifteenth-century San Sepolcro. Throughout Piero's childhood, the town was under the control of a series of external rulers: the Malatesta, the papacy, condottieri, and, finally, in the 1440s, the Florentines. Despite the town's subject status, there were still significant opportunities for local political involvement through service on civic administrative councils and offices. Religious life in San Sepolcro was characterized by an unusual dominance of lay confraternities, which flourished in the spiritual and social vacuum created by a jurisdictional conflict between the nearby bishop of Città di Castello and the local Camaldolese order. These lay sodalities, along with the shifting cast of external rulers, were the principal sources of Piero's earliest artistic commissions. San Sepolcro's economy was chiefly defined by the polity's status as a market town. Both mercantile and craft occupations and guilds flourished in this environment, although the guilds did not have a real political presence the way they did in Florence. It is interesting to note that there were no trade or fraternal organizations specifically associated with painters and individuals involved in the building trades. This may have been the result of limited opportunities and the relatively small number of craftsmen pursuing these occupations. Only a few local painters can be documented as working in the town during Piero's youth.

The second chapter describes the character of education in fifteenth-century San Sepolcro. Banker sketches out the typical grammar school curriculum taught by a community-supported teacher. This curriculum provided students with basic reading and writing skills in the vernacular, moral instruction, and a rudimentary knowledge of Latin. In conjunction with his discussion, Banker publishes a useful, early Quattrocento inventory of a local schoolmaster's library. It is interesting to note that there do not appear to have been any communally financed abacus teachers in San Sepolcro. Banker hypothesizes that, in their absence, instruction in basic mercantile arithmetic and geometry was conducted informally within the merchant community. The author draws no conclusions as to whether this form of mathematical education had any effect on Piero's later interest in perspective and Euclidian geometry.

The next two chapters focus on the history of the della Francesca family, particularly the generations of



Piero and his father, Benedetto di Piero di Benedetto. Banker characterizes Benedetto as a patriarchal figure intent upon improving the station of his family and children. Benedetto changed his occupation from leather worker into merchant, a calling of higher status, and pursued a marital strategy directed toward both economic and social advancement. The author reviews the evidence in favor of dating the marriage of Piero's parents to 1410 and the artist's birth to 1412. This quite convincing chronology places Piero's apprenticeship in the late 1420s, well before he arrived in Florence.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the conditions of artistic production in fifteenth-century San Sepolcro. Banker suggests that Piero's origins in an artisan/merchant culture may have played a role in the highly reflective nature of his art and writings and his deviation from the modest career path of other local artists (p. 162). The author also offers a list of four areas in which he finds evidence of a "cultural debt" to Piero's formative years in San Sepolcro: the artist's precocious and consistent use of cartoons; respect for the materiality of objects in his paintings; adoption of unusual panel painting techniques; and, finally, elevated ambitions for himself and his craft (pp. 201–09).

The book's final chapter focuses on Piero's career in the 1430s and the projects in which he participated between 1432 and 1437 as an assistant or associate of the late Gothic artist Antonio di Domenico d'Anghiari. Three conclusions concerning Piero's early activity will be of particular interest to art historians. First, Banker agrees with others that Piero may have come into contact with Domenico Veneziano and/or the Sienese painter Domenico di Bartolo in Perugia in 1438. Second, based on the attribution by Vasari and two eighteenth-century sources of lost frescoes in the church of Santa Maria della Pieve to Piero, Banker proposes that the artist had developed some of the characteristics of his mature style prior to his visit to Florence (pp. 215–25). Finally, he offers a pre-1439 date for Piero's London *Baptism* (p. 225).

Banker has drawn a careful picture of San Sepolcro during Piero's formative years, but in the final analysis, the specific impact of the artist's early experiences on his character and mature work remains a matter of speculation.

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TOBY OSBORNE. *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 304. \$65.00.

The Savoyard state—the collection of territories (Piedmont, Savoy, Aosta, and Nice) ruled by the dukes of Savoy—is one of the few Italian states about which historians have had something positive to say in the generally neglected era of Spanish domination of a

supposedly "decadent" Italy between 1559 and 1713. This is in large part because the dukes (kings of Sardinia from 1720) united Italy in the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the factors identified by historians as important in the rise of the House of Savoy was the ability of successive dukes and kings to mobilize the resources of their state and to exploit its strategic location straddling the Alps between France and north Italy. Historians have also attached great importance to the achievements of Savoyard diplomacy, which has often been thought of as the embodiment of Machiavellism. There have been numerous studies of this diplomacy, but most of them have been in the "old diplomatic history" tradition and influenced by nineteenth-century notions of both the state and the process of state formation, with the emphasis on what we might call bureaucratic, institutional, "modern" aims and forms.

Toby Osborne is critical of this approach; for him, Savoyard diplomacy was about the pursuit of dynastic, family ambitions and interests that cannot always or easily be equated with or fitted into the construct of the state and its concerns. Thus, central to early modern Savoyard diplomacy was the concern of the ducal house to realize inherited family claims to territory and status, above all to the royal title, which was finally achieved in the eighteenth century. The diplomacy of Duke Carlo Emanuele I in the 1620s, and that of his successors in the 1630s, as the Savoyard state descended into a dynastic civil war (1637–1641), provide the main thread of Osborne's study.

But this essentially dynastic diplomacy did not stop with the ruling family. It also applied to the instruments of diplomacy, because—and here Osborne follows a recent revaluation of the role of nobles (hitherto largely thought of as antagonistic to, and the victims of, the early modern princely state)—the early modern Savoyard state was an alliance between the ruling house and its leading noble families. These latter included the Scaglia, counts of Verrua. Such families looked to preserve and expand their patrimonies and power by working with and for the state, or rather for the ruling dynasty. One sphere in which they could do this was diplomacy, not least since only nobles had the status, and often the appropriate education, that enabled them to represent and press the interests of their prince.

But individuals, says Osborne, could also shape diplomacy and policy. Thus we reach the third part of what might be thought of as Osborne's triptych, the career of Abate Alessandro Scaglia di Verrua (1592–1641). Alessandro was a younger son, destined for the church, who obtained at age eleven the headship of the rich abbey of Staffarda. In 1614, the abate began a long and distinguished diplomatic career with a mission to Rome. Although Alessandro's main business was political negotiation, he also had what we might call cultural responsibilities, commissioning and purchasing for his ducal master works of art from Rome and elsewhere. For Osborne, this was not a secondary



activity but an important aspect of diplomacy that has been unduly neglected; such activities allowed diplomats to build up important networks of contacts—with artists and with other connoisseurs, collectors, and patrons—across Europe. After Rome, Alessandro, whose family figured prominently in the pro-French faction at the court of Turin, resided at the court of Louis XIII, making brief visits to that of Charles I. However, the collapse of the anti-Habsburg front following the “betrayal” of France’s allies in the treaty of Monzon provoked a growing rift between Alessandro and Cardinal Richelieu. Deteriorating relations between Turin and Paris, particularly during the Mantuan succession conflict, culminated in a French invasion of the Savoyard state. In 1632, the abate, recalled home by Duke Vittorio Amedeo I, preferred to go into exile in Spanish Flanders; he retained important contacts with both the Spanish court and key figures in Savoyard politics but never saw Piedmont again, dying in Brussels in 1641.

Osborne has used a wide range of public and private archives, including those of the Scaglia di Verrua and of the dukes of Savoy. The story he tells, and his interpretation, are convincing for the most part. However, it is unfortunate, in view of his emphasis on the contribution of the individual to shaping diplomacy, that Osborne is unable to give us a fully rounded picture of Alessandro the man. Clearly, this is because very few of his private papers have survived. In consequence, at some key points one can only surmise about what happened and why. Occasionally, too, Osborne is unduly positive about the achievement of both his main character and the dynasty or state he served. Alessandro failed to secure a cardinal’s hat, or to achieve his favored diplomatic/foreign policies. Equally, although Osborne suggests that the Savoyard state was not merely a pawn in the international struggle in the 1620s and 1630s, it is arguable that his account in fact demonstrates the real weakness of the Savoyard state vis-à-vis the more powerful France and Spain. These reservations apart, however, Osborne’s book is a very useful contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the Savoyard state, its politics, and its diplomacy in the Thirty Years’ War (contributing to the “new diplomatic history” that has emerged in recent decades); of the political culture of ancien regime Europe; and, finally, of the nobility in the early modern era.

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NELSON MOE. *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 46.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 349. \$50.00.

Long the preserve of social scientists and historians, in recent years Italy’s “Southern Problem” has caught the attention of cultural historians, too. In the eight essays

that make up this book (three of which have been published previously), Nelson Moe applies the skills of a literary theorist to explain how southern Italy came to be represented simply as the “South.” To do this, he addresses a remarkably varied selection of texts that includes political writings and travelogues as well as literary works produced from the eighteenth century to the decades after Italy’s unification. Although few of these texts will be unfamiliar to Italianists, not least of the book’s merits is that it makes this extraordinarily rich and varied body of writings accessible to anglophone readers.

Whereas other commentators have emphasized the specifically Italian contexts of the negative imaging of the South, Moe sets their origins more broadly in the “imagined geographies” that accompanied the rise of “Eurocentrism, nationalism and bourgeoisification” (p. 2). As a self-consciously “civilized” Europe distanced itself from the non-European world in the eighteenth century, its eastern and southern borderlands became cultural frontiers. At first Italy as a whole was deemed to be “southern,” but Moe argues that the rise of a new Eurocentric bourgeoisie in northern Italy in the nineteenth century pushed the imaginary frontiers further south so that “Europe” came to end in Naples.

Fixing the frontiers depends on the texts you choose, of course, and some explanation of the criteria of selection would have been welcome. For example and despite the book’s title, views from the South are noticeably underrepresented. Yet from Antonio Genovesi to Vincenzo Cuoco southern writers were also busy discovering their own “souths” whose boundaries were mapped by the abyss that separated the elites from the masses. Imagined geographies were infinitely replicable, in other words, which raises problems of translating text into context that become more evident as Moe’s focus narrows to the origins of cultural dualism in Italy.

Charting growing animosity toward the South in the writings of prominent northerners, in those of the many southerners in exile after 1849, and in the responses to William Ewart Gladstone’s denunciation of the Bourbon government as the “negation of God,” Moe argues that attacks on the Bourbon dynasty in the 1850s gave way to a broader rejection of the South. This is a matter of judgment, but it involves omitting an alternative democrat discourse that Moe acknowledges only in passing (p. 157 n. 3). To exclude the hopes that many democrats pinned on the South risks reducing a multifaceted political conflict to a monochrome discourse.

The tendency to accept the inevitability of the moderates’ victory is accentuated in the essay where Moe shows how the language of Piedmontese officials and soldiers in 1860 was loaded with revulsion toward the South. In his first report to Camillo Cavour, Carlo Luigi Farini exclaimed “This is Africa!” and in parliamentary debate the South was described as a disease, a gangrene, a festering wound. “Each of these statements . . . possessed an imperative and performative

force that affected the socio-political context in which it was deployed" (p. 180), Moe claims. This is pretty sweeping, but does not explain why the Piedmontese went to the South in 1860 or how they behaved when they got there. They went to stop Giuseppe Garibaldi, and the failure of Cavour's attempts to bring about regime change in Naples resulted in the invasion of two sovereign states (the Piedmontese behaved as badly in the Papal States as in Naples). The language described by Moe reflected the colonial attitudes of the South's new rulers, but it was also a political instrument that has striking contemporary parallels. Demonization of the southern rulers and revelation of the terrible social consequences of their misrule served primarily to legitimize an unlawful invasion made the more problematic by the lack of enthusiasm shown by the liberated.

Having already made the case that cultural dualism predated unification, Moe risks making the post-unification "Southern Question" just one more step in the seemingly inexhaustible repertoire of misrepresentation of the South. He traces the changing representations of the South in the popular illustrated press, the writings that first formulated the "Southern Question," and the fiction of Giovanni Verga, but gives little indication of how his conclusions relate to those of John Dickie's *Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno 1860–1900* (1999), which covers similar ground. The strength of Moe's book lies in the textual analysis, however, from which he has developed a critical anthology of one of the key themes in modern Italian political and cultural history that will be of interest to anyone studying the formation of modern states and national identities.

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VINZIA FIORINO. *Matti, indemoniate e vagabondi: Dinamiche di internamento manicomiale tra Otto e Novecento*. Venice: Marsilio. 2002. Pp. 254. €22.40.

Despite the generality of its title, this book constitutes a local study of one mental hospital, Santa Maria della Pietà in Rome, between 1850 and 1915. The work's importance, however, transcends the limited nature of most institutional studies, partly from the extremely rich nature of its source material. Vinzia Fiorino was able to draw on a complete series of registers and clinical records as well as an administrative archive containing correspondence from public officials and relatives of inmates. Social historians of modern Italy rarely find such extensive records for governmental or philanthropic agencies that dealt with marginal, and often poor, populations. Fiorino's study will also be of interest to a broad audience because of its sophisticated presentation of the Roman case within the historiographical contours of debates on the history of psychiatry and the insane already established for northern Europe and the United States. Although the book, like many from Italian presses, lacks a bibliog-

raphy, the footnotes display an impressive command of sources in English and French as well as Italian.

Another strength of Fiorino's book is her deft incorporation of gender into each of her topics: policies of admission to Santa Maria della Pietà, the social characteristics of the inmate population, the changing psychiatric categories of disease, and popular images drawn on by both patients and doctors to represent the experience of insanity. Fiorino consistently compares the experiences of women and men, finding, for example, that the institution housed more male than female patients during the entire span of her study. She explains the preponderance of male patients by the particular characteristics of Rome, including the wealth of alternative institutions for women, like monasteries and conservatories, inherited from the Papal States. She also traces the construction by late nineteenth-century psychiatrists of gendered categories of mental illness, like hysteria in women and alcoholic delirium in men.

In a more subtle way, approaches developed by Italian women's historians shape Fiorino's fascinating and careful analysis of the relationship between the mental institution and the society. She labels this relationship as a *gioco* or game wherein various "actors"—priests, psychiatrists, police, family members, and inmates themselves—pursue often conflicting strategies (p. 38). Until 1870, when Rome was incorporated into Italy, parish priests aided by police encouraged admittance to Santa Maria della Pietà of vagabonds and other homeless individuals. When professional psychiatrists gained control of the institution after 1870, they opposed using the asylum for traditional custodial care and increasingly restricted admission to those with serious mental illness. In both periods, however, families of inmates consistently intervened to gain release of their relatives, foiling the prescriptions of priests for long-term custodial care and physicians for extended treatment. This "resistance to the medicalization of insanity" by family members resulted in relatively short periods of internment, less than a year for most patients of both sexes (p. 101). Thus Fiorino characterizes Santa Maria della Pietà less as an institution of social control than one of repressive but flexible mediation among the various actors.

On the basis of the rich series of clinical records, Fiorino is able to embellish the standard narrative of the medicalization of mental illness during the nineteenth century with its transition from the moral and emotional model of Philippe Pinel to a more organicist emphasis on heredity and physical degeneration. Despite the prestige of the Italian Positivist School led by Cesare Lombroso, who loudly argued for the latter approach, Fiorino finds that in practice the doctors at Santa Maria della Pietà relied on a mixture of theories. Even more interesting, she finds that psychiatrists often shared with their patients images and metaphors of mental illness that came from popular tales or religious stories. For example, patients often described

themselves as being possessed by the devil, eaten by worms, or surrounded by wild animals. Such visions were accompanied by a sense of "non-being" or feeling "empty inside," of losing themselves. Similar to figures in a fairy tale or Bible story, they needed to escape magical curses and fight temptations in order to regain their former sense of self and control over their lives. In a provocative analysis that merits further elaboration, Fiorino suggests that the psychiatric treatments employed in Santa Maria della Pietà—including bloodletting, purges, and hydrotherapy—reproduced the same tropes of ridding the body of evil and submitting the self to the control of the doctor as a precondition for rejoining the world of the sane. Thus patient and doctor shared a ritual narrative of temptation, degradation, and redemption that was embedded in cultural assumptions shared by both the educated and popular classes and that shaped the new science of psychiatry.

Italian historians have produced a rather short bibliography on the history of insanity and mental institutions compared to that for northern Europe and the United States. The best Italian studies have focused on class: that is, the link between poverty and diseases like alcoholism, pellagra, and syphilis that can lead to insanity. Fiorino's book, while still discussing class, marks a new stage in Italian historiography with its careful analysis of the variable of gender. That this approach is inspiring a new wave of studies is clear from the fact that *Genesis*, the Italian journal of women's history, chose mental illness as the theme for its most recent issue. This new Italian research will enrich comparative studies on the history of psychiatry.

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ALON RACHAMIMOV. *POWs and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front*. (Legacy of the Great War.) New York: Berg. 2002. Pp. xii, 259. Cloth \$68.00, paper \$22.50.

Captivity was the most common experience of the Great War shared by approximately 8.5 million combatants. Despite this fact, however, internment has received only a marginal place in the collective memory of the war. This is especially the case for the Eastern Front, which for a long time was under the lee of scholarly interest compared with the countless studies focusing on the Western Front. The imbalance has changed at least gradually since 1989. The dissolution of the Soviet Union refreshed allegedly lost memories and made hitherto closed archives accessible to historical research. It is the double merit of Alon Rachamimov to have turned the view on the history of captivity in Eastern Europe.

Rachamimov's focus is on the Austro-Hungarian Army, and he hardly touches on the situation of POWs from other belligerent states. The number of Austro-

Hungarian POWs amounted to 2.8 million. This figure is significantly higher than those for Britain, France, or Germany. Rachamimov aims, first, at filling a considerable empirical gap. Second, he is trying to illuminate broader issues such as the formation and transformation of collective identities and loyalties, the writing of history "from below," and the legacy of World War I for the development of international law.

Rachamimov successfully refutes many of the myths that have been disseminated for almost ninety years. First, soldiers of Slav nationalities were not overrepresented among the POWs. Second, written and unwritten rules of international law as codified in the 1899 and 1907 Hague Convention were generally observed by all belligerent states. The striking disparities regarding the quality of life in the various Russian camps were not intentional but resulted mostly from the location of the camp or the infrastructure at the disposal of camp authorities. And although it was a prescribed policy to prefer Slav POWs, this did not materialize in superior internment facilities. Consequently, Rachamimov refutes Peter Pastor's thesis that the Russian POW camps of World War I served as a prototype of Stalin's Gulag and the Nazi extermination camps—despite the fact that the mortality rates in Russian POW camps were three or four times higher than those of the Central and Western European states. Third, life in captivity was a true copy of the class society at home, with a highly privileged officer class. But even for officers, the material relief provided by the Habsburg Empire was rather modest, compared with the relatively generous help Germany could offer its POWs in Russia. In this respect, the Austro-Hungarian state failed to give its POWs the impression that they were being cared for and that their sacrifice was appreciated. Fourth, only a small number of POWs discussed the shortcomings in the Austro-Hungarian relief effort in terms of social or military hierarchies. There is also little evidence to support the idea that, following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, socialist ideas affected a considerable number of POWs. The concept of "nation" was by no means predominant among the prisoners. Even those who uttered their critique using the language of nationalism, mainly the Polish and Czech-speaking POWs, in most cases did so as Austro-Hungarian citizens. From their point of view, it was the Habsburg imperial state that had abandoned them, not vice versa.

To sum up: this book gives a fresh and lively account of the war experience on the Eastern Front based on the intensive use of archival material. Rachamimov contributes decisively toward a better understanding of the history of captivity in World War I. Unfortunately, his bibliography is not entirely up to date. A more important critique is that Rachamimov leaves it too much to the reader to make comparisons and draw conclusions that point beyond the limits of this book. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, Rachamimov's study is a valuable contribution to ensuring that the war experience of the Eastern Front stands on equal



footing with that of the Western Front in historical memory.

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CLAIRE E. NOLTE. *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. x, 258. \$65.00.

Beginning in 1955, the communist authorities in Czechoslovakia every five years held a gymnastics festival they called Spartakiada, designed to replace in the public mind the precommunist Sokol festivals, called Slets, the first of which had taken place in 1882. Sokol (Falcon), patterned on the German Turnverein that emerged as a response to Napoleonic triumphs, was, says Claire E. Nolte in this survey of its pre-World War I history, an organization crucial to the development of Czech mass nationalism.

Although we have had histories of some of the political parties and ethnic groups in the Czech lands, as well as a monograph on the Czech national theater, another iconic institution in the evolution of Czech national identity, this is the first English-language scholarly study of the Sokol. A fine introduction and first chapter make the book accessible to specialists in European history by placing the Sokol in the context of the development of European national identities generally and by comparing it to the model of the Turnverein.

Miroslav Tyrš, the founder of the Sokol in 1862 and its driving force until his death, perhaps by suicide, in 1884, plays a central role in this story. Orphaned at a young age, Tyrš was introduced to gymnastics at the age of twelve to try to build up his health. A driven man who probably suffered from clinical depression, he was by turns a gymnastics organizer and leader, an art critic, a politician, and an erstwhile academic. Bankrolled by Jindřich Fügner, whose young daughter Tyrš married, Tyrš defined the purpose of the organization as "the pursuit of physical training through group exercising, group outings, singing and fencing" (as quoted on p. 42). Sokol also came to play political, nation-building, and military-substitute (members served as guards during public celebrations and as guardians of public safety after Austria's defeat by Prussia in 1866) roles.

Tyrš, in contrast to his more conservative and nationalist successors, steered Sokol along a moderate course that responded to the twists and turns of Habsburg policy. He tried to build an inclusive organization that would unite Czechs across classes (addressing each other as "thou" and "brother"). Nonetheless, the organization's structure reflected the hierarchical social structure of the time. The police kept a close watch on the organization, and occasionally the authorities prohibited proposed actions. The Iron Ring of Slavic, clerical, and conservative parties, 1879–1893, offered much improved conditions for

Sokol activity. Sokol was a predominantly Bohemian Czech organization. It made fewer inroads in the more clerical, agrarian and politically conservative Moravia.

The role of the Sokol as a potential national defender is in retrospect one of the most interesting in light of the Czechs' failure to take up arms to defend themselves in the twentieth century. Founding Czechoslovak President T. G. Masaryk emphasized how important it was for a nation to be able to fight to defend itself, yet in the interwar period he downplayed the idea that the Sokol might once have been a potential defense organization—perhaps because by the 1920s, Sokol had become a more nationalist organization. After Tyrš's death, Sokol's all-national role was diminished as economic growth in the Czech lands led to the establishment of a wide range of political parties, as well as clerical and working-class movements. Internally the leaders of the organization were not agreed on the relative weights of gymnastic and nation-forming activity.

Because Nolte chooses to focus on Tyrš and the individuals who succeeded him as leaders of the organization, on Sokol's institutional growth, and on the challenges that were presented by the fragmenting of the national movement into interest groups and parties, she gives only limited consideration to how the population of the Czech lands, especially in Bohemia, imagined the Czech nation and its mythological history after participating in or viewing the ritual and spectacle of the Slet or the marches and parades Sokol members conducted. She also does not consider how the experience was conveyed in oral communication or through the press to create an image of Czechness that stood above party and interest, according to the model offered by David Waldstreicher.

This book reminds readers how malleable national identity was in the ethnic mix of nineteenth-century Central Europe. Its two founders both came from German-language families, for instance, who may have been drawn to the Czech movement in part by the attraction of building a new culture. While Nolte describes the evolution of Sokol clubs in Poland, Russia, and the South Slav region, Sokol developed virtually no ties with Slovakia because of the opposition of Hungarian authorities and the growth of the Catholic-oriented gymnastic organization Orel. More Sokol units developed in Slovenia than Slovakia, reminding readers that it might have been just as easy to imagine a Czechoslovakia as a Czechoslovakia.

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SCOTT SPECTOR. *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka's Fin de Siècle*. (Weimar and Now, number 21.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 331.



Scott Spector's book is one of those works that historians claim to appreciate in principle but tend to avoid in practice, given what might at first appear to be the book's predominant reliance on literary modes of analysis. Procrastinators would do well to take the plunge, however, for Spector's work represents one of the most lucid and compelling analyses of the Central European *fin de siècle* cultural moment since Carl Schorske's *Fin de Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (1980). Spector offers the attentive reader a radically revised and intellectually compelling framework for understanding many of the issues originally raised by Schorske. His conclusions are ultimately more useful for understanding Habsburg Central Europe than were Schorske's, not least since they are not tied to the narrow model of Vienna but rather to the classic location of nationalist political conflict, Bohemia.

In a work whose own scintillating literary style inscribes its author's new approaches to his subject, Spector focuses on a cultural moment he characterizes as exceptional. The Prague writers whose words he analyzes, German-speaking Jews of Franz Kafka's generation, found themselves in an increasingly untenable situation. Behind them lay the discredited German liberal certainties of their parents, while before them threatened radical nationalist communities from which, as Jews, they were ultimately barred. Trapped between such hostile and mutually exclusive certainties, these writers found little breathing space. Yet if nationalist politics in early twentieth-century Prague constituted itself in terms of battling cultures, that very figure of culture ultimately offered these writers myriad possibilities for confronting their nationalized world. Ironically, it was their cultural work that provided these Praguers a political escape route from an intolerable situation, giving them the means to theorize alternative visions to the stale liberal certainties behind them and the terrifying nationalist ones surrounding them.

"This book," writes Spector, "is about the emergence of and projected resistance to 'territorial ideology'" (p. ix). Defining territorial ideology as a naturalized way of imagining identity that grounds the sociopolitical claims of nationalism (and thus the cultural claims of nationalist literatures), Spector casts the work of Kafka and his contemporaries as subversive projects of "de-territorialization." Both the Praguers' contemplation of their painful dilemmas and their quests to reconfigure their world returned them repeatedly to fundamental images of space and place. Their pronounced references to the linked phenomena of language, space, culture, and history reflected a sharp consciousness of their own interstitial existence, propelling them to seek strategic interventions against the certainties of nationalist territorialization through their literary production.

Seeking to understand these broadly varied yet contemporaneous literary texts in firmly political terms, Spector builds on the Vienna essays of Schorske. Taking Schorske's preoccupation with the funda-

mental tensions between aesthetic issues (text) and those of historical analysis (context) as a starting point, Spector turns Schorske's "aestheticist" conclusion on its head, offering a radically different reading of the fundamental significance of literary decadence and expressionism. As Spector himself suggests, his differences with Schorske may well depend more on the different historical moments in which each was writing than on conceivable differences in method. In Spector's compelling formulation, modern literary culture did not offer hard-pressed liberals an escape from the battleground of political engagement. Instead, it seems that the commitment to literature itself became the most effective means of accomplishing serious political work.

Spector links his polished and frequently brilliant interpretive readings of Prague texts to an equally powerful analysis of a society in which questions of cultural production were intimately linked to those of language use, national territory, national loyalty, and politics. The concepts "culture" and "language" held inescapably political overtones in *fin de siècle* Prague and Bohemia. Literary production was understood as political work, as exemplified by the German nationalist literary magazine entitled *Deutsche Arbeit*, or "German Work." Culture, as Spector reminds us, was the preeminent site both of assertive identity construction and of its defense. For German liberal nationalists (and their more radical *völkisch* descendants), culture constituted a critical form of capital whose possession justified their claims to continued political hegemony in a city (and kingdom) in which Czech-speakers outnumbered them. They trumpeted the authentically creative power of German culture while dismissing Czech culture as mimetic in character. Czech nationalists, in turn, cited their own culturally modern achievements to justify taking their place alongside (or ahead of) the Germans. Czech nationalists pointed with justifiable pride to their own version of Prague, a city of modern architecture, hygienic city planning, flourishing Czech cultural institutions, and of course, Czech-language street signs.

What ideological space remained for the sons of German-Jewish liberalism in the city? As German-speaking Jews they found themselves increasingly marginalized, both in Prague with its assertive, often antisemitic Czech nationalist rulers, and in Bohemia, where German nationalists turned increasingly to antiliberal and sometimes antisemitic ideologies. Unable simply to ignore their growing marginalization the way their fathers had, and open to the vibrant accomplishments of a youthful Czech culture, the Prague writers turned to visions as diverse as the universal promise of literary expressionism, Jewish nationalism, Zionism, and a kind of Jewish orientalism, and to translation as a mediator between cultures. Spector devotes a chapter to reinterpreting the fundamental character of each of these movements, suggesting how his Prague writers subverted, appropriated, or more often rethought the conceptual grounding of identity in territory. Often the

specificity of a Prague context casts well-known literary movements in an astonishing new light, as in Spector's superb analysis of Paul Kornfeld, Franz Werfel, Kafka (in the undelivered letter to his father), and literary expressionism.

Spector offers historians a distinguished and erudite contribution to the study of identity formation in nationalizing societies. As a study of a particular moment, this book teaches us about twentieth-century modernity while never straying from the particularities of Prague 1900.

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TIMOTHY SNYDER. *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 367. \$35.00.

This is certainly one of the most interesting works in East European history to have appeared in the last decade.

The book is divided into three parts. The first concerns Vilnius or Wilno or Vilne, depending on whose point of view Timothy Snyder is discussing at the moment. He introduces Wilno in 1569 as the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a cosmopolitan place, a great cultural center for Catholics, Orthodox, Calvinists, and Jews. A Lithuanian could speak Polish, Ruthenian, Latin, the Baltic language we now call Lithuanian or, more likely, a combination of these.

Lithuania was a political conception with multiple cultural manifestations. Lithuania in this sense lasted until the Polish insurrection of 1863, when exclusively conceived nations began to contest the meaning of the name and its embodiment in the capital city. For those who now thought of themselves as Poles, Wilno was one of the four great centers of Polish culture, along with Warsaw, Kraków, and Lwów. For those in the region who identified with the new linguistically based Lithuanian nationality, Vilnius was venerated as the capital of their glorious medieval state, no matter that Lithuanian speakers only constituted a small minority in the city before the 1940s. Vil'nia was also the main cultural center of the majority nationality of the old Grand Duchy, now creeping toward crystalization as a Belarusian nation.

With the collapse of imperial Russia, the city was up for grabs, and it was the Poles who grabbed it. The Lithuanians were aggrieved and remained formally at war with Poland from 1920 to 1938. When the Soviets took Wilno in 1939, they first thought of giving it to Soviet Belarus but instead turned it over to Lithuania, a provision of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact that the Lithuanians never protested. Before long, the Germans occupied the city and, with some local help, murdered ninety percent of the city's Jews. When the Red Army took Vilnius back and returned it to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR), about eighty percent of the Poles were deported. By 1989,

Lithuanians made up a slim majority in the city and there were more Russians there than Poles. As Snyder remarks: "The dreams of Lithuanian Romantics in the nineteenth century, as interpreted by Lithuanian nationalists in the twentieth, were realized under Soviet rule" (p. 97).

The second part of the book concerns Galicia and Volhynia, also introduced from the time of the Union of Lublin. But the main focus is the brutal ethnic cleansing that went on there in the 1940s. Snyder's is not only the best account in English but the best overall explanation of what went on. As he tells it (but with more complexity than I can reproduce here), it all started with the massacre of the Volhynian Jews, in which 98.4 percent of them perished. Although this was a German operation, Ukrainian policemen were active collaborators. Thousands of these policemen in spring 1943 deserted to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and used the concepts and techniques they learned from the Germans to kill systematically and brutally the Polish population of Volhynia. The Germans recruited local Poles to replace the Ukrainians and with this new Polish force killed the families and burned the villages of the deserters. Ukrainians killed Poles with more intensity than before, and where they were in the majority Poles exacted furious retribution. The ethnic warfare spread westward into the Carpathian mountains. Enter the Red Army pursuing the Germans. They put an end to the conflict by deporting Poles from the Ukrainian SSR and getting People's Poland to deport Ukrainians across the Soviet border. The last act in this demographic transformation was Operation Vistula, undertaken in the spring of 1947, when Polish forces deported about 140,000 Ukrainians from their homes in southeastern Poland to territories recently "regained" from Germany.

The final part of the book is about how post-1989 Poland developed an intelligent eastern policy that buried all the hatchets of the past and instead constructed strong working relationships with its eastern neighbors. Snyder particularly emphasizes the influence of Jerzy Giedroyc's *Kultura* and its contributor, Juliusz Mieroszewski. Their program was adopted by the leadership of the Polish opposition, which eventually came to power. Although a case could be made that this part of the book exaggerates the role of Poland in post-1989 developments in Ukraine in particular and does not pay enough attention to the internal dynamics of the late and post-Soviet sphere, it is certainly a stimulating exposition.

The whole book is an outstanding read.

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ZVI GITELMAN, editor. *The Emergence of Modern Jewish Politics: Bundism and Zionism in Eastern Europe*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2003. Pp. vii, 275. \$44.95.

Expertly edited by Zvi Gitelman, this volume underwent a prolonged gestation period beginning with a conference on "A Century of Modern Jewish Politics: The Bund and Zionism in Poland and Eastern Europe." The contributors to the final product of this conference offer a historiographically balanced and highly perceptive account of the political, social, and cultural dimensions of these two major Jewish political movements.

This book is not just about the role of the Bund and Zionism in the rise and nature of "modern Jewish politics" but goes far beyond this focus in several ways. First, it examines in great detail the degree to which these two major movements were shaped by internal Jewish social and cultural developments and external economic, political, and ideological conditions and influences within the larger context of imperial Russia, interwar Poland, and Soviet communism. Essays by Antony Polonsky ("The New Jewish Politics and its Discontents"), Daniel Blatman ("National-Minority Policy, Bundist Social Organizations and Women in Interwar Poland"), and Samuel Kassow ("The Left Poalei Tsiyon in Interwar Poland") are particularly noteworthy. Second, and equally significant, contributors go far afield in exploring the relationships among Jewish politics, culture, and society and how they relate not only to Bundism and Zionism but also to largely neglected movements and parties such as Russian Jewish liberalism, the orthodox Agudat Yisrael, and the Left Poalei Tsiyon. As the respective essays by Benjamin Nathans, Kassow, and Gerson Bacon demonstrate, these groupings represented alternative ideopolitical platforms that influenced, and were influenced by, Bundist and Zionist politics, ideology, and organization. By the same token, essays by Michael Steinlauf, David Fishman, Ruth Wisse, David Aberbach, and Seth Wolitz relate Jewish cultural groupings and expressions—youth culture, education, literature, and the arts—to social, ideopolitical, and economic issues that provide a deeper understanding of the Jewish experience generally and the evolution of modern Jewish politics specifically.

The contributors' attention to the interconnectedness and interaction of widely disparate and yet related phenomena is truly impressive historiographically. As indicated in Ronald Suny's thoughtful postscript ("East European Jewish Politics in Comparative Perspective"), this marks a clear departure from the partisan scholarship of inherently teleological and compartmentalized interpretations that often ignore the larger historical context that gave rise and shaped the democratization, modernization, and, for lack of a better word, "nationalization" of Jewish political and cultural life from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century and beyond. Instead of collectively constituting a discourse that deals with Bundism and Zionism as mutually exclusive entities, the essays present an integrated portrayal of the complex relationship between the two and showcase reciprocal influences between them and other political, ideolog-

ical, and cultural manifestations, both, Jewish and non-Jewish.

Indeed, this book is one of those rare publications that delivers more than it promises. Not only is the reader presented in the first two sections on "East European Jewish Politics" and "Politics of Culture" with penetrating comparative analyses of Bundism and Zionism from various perspectives and in relation to other movements, but the third and final section, "East European Jewish Politics in Emigration," reaches beyond the boundaries of Eastern Europe. The contributions of Jonathan Frankel and Maud Mandel address the vicissitudes of Bundism in the United States and of Zionism in France and show how their fortunes radically changed as a result of the Holocaust.

The Holocaust's impact on Jewish political life in the 1940s and its significance as a problem of interpreting modern Jewish history is of particular relevance to one of the principal questions posed in this book: "the degree of success and failure of the various parties," foremost the Bund and Zionism (p. 3). As for the other main question regarding the contribution made by these parties to modern Jewish politics and culture, the problem is less pronounced since the answer depends on the reading of the evidence in its contemporary context, as is demonstrated *par excellence* by Steinlauf's analysis of Jewish youth culture in Poland. On the whole, the consensus is that all parties made contributions to varying degrees in terms of promoting the modernization of Jewish politics and serving the social, economic, cultural and national needs of the Jewish community or some sections thereof. According to Bacon, this even applied to the party of the Orthodox, Agudat Yisrael. In order to defend itself against Zionist inroads, Aguda had to pursue modernist "modes of imitation" (that is, the "filtered" adoption of Zionist and Bundist techniques and method of organization, activism, and propaganda) that would preserve the values of Orthodox Jewry (pp. 86–87, 89). In the process, it not only performed a valuable service to its orthodox clientele, but also contributed to the political modernization of a large, but conservative, part of the Jewish population. In a similar vein, Samuel Kassow argues that even though critics have dismissed the radical wing of the Zionist workers' party, the Left Poalei Tsiyon (LPZ), as "a group of sectarian fanatics" who called for "a binational, Yiddish-speaking Soviet Palestine" (p. 71), the LPZ played a unique and important role in attracting a dedicated, communist-inclined following that would otherwise have joined the Polish Communist Party. It thereby provided Zionism with "a solid foothold on the left" and a strong base in the Jewish trade union movement in Poland. As a Zionist "Yiddishist party," it also played "a major role in the battle for secular Yiddish culture and education" and served its members' needs by "creating a rich organizational life" (pp. 71, 77).

But it is the Bund and mainstream Zionist parties that are credited with setting in motion the moderniz-



ing development of democratic public discourse and the emergence of a modern national Jewish identity. According to Gitelman, "the Bund contributed to the democratization and modernization of Jewish political life, perhaps to a greater extent than Zionism" (p. 6). Though one may question the rather ambiguous "perhaps" of his assertion, Gitelman's case is echoed in the contributions of Polonsky, Blatman, and Steinlauf. Moreover, his sympathetic portrayal of Bundist achievements does not assume hagiographical overtones because it is tempered by a critical assessment of its politics and ideology in line with other contributions to the book. Moreover, it is a welcome attempt to restore a historiographical balance between "the 'winner' and 'loser' of twentieth-century Jewish politics," both of which made enormous and decisive changes in Jewish life, constituting a definite "shift to modernity" (p. 19).

As Gitelman and most contributors to this book indicate, the destruction of East European Jewry facilitated the realization of the Zionists' primary goal, the founding of a Jewish state, but completely destroyed the Bund and for all practical purposes the society and culture that sustained its politics and socialist aspirations. It is from this perspective that we come to appreciate Gitelman's stand on the "success and failure" issue: "The Bund's contribution should be acknowledged despite the failure to sustain itself beyond the catastrophe of East European Jewry and the apparent bankruptcy of the movement's political and economic positions" (p. 6).

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I. R. TAKALA. *Veselié Rusi: Istoriia alkogol'noi problemy v Rossii* [The Merry Russians: The History of Alcohol Problems in Russia]. St. Petersburg, Russia: Zhurnal Neva. 2002. Pp. 335.

For the past dozen years, Western historians have been publishing books and articles connected with alcohol consumption in Russia. Soviet scholars mostly studied only medical aspects of the problem, since historical studies would have revealed how embarrassingly long alcoholism had survived as a remnant of the bourgeois order. It is good news, then, that the first comprehensive Russian historical survey of the subject is deeply researched and amply documented. I. R. Takala's major focus is on governmental policy concerning alcohol, including a useful table of legislation from Ivan the Terrible's establishing a royal monopoly on alcohol to Boris Yeltsin's 1999 attempt to reestablish such a state monopoly. The author describes the kinds of alcoholic drinks available to the people of ancient Rus', such as beer, mead, and *kvas* and the rituals surrounding their consumption. Comments by foreigners on Russians' excessive consumption of alcohol as well as the Orthodox Church's strictures against drunkenness have a familiar and timeless ring.

In agreement with many other historians, Takala

credits the Genoese in the Crimea as the first people to introduce Russians to distilled wine or *acqua vitae* in the fourteenth century. At first such strong drink was considered harmful and forbidden in the Muscovite state. But by the middle of the fifteenth century, Russians had learned how to distill vodka. Monks in the Kremlin might have been the first native producers, but for a century or so vodka was identified as medicine for stomach, heart, and other ailments, and as such was doled out in dosages. By the sixteenth century, however, once bee culture began to decrease, it was evident that mead was out and vodka was in. The institution of taverns that allowed wide distribution of vodka also caused widespread drunkenness until the middle of the seventeenth century, when Tsar Aleksei created a royal monopoly on the production and distribution of alcohol.

From that time to the present, tsars, Soviet leaders, and Russian presidents have attempted to maximize revenue from the production and consumption of alcohol and yet keep alcoholism under control, two apparently irreconcilable objectives. The author discusses in detail the various strategies devised to meet these goals: the tax-farming system of early modern Russia, the state monopoly of 1894, Nicholas II's prohibition of strong drink during World War I, V. I. Lenin's resumption of vodka sales for fiscal reasons, Joseph Stalin's energetic pushing of the substance in order to finance his industrialization plans, Mikhail Gorbachev's inept anti-alcohol campaigns of the mid 1980s, and, finally, Yeltsin's foolish abolition of the state monopoly, so that at present neither sufficient revenue nor sobriety has been obtained in Russia.

Takala's strong indictment of Yeltsin's alcohol policy, or lack thereof, will interest all who are concerned with Russia's current demographic disaster, illustrated by the shrinking life expectancy of males to under fifty-eight years. The author's chilling statistics show that the chance of Russian boys sixteen years old today living to the age of sixty is fifty-four percent, whereas in 1897 it was fifty-six percent for boys of the same age. By making vodka only one more market commodity, Yeltsin allowed a flood of cheap foreign vodka to undermine domestic production. His many efforts to regain control of vodka production and sales only encouraged illegal activity, so that vodka barons outdid their oil counterparts by earning up to 2,000 percent profit on their investment. The author argues that only when the state devises an alcohol policy—preferably one that includes a state monopoly—that gives priority to the health of the people rather than to that of the state budget will the current demographic catastrophe begin to be reversed.

Takala analyzes the drinking habits of the people of Karelia as a case study of how a society can progress from moderate to excessive drinking. Using extensive archival documents and ethnographic studies, she traces the increase of alcohol consumption under the tsarist state monopoly in the late nineteenth century and then the dramatic surge under Soviet rule. Al-



though she uses convincing evidence to show this transformation, she does not fully explain why there was so little drinking in Karelia in the first place. Several factors are mentioned such as the thin population, the absence of taverns, little grain to produce vodka, and a mixed population of indigenous people and abstemious Old Believers in addition to Russians, but these factors are not weighted to supply a compelling explanation.

The volume includes thirty-two pages of illustrations, a brief précis in English, a solid bibliography, and a proper name index. The author of this original research and the Finnish Academy that supported it are to be congratulated for such a pioneering accomplishment. No one will write on the subject without referring to it.

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E. ANTHONY SWIFT. *Popular Theater and Society in Tsarist Russia*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 44.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 346. \$49.95.

The idea of a Russian public theater accessible to broad sectors of the urban population can be traced back to the early years of the eighteenth century. But it was only in the decades following the 1861 emancipation of the serfs that didactic theater designed specifically for “the people” (*narod*) took root in cities across imperial Russia. In a study that seeks to maintain a necessary though at times slippery distinction between popular theater attended by lower-class audiences and didactic people’s theater, E. Anthony Swift has written a lively and informative book about how officials, intellectuals, and popular audiences understood theater for the people.

Swift analyzes urban popular theater in a series of sketches devoted to its various venues and promoters. To begin, he focuses on the goals of the policy makers and censors who decided which dramatic works were suitable for broad popular consumption. Here the reader sees the government interacting with educated elites and general audiences during a period of rapid economic and social change. Next Swift turns to “people’s theater”—a particular form of popular theater supported by temperance societies, industrialists, and the Ministry of Finance. At this point in the narrative, the relationship between administrative and educated elites and middle and lower-class audiences comes into view. In his final chapters, Swift discusses theaters organized for industrial workers by worker intellectuals with the assistance of theater professionals and also tries valiantly to address the difficult problem of popular reception.

In each of the settings described, Swift’s rich documentation reveals that the promoters of popular theater pursued diverse goals. Government censors were concerned that uneducated audiences not be burdened with political or moral ambiguity. The lessons to be

drawn from a particular play should be clear, and to that end, in 1888—just a few years after the imperial theaters lost their monopoly on public theater performances in Moscow and St. Petersburg—the government imposed stricter censorship on theaters designated as “popular.” Intellectuals also sought to influence popular morals, but, in contrast to officials, they believed that the best way to civilize the people was to make serious art readily available. At least a few promoters of popular theater were interested in providing audiences with enjoyable entertainment that would keep them off the streets and out of the taverns. Overall, regardless of any particular political ideology or social mission, popular theater advocates saw themselves as carriers of culture to a backward and benighted people eager to taste the fruits of higher civilization. For a variety of reasons, all explored in Swift’s account, to civilize the people by providing them with “rational recreations” served the interests of government officials, factory owners, social reformers, and political ideologues. Although there was ongoing debate among officials and intellectuals concerning the sort of spiritual food the people should be fed, the degree to which educated Russians displayed similar attitudes toward “the people” is striking. At no time did any of the officials or *Kulturträger* involved with popular theater concede that commercial interests or consumer demands might be legitimate grounds for determining which entertainments should be broadly accessible.

The people, of course, had their own ideas and tastes, as Swift shows in his analysis of repertoire and audience surveys. Popular responses, moreover, were far from uniform or one-dimensional. Audiences were intent on being entertained, but they also expressed appreciation for established literary classics. Nor were they adverse to moral instruction, foreign imports, and patriotic spectacle. Perhaps Swift’s most important contribution to discussions of late imperial society and culture is to muddy the notion of clearly delineated subcultures grounded in social structure. Although at times Swift seems unsure of where he stands on this issue, his attention to the relationship between art and social status illuminates a significant historical problem, one in need of careful thought and extensive research beyond what any individual historian can do. Few scholars would deny that peasants and workers lived and behaved differently from their educated social superiors; however, peasants and workers also participated in a “national” Russian culture that crossed social boundaries. Swift’s workers embraced “bourgeois culture” and in factory theaters made it their own. By 1900, their eclectic tastes could be described as those of modern consumers in an urban industrial society. How this culture—whether described as consumer, bourgeois, or national—related to the emergence of a legal citizenry composed of economic and professional classes is an issue raised

but not directly addressed in Swift's innovative and intriguing study.

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CATHY A. FRIERSON. *All Russia is Burning! A Cultural History of Fire and Arson in Late Imperial Russia*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002. Pp. x, 318. \$45.00.

Following in the footsteps of Stephen J. Pyne's use of fire as a historical prism, Cathy A. Frierson employs rural fire as a way to reinterpret late imperial Russian history. This monumental study is the fruit of meticulous research in St. Petersburg central archives as well as Smolensk, Novgorod, and Vologda regional archives. Frierson examines not only educated society's perceptions of fire and of the peasantry it associated with village conflagrations but also fire's multiple realities. In so doing, she grapples with such fundamental issues as late imperial Russia's undergovernment, insufficient judicial system, economic backwardness, nascent civil society, misogyny, peasant culture, and interclass relationships. A must read for all historians of Russia and developing nations, this book persuasively argues that fire holds the key to explaining Russia's economic poverty in the modern era and illuminates the ways in which educated and barely literate members of Russian society were able to join forces to fight a scourge that repeatedly devastated the countryside's resources.

Frierson confines her study to the decades between 1860, when the imperial Russian government began systematically to record the incidence and monetary damages of rural fire, and 1904, just before the 1905 Revolution changed the cultural meanings of and governmental responses to fire. Although fire had been a perennial problem throughout Russian history, only in the post-1860 era did it become a fundamental issue for educated society. Writers, ethnographers, and newspaper reporters, according to Frierson, adopted either an apocalyptic or more positivist stance toward fire. The second group perceived the "fire question," like the "suicide question," as a pathology to be tamed and controlled. Intimately tied to the "peasant question," the fire problem was, however, far more serious than its counterpart of suicide. Between 1860 and 1904, Frierson points out, rural conflagrations wiped out almost 2.7 billion rubles worth of property, crippled entire communities for months or even years, and sapped regional and national resources. Far greater a scourge than famine, settlement fires actually increased in frequency as mortality rates dropped and a rural consumer culture developed. The needs of a growing population and railroad construction, Frierson argues, resulted in greater deforestation, higher incidence of drought, and the replacement of more fire-resistant wooden roofs with thatched roofs. At the same time, the spread of samovars, gas lamps, ciga-

rettes, and matches in the village provided new instruments for starting fires. Russia's countryside remained entrapped in a preindustrial material culture that its European counterparts had been able to escape as a result of a tile and brick revolution in roofing that had begun in the early modern era. Matters were not helped by the imperial government's refusal to invest in village reconstruction and by what Frierson terms a "Hobbseian [sic!] world" in which peasants employed arson against each other for purposes of revenge, social leveling, and censure (p. 8). The peasants' attraction to arson also reflected governmental shortsightedness in maintaining a separate and insufficient legal system for the bulk of its population.

Not all was bleak, however. Frierson argues that the decade of the 1890s brought improvements in overall fire management with changes in zemstvo fire insurance programs, new roofing types, more sophisticated fire technology, and development of intraclass fire brigades in the countryside. These changes reflected a combination of peasant fire management skills with gentry paternalism that succeeded in reducing fire's damage but ultimately failed, according to Frierson, once again because of the government's refusal to invest in these projects.

In addition to the above arguments, Frierson presents a nuanced picture of the Russian peasantry. Attacking reductionist arguments, especially those by Marxist historians, who view peasant resistance exclusively as social justice against their exploiters, she hammers home the points that peasants had numerous roles and identities. In her deft hands "peasants emerge as both victims and agents, legal plaintiffs and outlaws, defenders and violators of private property, obstructionists and inventors, social protesters and social oppressors, enemies of the gentry and partners with their noble neighbors" (pp. 10–11). Although Frierson underestimates the extent to which historians have embraced the notion of the peasants' moral economy and presents a somewhat muddled account of the same, her overall argument about the multifaceted peasant is significant. Borrowing James C. Scott's concept of peasants' *métis* (specialized knowledge that came from experience), Frierson brilliantly captures villagers' understanding and manipulation of fire, restoring to peasant women the skills that educated society had robbed them of by associating runaway fires with women's carelessness and hysteria. Her description of the moving sea of bedbugs, cockroaches, and lice on top of and under infants in their cradles in huts with chimneys should forever dispel the notion that peasants were too benighted to abandon their chimneyless dwellings.

A short review cannot do justice to the book's richness. Readers will not always agree with Frierson's conclusions, but that is the nature of a provocative book that makes scholars reconsider their a priori notions. When the University of Washington Press issues the book in paperback, it should allow more space for detailed maps and photographs (most of

which require a magnifying glass), permit the author to use standard academic format for footnotes, and restore the missing bibliographical page. This book is too important to be treated parsimoniously.

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ALEXANDRA KORROS. *A Reluctant Parliament: Stolypin, Nationalism, and the Politics of the Russian Imperial State Council, 1906–1911*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. xi, 247. \$65.00.

The ferocity and extent of the 1905 revolution forced the tsarist regime to make political concessions, the most significant of which was the establishment of an elected national parliament, the Duma. Before 1905, the only national body that advised the emperor on legislation and the budget was the wholly appointed State Council, its members drawn almost exclusively from Russia's social elites. The reforms of 1905 transformed the State Council into the second chamber of a bicameral legislature, its size more than doubling with the addition of members elected by corporate interests such as the nobility, the Orthodox Church, universities, and business. Alexandra Korros's book traces the development of the reformed State Council, concentrating on the period between 1906 and 1911 when a reformist prime minister, Peter Stolypin, attempted to use the new legislature to implement an ambitious reform program. She attempts to trace the part that the State Council played in this process, suggesting that the council's role was more significant than most historians have acknowledged.

Korros challenges the view of the State Council as a monolithic body and shows some of the complexity of its composition and of the views that its members espoused. She is able to provide some analysis of the reformed council's membership, demonstrating that its overwhelmingly conservative appointed members were counterbalanced to an extent by men elected to the council who held centrist and even liberal views. This account of the council's membership is, however, tantalizingly brief, and there is scope for much more detailed attention to be paid to the views and backgrounds of the council's elected members. Such analysis would provide a better context for Korros's account of how political groupings coalesced in the State Council and would help explain why the Center group was so significant. Korros suggests that the Center group was able to call on the allegiance of half the council's members, and she firmly rebuts the view that the council was entirely dominated by the Right. This challenge to the accepted view of the council's composition and outlook is the book's most valuable contribution to the history of late imperial Russia.

Korros shows how the Center group attempted to come to agreement with similar political groups in the lower house to expedite the passage of legislation that they both supported. Korros bases this part of her book on archival material, and these fresh sources

shed much more light on the council's workings than do the rather dry transcripts of its proceedings that have been the mainstay of most earlier work. Here, too, however, her analysis is often brief and could be strengthened by more extensive consideration of the dynamics of the Center and its relations with other political parties and with interest groups. Since half the council's membership was elected by corporate bodies, there is a particular need to analyze the relationships between these elected members and the bodies that had chosen them. Although the Center possessed numerical superiority in the State Council, it proved unable to deliver consistent and reliable support for the program of reform that Prime Minister Stolypin wanted to make and for which the Center appeared to be a natural supporter. As in the Duma, Stolypin found that the State Council's apparent majority for reform was a chimera and that the Center was an unreliable ally. Parliamentary crises in 1908 and 1911 demonstrated that the Right was flexing its muscles and that the prime minister's program of reform had little chance of success.

Korros follows a well-trodden path in showing how Stolypin recognized the impasse that his reforms had encountered and how he turned toward nationalist policies to sustain his government. The Western Zemstvo bill was the touchstone for Stolypin's nationalism, and its defeat in the State Council in 1911 demonstrated that the prime minister's support had disintegrated. Korros suggests that, after the debacle of 1911, the State Council eventually became what it was intended to be: a conservative buffer to the Duma. This is too sharp a turning point, and more emphasis needs to be given to the developing role that the State Council played in obstructing Stolypin's program from the start. The Center group in the State Council proved to be as fragmented and incoherent as the Octobrist Party in the lower house and both groups disintegrated, pulling the rug from under the prime minister's feet.

Korros's book is a useful starting point for further work on the State Council: her pioneering work in the archives relating to the council's political groups should act as a stimulus for scholars to expand on the glimpse that we have been given of the complexity of the Russian legislature after 1905.

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PETER HOLQUIST. *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia's Continuum of Crisis 1914–1921*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 359. \$45.00.

Peter Holquist has produced a remarkable book. It is not an easy task, at this late date, to make a contribution to the enormous existing literature on the Russian Revolution with a book that is based on original research and presents a fresh perspective, but Holquist has done just that. He did not attempt to retell the remarkably complex story. Instead, he makes an argu-



ment about how the revolution should be interpreted. He does so convincingly by demonstrating a thorough knowledge of the relevant archives, the secondary literature, and the larger context of European history.

This is not a book for undergraduates. Holquist takes it for granted that his readers know what happened, who the Bolsheviks were, what their ideology was, what the significance was of the intervention, etc. He does not describe the military campaigns, nor does he spend much time describing individuals; L. G. Kornilov, Anton Ivanovich Denikin, and Aleksandr Vasil'evich Kolchak, or for that matter, V. I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin, and Leon Trotsky are not really actors in this book. Indeed, Kolchak's name does not even appear in the index. Holquist is primarily interested in the impersonal forces that, in his opinion, created the Soviet system.

His main point is that what we call the Russian Revolution must be placed in the context of the time and place. The turning point in Russian history was not 1917, but 1914, when the great conflagration began. What the Bolsheviks or the anti-Bolsheviks were doing was not all that different from what the tsarist government or, indeed, other wartime governments had already done. Procedures that we associate with the time of the civil war such as terror, forced movement of populations, and outlawing free trade in grain had already started under the tsarist government. The Bolsheviks and their enemies simply intensified changes that had been introduced earlier as a consequence of the large-scale mass mobilization occasioned by World War I. White terror was not simply a response to Bolshevik actions. White and Red behavior grew out of the same background and were responses to the same needs and circumstances. Holquist correctly emphasizes the similarities between Red and White behavior in matters such as terror, propaganda, or surveillance.

What made the Russian situation exceptional was that, after the end of the war, when the other nations of Europe more or less successfully returned to a modified form of the old order, the Bolsheviks did not abandon revolutionary mass mobilization. It was in the nature of their worldview that they wanted to remold society and for that purpose continued to use wartime methods (i.e. terror, propaganda, and every possible means of mass mobilization). The Soviet system, in Holquist's understanding, was a permanent revolution. It was not only Bolshevik ideology and the legacy of centuries of autocracy that created the Soviet order, but also war and revolution.

Holquist attempts to demonstrate his points through a local study. By dealing with a limited area, he can illustrate what happened in a village or a Cossack *stanitsa*. In attempting to draw the large picture by concentrating on a limited area he follows the example of Orlando Figes (*Peasant Russia, Civil War: The Volga Countryside in Revolution, 1917–21* [1989]) and of Donald J. Raleigh (*Experiencing Russia's Civil War: Politics, Society, and Revolutionary Culture in Saratov,*

*1917–1922* [2002]). Much of Holquist's book is devoted to the region of the Don Cossacks. It was here that the strongest White army was organized; it was a fertile district that could contribute to the feeding of the rest of the empire; and it as among the areas that were most fought over and therefore most destroyed. The Cossacks, of course, made an enormous contribution to the White forces. Arguably the civil war might not have happened without their participation. The prominent Russian generals, Mikhail Vasilevich Alekseev, Kornilov, and Denikin well understood, at the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, that there was no other part of Russia where they could start their anti-Bolshevik organization. Conversely, precisely because the Don was exceptional, one wonders whether Holquist's generalizations would apply equally well to other purely Russian districts. At times, there seems to be a disjunction between the rather detailed descriptions of Cossack politics and the large interpretive issues that the author chooses to discuss.

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MARK D. STEINBERG. *Proletarian Imagination: Self, Modernity and the Sacred in Russia, 1910–1925*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 335. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

Mark D. Steinberg speaks to two issues in Russian cultural history in this important book: the relationship between high and low culture and the modernity of the lower classes. Reading published and unpublished works by a small but influential group of politically active "writers from the people," he finds sharp parallels between the themes of canonical authors of the time and an active engagement with radical pundits. Steinberg thus challenges (although he is hardly the first to do so) the misconception that Russian writers and artists created a Westernized culture in a society in which the lower classes were largely cut off from European culture.

He demonstrates that these lower-class authors partook of the values and intellectual ferment of their time. They were preoccupied with self. They rhapsodized about nature, used religious imagery, and prized emotion. After 1917, they imagined proletarian saviors, as did Aleksandr Blok, who put Jesus at the head of a Bolshevik detachment in his famous poem "The Twelve." Steinberg further shows how these writers adapted to the political climate, responding to or rejecting Bolshevik demands after 1917 for a collective identity and an optimistic and rationalistic approach to urban life. In fact, some authors adopted a heroic view of themselves that better fit the ethos of the writers of the Silver Age than that of the Bolsheviks. This is cultural history as microhistory, and the comparisons Steinberg draws with more important authors, such as Andrei Platonov, who came from a proletarian family, and Blok, who did not, will be much appreciated.



Despite its merits, the book lacks specificity. The author describes his subjects as "worker authors," "proletarian intellectuals," "plebeian authors," "workers and former workers," and "plebeian intelligently" (pp. 1–2, 4, 21, 32). He contrasts them with "lower-class Russians" who could not "put their thoughts and feelings into writing" (p. 2). The problem is that these categories obscure the writers' place in society. The contemporary pre-Soviet terms "writers from the people," "self-taught writers," and "intelligentsia from the people" are perhaps more suitable. After 1917, the rubrics "proletarian writer" and "worker writer" echoed the government's categorization of the population class and its dialogue with the writers, who were often enticed into trading their independence for a meal ticket.

Steinberg adopts a rather opaque and perhaps misleading social category by defining his subjects as proletarian. He tells us about the contemporary usage, but a more neutral term to define these authors might have worked better. Social identities were in flux from 1910 to 1925, and many of the writers were born in the countryside, worked at diverse jobs, and wandered about as vagabonds. A more systematic presentation of information would have clarified the issue of social identity and much else. As it is, the reader is left guessing as to the number of writers involved, the comparative dates of their birth, the dates and range of their activity, their social and geographic origins, political affiliations, when they claimed to have joined the Bolshevik Party, and so forth. Since the number of authors is relatively small, a table or two would have been feasible. The volume contains a marvelous appendix with biographical sketches of more than a dozen of the writers. Translations of a few representative autobiographies would have added an important dimension to these fascinating accounts, particularly for students.

On balance, this is a fine monograph from which scholars can learn much about Russian social life, culture, and the literary tradition. Steinberg has sifted through a vast quantity of material and his footnotes, often filling a quarter of the page or more, are frequently as interesting as the text. Readers will appreciate his efforts to situate his story in European cultural history as well as the citations from philosophers and writers with which he heads his chapters. A few key sources are missing from the bibliography. Mary Jo Maynes (*Taking the Hard Road: Life Course in French and German Workers' Autobiographies in the Era of Industrialization* [1995]) has written interestingly about workers' autobiographies, and a comparison of their attitudes to the city and factory as well as their sense of themselves as authors with those of the Russian writers would have been useful for understanding Russia's participation in this European phenomenon. Evgeny Dobrenko covers some of the same ground as Steinberg in two important monographs, *The Making of the State Reader: Social and Aesthetic Contexts of the Reception of Soviet Literature* (1997) and

*The Making of the State Writer: Social and Aesthetic Origins of Soviet Literary Culture* (2001), which appeared in Russian several years earlier.

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EDWARD E. ROSLOF. *Red Priests: Renovationism, Russian Orthodoxy, and Revolution, 1905–1946*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 259. \$45.00.

This is a solid and valuable study of the Renovationist or Living Church, which was a schismatic church that broke with the patriarchal Russian Orthodox Church over the latter's opposition to communism in the mid-1920s. Clergy called "Red Priests" or Renovationists led the Living Church, which had the sanction of the Bolshevik government. The term "Red Priests" was, of course, pejorative and used by those who condemned the Renovationist clergy for siding with the atheist regime against the Russian Orthodox Church (which, in contrast to the Living Church, was brutally persecuted). Edward E. Roslof bases his study on the Russian archives and uses the methodology of "neoinstitutional" sociology, particularly the sociological tools of isomorphism and decoupling, to show that many of the so-called "Red Priests" were motivated by a genuine desire to find a symbiosis between Christianity and communism. Their roots stretched back to the end of the nineteenth century, when reformers within Orthodoxy were looking for ways to make the Russian Orthodox Church more responsive to the problems then affecting Russia.

The Living Church was eclipsed when the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church eventually pledged loyalty to the Soviet government and then, in an extraordinary display of nationalism and love of "Mother Russia," pleaded with the Russian people to fight against the invading Nazis in 1941. Joseph Stalin quickly saw that the Russian Orthodox Church was a stronger motivator of people in preparing for the national defense than the Living Church or, for that matter, Marxism, so he agreed to a limited toleration of the Russian Orthodox Church, particularly in the western borderlands where, once the Nazis were defeated, Stalin had hopes of expanding Soviet influence. In the late phases of the war, the enemy was no longer the Germans but the Catholic Church, and Stalin hoped to persuade religious believers in Eastern and Central Europe, as well as public opinion in the Western Europe and the United States, to accept Soviet rule in Eastern Europe with equanimity since his government was showing toleration to the Russian Orthodox Church.

The first fruit of Stalin's alliance with Orthodoxy was the forced union of the large Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. It was more palatable domestically and internationally to have the Orthodox Church repress the Ukrainian

Catholic Church than simply to try to smash it with the KGB. However, the Russian Orthodox Church gained strength from the forced union with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Soviet government then had two problems: it had a vigorous Russian Orthodox Church in the borderlands, which was an unintended consequence of forced reunion with the Uniate Church. The Kremlin wanted to use the Russian Orthodox Church as a sort of decompression chamber as believers went from Catholicism to Orthodoxy to atheism rather than to rebuild Russian Orthodoxy. The second problem was that many Ukrainian Catholics went underground, becoming an active source of opposition that stoked Ukrainian nationalism and really did not abate until the Ukrainian Catholic Church was re-established in 1989 and Ukraine became an independent state in 1991. In any event, there was no longer any reason for the Kremlin to prop up the Living Church, and so it collapsed at the end of World War II. Stalin had used it only to pressure the Russian Orthodox Church to support the atheist state, not to grant religious freedom to believers who were loyal or collaborationist. In Stalin's mind, all religion eventually had to go. Roslof seems to miss that important point, arguing that World War II was a turning point for Russian Orthodoxy. It was not so much a turning point as an expedient maneuver, which was never really considered permanent. This book is highly recommended and is unquestionably the authoritative study of Renovationism in the USSR.

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DAVID BRANDENBERGER. *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1931–1956*. (Russian Research Center Studies, number 93.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 378. \$49.95.

This book examines the formation of Russian national identity during the Stalin era. The book is divided into three parts covering the time periods 1931–1941, 1941–1945, and 1945–1953, with a conclusion that places the work in the context of later Soviet history. The author, David Brandenberger, provides a thoughtful and enlightening look at this complex topic through the perusal of Russian archives, interviews, diaries, and other accounts.

Brandenberger's main thesis is that, prior to 1934, Soviet society had a weak sense of national identity. Subsequently, its formation occurred gradually and with vacillation. In 1934, a time when the country had just completed a massive social upheaval, and with the great purges ahead, historians were given the task of fashioning new historical narratives that would be clearly comprehensible to the popular masses, particularly through their focus on great events of the past, heroes, and dates.

The author stresses how these new narratives em-

phasized the history of Russia to the detriment of that of other national groups. The most significant was A. V. Shestakov's *Short Course on the History of the USSR* (1937), which provided a narrative from Kievan Rus', through the Muscovite period and the Romanov dynasty, to the Soviet Union. Some personalities received instant acclaim, such as Peter the Great; others were accepted more cautiously, such as Ivan the Terrible, a tsar revered by Joseph Stalin. The campaign reflected the failure of efforts to instill a sense of Soviet patriotism based on international ideology and Marxist dialectic.

In schools, instruction on socialism and socioeconomic development became peripheral and secondary to the more simplistic emphasis on great individuals and deeds. In literature, the campaign was illustrated by the glorification of Alexander Pushkin, with Leo Tolstoy and Mikhail Lermontov also venerated. The critical question of how the history of the non-Russians was to be interpreted was answered by Narkompros (Commissariat of Enlightenment) in 1940, with its demand that non-Russian narratives be incorporated into courses on world history (p. 71). A new patriotic identity emerged, Brandenberger notes, and was in place to some extent by the late 1930s.

The campaign of the 1930s, the author believes, prepared the country well for the coming war against Germany. Marxism-Leninism was too complex for mass consumption, but the concept of Russian heroic patriotism based on the premise that the Russians were the first among the Soviet peoples was convenient, albeit troubling to Bolshevik idealists. However, Brandenberger appears to contradict himself slightly when he notes that the outbreak of war resulted in a "cacophony of contradictory rallying calls" (p. 115). The regime also had to deal with the alienation of border-region populations, the newly annexed people of the Baltic states, Ukrainians, and Belarusians.

As the war progressed, greater attention was given to the non-Russians, though it receded with the Soviet advance across the Polish border. Brandenberger demonstrates the growth of Russian chauvinism during the war, particularly toward Jews and Ukrainians. This attitude culminated in the postwar Zhdanovshchina (cultural policy), which made it impossible for non-Russians to construct national histories that were distinctive from that of Russia. The crucial Stalin years, then, saw the development and promotion of a Russian national identity that was facilitated by the war and by the foibles of the leadership itself.

The book is balanced and well constructed, and complements recent works by Terry Martin, Timothy Brooke and, for a more recent era, John B. Dunlop. A few minor criticisms can be offered. At times, the transition from doctoral thesis to monograph is evident in the repetition of names, events, and occasionally even complete sentences. Chapter titles sometimes restate issues because they are so similar. The conclusion is not really a conclusion. Rather it takes the narrative into the later Soviet and post-Soviet periods

to explain how leaders such as Leonid Brezhnev and Vladimir Putin developed national Bolshevism's Russian variant. A cynic might wonder why Brandenberger cites Yuri Slezkine for two particular phrases when the author's own linguistic skills are far from negligible. The book really ends in 1953 rather than 1956.

None of these criticisms detracts from the value and very high quality of this excellent work, which should launch the author's academic career and establish him as a leading specialist on Stalinist mass culture.

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GEORGE O. LIBER. *Alexander Dovzhenko: A Life in Soviet Film*. London: British Film Institute. 2002. Pp. vii, 309. \$58.00.

The Ukrainian director Alexander Dovzhenko (1894–1956) was one of the great pioneers of Soviet film making, alongside Sergei Eisenstein, Vsevolod Pudovkin, and Dziga Vertov. In this book, George O. Liber provides not so much an aesthetic appreciation of Dovzhenko's work but rather a biography that situates the director in the cultural politics of his time.

Dovzhenko, who was born in a peasant family, qualified as a teacher in 1914 and acquired exemption from military service in World War I. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, he initially became a Ukrainian nationalist but joined the Communist Party in 1920, only to be expelled in 1923. Having studied art in Berlin in 1922–1923, he found employment as a political cartoonist when he returned to Ukraine and took up film making in 1926. His silent films *Zvenyhora* (1927), *Arsenal* (1928), and *Earth* (1930) dealt with Ukrainian themes and employed experimental techniques. After his first sound film, *Ivan* (1932), which depicted the construction of the Dnieper dam during the First Five-Year Plan, Dovzhenko moved to Moscow, where he enjoyed the protection of the party leader, Joseph Stalin. His next film, *Aerograd* (1935), was set in the contemporary Soviet Far East and celebrated its inhabitants' resistance to Japanese intervention. In *Shchors* (1939), Dovzhenko attempted to implement Stalin's instruction to "create a Ukrainian Chapaev" (p. 155)—V. I. Chapaev being the eponymous hero of a phenomenally successful 1934 film about the Civil War. Dovzhenko's task was made more difficult not only by the exceptional political complexity of the Civil War in the Ukraine, where his protagonist Mykola Shchors commanded a Bolshevik brigade, but also by the contemporary context of Stalin's purges: Shchors's second-in-command, Ivan Dubovy, was executed as an "enemy of the people" in 1938 and had to be edited out of the film. *Shchors* was well received, but the experience of the purges, Liber suggests, led Dovzhenko to lose most of his illusions about the nature of the Soviet system under Stalin.

During World War II, Dovzhenko made propagandist documentary films. In *Liberation* (1940), he celebrated the annexation of "Western Ukraine" and

"Western Belorussia" after the Soviet invasion of Poland, while *The Battle for Our Soviet Ukraine* (1943) and *Victory in Right-Bank Ukraine* (1945) depicted resistance to the German occupation. During the war, too, Dovzhenko wrote the screenplay for a projected feature film, *Ukraine in Flames*, which implicitly criticized the Soviet authorities' handling of the war effort. Stalin personally condemned it, accusing Dovzhenko of Ukrainian nationalism, and the film was never made. The director was demoted and sidelined, redeeming himself with *Michurin* (1948), a hack biography of the Russian horticulturalist. Thereafter Dovzhenko produced little of significance. He lived to see the death of Stalin in 1953 and the first steps of de-Stalinization under Nikita Khrushchev, but he was not allowed to return to Ukraine after the war and died in Moscow.

Liber's biography is a very solid piece of scholarship, based on extensive archival research in Moscow and Kiev. Like other recent studies of members of the Soviet creative intelligentsia, the book explores the dilemmas faced by artists and writers who tried to accommodate the Stalinist regime. Dovzhenko was in a more difficult position than most. First, as a film maker he belonged to a profession accorded particular significance by the authorities because of its effectiveness as a medium that could influence the barely literate masses. The high cost of film production, moreover, made film makers particularly dependent on the state. Second, as a Ukrainian who attached great importance to his national identity, Dovzhenko was vulnerable to the fluctuations not only of Soviet cultural policy in general but also of the often unpredictable party line on non-Russian nationalities. While broadly sympathetic to the director, Liber is not uncritical of him. He notes, for example, that Dovzhenko compromised his artistic integrity by making "socialist realist" films, and that he opportunistically attacked the Jewish defendants in the show trials of 1936–1938. On the more positive side, Liber claims that Dovzhenko remained true to his vision of a Ukrainian national culture, and to his "self-appointed mission to develop a Ukrainian national cinematography" (p. 273). This claim is not entirely convincing in light of Dovzhenko's move from Kiev to Moscow in 1932 and his willingness to work on non-Ukrainian themes in *Aerograd* and *Michurin*. Even if one does not altogether accept Liber's depiction of Dovzhenko as a martyr to the Ukrainian national cause, however, the author has presented us with an illuminating portrait of a complex Soviet cultural figure.

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E. A. REES, editor. *Centre-Local Relations in the Stalinist State, 1928–1941*. (Studies in Russian and East European History and Society.) New York: Palgrave MacMillan. 2002. Pp. xiv, 229. \$65.00.



This collection of essays is intended by its editor, E. A. Rees, as the second of a trilogy of studies on political decision making in Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union. The first volume, *Decision-Making in the Stalinist Command Economy, 1932-1937*, also edited by Rees, was published in 1997, while a third and final volume is to focus on the decision-making process by the top political bodies and leaders in the Soviet Union during the quarter century of Stalin's personal dictatorship (1928-1953).

Author of *State Control in Soviet Russia: The Rise and Fall of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate, 1920-34* (1984) and *Stalinism and Soviet Rail Transport, 1924-41* (1995), Rees is one of the foremost Western specialists of the pivotal impact of politics on the Soviet economy under Stalin. He wrote the introduction and four of the eight essays in this book (another essay was written by Nick Baron, a recent graduate of Rees's former employer, the University of Birmingham). By being responsible for more than half of the book's text, Rees has largely avoided the problem of the lack of common focus and unifying themes of discussion that often plagues collections of essays by various authors. Given his profound imprint on the collection, however, the reader is puzzled as to why Rees did not write a monograph instead.

On the plus side, one could suggest that, even if Rees's presence predominates, his chapters provide the collection with a unifying coherence. And the excellent contributions by Oleg Khlevnyuk on the impossible task of the regional party leaders of the 1920s and 1930s in the USSR, Valery Vasil'ev on Vinnitsa Oblast (Ukraine), Hiroaki Kuromiya on the Donbass, and Baron on Soviet Karelia pointedly provide further insight into the relationship of the top Soviet leadership with the lower levels of the Communist hierarchy.

Rees and his fellow contributors agree that the opportunity for initiative by local leaders in the periphery was far greater in the Soviet political system during the 1920s than in the 1930s (which is hardly a new point of view). From 1921 to 1928, the Communist regime encouraged the cultural "development" of non-Russian ethnic groups, soft-pedaled its antireligious campaign, and allowed a measure of private enterprise in the economy under the New Economic Policy (pp. 10-11). But this liberalization had its limits, and Stalin began to tighten the reins in the course of 1927 (p. 13). Rees notes how, while during the late 1920s and early 1930s the Communist bosses made an attempt to involve peripheral planning authorities and political leaders, "the nature of the planning system, and the very high targets set during these phases of planning, contributed to the process of centralizing decision-making" (p. 4). The accelerated industrialization and collectivization of agriculture of the First Five-Year Plan (1929-1932) were ever more steered by the center, while the limited success of the first policy and the comprehensive failure of the second were blamed on those implementing these policies in the localities,

as both Rees and Kuromiya point out (pp. 18, 25, 149). By the late 1930s, "internal and external security concerns" made the central leadership order the killing of almost all local leaderships in their entirety, thereby discouraging any desire among local authorities to influence its decisions (p. 208).

Rees takes issue with J. Arch Getty's hypothesis that Stalin unleashed the carnage of the Great Terror (1936-1938) among the regional leaderships as his ultimate solution to a genuine rivalry between center and periphery (pp. 194-96, 208). Instead, by the middle of the 1930s, when international tension (particularly) in Europe sharply increased, Stalin concluded that many republican, regional, and district bosses might prove disloyal to him if the Soviet Union ended up in a war, even when they had staunchly shown their loyalty to the *Vozhd'* earlier (p. 87). Rees implies that this fertile imagination caused Stalin to orchestrate the Great Terror (pp. 56-60, 196-97).

Generally, the case studies of the Donbass, Vinnitsa, Karelia, and Moscow confirm this overall pattern of relatively lax central control of the 1920s and the hypercentralization of (particularly) 1928-1933 and 1936-1938. The reduction of agency among regional party leaders is likewise charted in Khlevnyuk's discussion of the role of regional and republican party leaders and in Rees's comparison of the speeches delivered by the central and regional leaders at the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Party Congresses. The picture presented of rapidly increasing centralization is convincing, and the argument gains in force because all essays appear to be based on prodigious research in central and local archives.

This book, then, constitutes a worthwhile contribution to the study of the Soviet 1930s, but it will not appeal to a broad audience, for it assumes readers' detailed knowledge of the time and place. Despite its lengthy glossary, nonspecialists are challenged by the prodigious use of Russian terms and acronyms throughout the essays. A few abbreviations are not explained (TET on p. 96, for example), while some explanations in the glossary are cryptically brief (what is a "magnetic anomaly"?). The translations of some of the original Russian sources are awkward (p. 108, for example), and names are misspelled. More rigorous copyediting could have helped to reduce the stylistic flaws and other problems of presentation. It is not quite clear, for example, what the purpose is of Rees's summary of parts of the Party Congress speeches of regional leaders in 1934 and 1939 (pp. 69-79, 201-04).

Lastly, as Rees admits, the most tantalizing question remains unanswered in this volume: how, exactly, did the central leadership arrive at its decisions (see p. 95)? Rees promises a more definitive answer to that complicated question in the final installment of this series, and I am looking forward to it.

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SHOSHANA KELLER. *To Moscow, Not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign Against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2001. Pp. xix, 277. \$64.95.

Central Asia—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan—is a vast, unevenly populated territory. It lies at the heart of Eurasia, bordered to the north by Siberia, to the east by China, to the south by Afghanistan, to the west by Iran and, across the Caspian Sea, the South Caucasus. It has a population of fifty-five million, of whom approximately forty million are Muslims. Of these, the overwhelming majority are, at least nominally, followers of Sunni Islam.

For over seventy years, this region formed part of the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, there was speculation as to whether a *mujahidin*-type Islamic opposition might emerge here. Numerous publications were devoted to the supposed “Muslim threat” that would, so it was argued, engulf the Soviet Union. Yet until the late 1980s, the Central Asians remained stubbornly quiescent, to all appearances thoroughly secularized and Sovietized. It was only during the period of *perestroika*, Mikhail Gorbachev’s attempted liberalization and restructuring of society, that there was a resurgence of Islamic sentiment in Central Asia. That trend became even more pronounced following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991.

After independence, the geostrategic importance of Central Asia soon attracted international interest. Moreover, substantial sums of foreign investment began to flow into the region in order to explore and develop the rich reserves of minerals and hydrocarbons. The rapid pace of re-Islamicization was now viewed with concern, as a possible cause of destabilization. There were fears that the new states would fall under the influence of extremist movements. This prognosis seemed to be confirmed by the outbreak of civil war in Tajikistan in 1992, where the antigovernment coalition was led by the Islamic Rebirth Party (IRP). The warring factions signed a peace treaty in June 1997, and IRP leaders were brought into the government. By this time, however, new centers of Islamist activity were emerging in Uzbekistan, particularly in the Ferghana Valley, and in adjacent areas of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. Islamist groups were held responsible for acts of terrorism and cross-border armed insurgencies. They were also accused of attempting to overthrow the incumbent governments, especially in Uzbekistan, by force. Such allegations were not always supported by credible evidence. Nevertheless, in the Central Asian states, as well as in Russia and the West, there is currently a growing conviction that “fundamentalist” Islam represents a threat to regional as well as global security, and that it must be combated in every possible way. In Uzbekistan, where the problem is most acute, the government has resorted to the use of harshly repres-

sive measures that seriously violate internationally accepted standards of human rights.

Thus, Islam in Central Asia is today a highly topical subject. Perhaps inevitably, attention is focused on the present situation. For the most part, there is little interest in exploring the historical background. Insofar as any reference is made to the Soviet experience, it is presented in simplistic and often misleading terms. Yet as Shoshana Keller rightly points out, “In order to have any hope of understanding present-day Central Asia, one must be able to understand its past” (p. xiii). The great value of this book is precisely the contribution it makes to expanding our knowledge of one of the seminal issues in the modern history of the region: namely Soviet policies toward Islam in the first decades of Soviet rule in Central Asia, from the Bolshevik Revolution up to the start of the Great Patriotic War (i.e. the Soviet Union’s entry into World War II). Until now, scholarly work on this topic has been limited by the fact that crucial archival records have been virtually inaccessible. Keller, however, has succeeded in tracking down a wealth of rare primary sources in libraries in Russia, Uzbekistan, and elsewhere. This has enabled her to provide a coherent, well-documented account of the evolution of official attitudes toward Islam, as well as to evaluate the effects of these policies on the population, with particular reference to developments in Uzbekistan (traditionally the center of Islamic culture in Central Asia).

The book is divided into eight chapters, organized chronologically but with a thematic characterization, such as “Discussing the Problem” (chapter four), “Breaking Islam” (chapter five), and “Retrenchment” (chapter six). This structure works well, giving scope for a detailed exploration of social and political responses at key stages of the implementation of policy directives. The author illustrates not only Moscow’s failure to establish full control over this region but also the reasons why it was unable to achieve its ideological goals there. Although the hold of Islam on the local peoples was certainly weakened during the period under discussion, it was by no means eradicated. The summing up provided by the conclusion is clear and concise.

Given the overall excellence of this book, it is slightly disappointing that the author sometimes relies too heavily on modern secondary sources for issues that do not form part of her core subject. A more critical evaluation of such material would have ensured that the otherwise high standard of research was maintained. This is especially noticeable in the first chapter, which provides a summary of the position of Islam under the tsarist administration. There are some excellent contemporary accounts of Central Asia at this period, written by experienced travelers such as the American diplomat Eugene Schuyler and the British scholar and civil servant Denison Ross. The former in particular gives detailed descriptions of Muslim practices and institutions. Keller does make a

fleeting reference to the writings of Alexander Burnes and Arminius Vambéry, but there is no serious attempt to consider the evidence provided by such narratives. This is a pity, because they throw an interesting light on the situation as it was perceived by careful, albeit foreign, observers. Yet this is a small quibble. The book is a major contribution to the field of modern Central Asian studies, and also to the modern history of the Islamic world.

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DONALD FILTZER. *Soviet Workers and Late Stalinism: Labour and the Restoration of the Stalinist System after World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 276. \$60.00.

Scholars have long maintained that Soviet victory over Nazi Germany brought Joseph Stalin and his system newfound legitimacy and enhanced popular support. A variety of evidence has given rise to this claim. Western journalists, Soviet émigrés, and countless letters thanking Stalin published in Soviet newspapers have put forth the notion that Stalin was seen as the savior of mother Russia and other national homelands. Along with possibly augmenting Stalin's personal popularity, victory also seemed to cast new light on Stalin's policies by "proving" in the minds of many that central planning, rapid industrialization, and collectivized agriculture had been necessary and correct. In speeches, interviews, and memoirs, numerous Soviet citizens have asserted that Germany's defeat affirmed Stalin's system. More recent studies of the postwar Stalin years have offered further evidence. Examinations of popular literature, the postwar technical intelligentsia, and postwar Ukraine have all found signs that large segments of postwar society looked favorably upon Stalin and his system. These scholars have also shown that the regime worked to strengthen its support in the postwar era by offering status and privileges to the growing numbers of university and technical school graduates and by creating new political identities that allowed many formerly disaffected groups, such as Ukrainian peasants, to establish strong connections with the regime.

Donald Filtzer's study of the postwar working class takes issue with the notion of widespread postwar support for Stalin and his system. While Filtzer acknowledges that many workers may have had some positive feelings for the regime at war's end, he argues that their support disappeared quickly. Inspired by Elena Zubkova's study of Stalin-era "popular opinion," Filtzer explains that the drought and "consumption crisis" of 1946–1947 crushed people's spirits and left them reconciled to lives of poverty and powerlessness. He reinforces this view with a focus on the special hardships encountered by young workers. Their work experiences, he claims, "produced a profound alienation from the regime" (p. 155). Filtzer leaves no

doubt that people suffered horribly in the early postwar years. He vividly documents the hardships with trenchant and extensive use of archival materials in chapters covering worker recruitment, the drought, housing, health, and young workers.

The book loses some cogency when trying to establish the regime's perceived culpability for people's hardships. Filtzer argues that the regime sought to resubjugate society and exercise "an unprecedented degree of control over the toiling population" (p. 249) by using a combination of economic pressure and criminal law (in the form of edicts against theft and job-changing). Filtzer, however, also documents the regime's unwillingness and/or inability to enforce its laws. He shows that rates of labor turnover were high, but convictions for violating the job-changing law were few. In addition, he finds that enterprise managers generally failed to report law-breaking workers and were not prosecuted for their indifference. Moreover, he shows that the police and rural officials often ignored the requests for prosecution that they did receive, and procurators, up to and including the USSR Procuracy in Moscow, did not actively pursue many of the cases that were brought to their attention. When Filtzer acknowledges that the regime's effort to control the working class through criminal law failed, the reader is left to wonder why largely unenforced edicts would have turned people against the regime. If anything, Filtzer offers evidence that workers may have seen the regime's representatives (managers, policemen, local party officials, and procurators) as potential sources of assistance in difficult times.

The economic portion of Filtzer's argument—that deprivation demoralized and embittered Soviet society—runs into significant problems when considering the period after 1948. From that year until Stalin's death in 1953, most people's standard of living steadily improved. Filtzer posits that, despite improvement, life remained spartan for most workers and, consequently, they remained disillusioned. Filtzer provides few details about Soviet life after 1948, so one can only speculate about worker regard for the regime in that period. But it seems improbable that people would have denied Stalin any credit for their steadily rising living standards. Moreover, most people's basis for comparison was low. By 1953, many workers were living better than they had in 1946–1947, or during the war, or for most of the 1930s. Although by Western standards the Soviet people remained horribly impoverished in 1953, there would have been few Soviet workers who could have remembered a better time.

This study is well researched and well organized. Aside from frequent instances of vague pronoun references, the book is written clearly, provides many new details about postwar life, and should stimulate lively debate about Stalin's postwar rule.

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## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

JAN RETSÖ. *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*. London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2003. Pp. xiii, 684. \$100.00.

This sprawling chronological survey of the pre-Islamic Arabs is the work of a Finnish Arabist, Jan Retsö. His philological curiosity about the meaning of the admittedly problematic word "Arab" has impelled him to develop, at excessive length, an extremely improbable hypothesis. After repeatedly discarding prevalent notions of early Arab nomadism, he concludes that "The term 'Arab' designates a community of people with war-like properties, standing under the command of a divine hero, being intimately connected with the use of the domesticated camel" (p. 623). In the process of his exposition, Retsö deploys a large bibliography, but for all his efforts the bibliography is often out of date. He has set himself an impossible task in trying to cover so much material, even with the hundreds of pages available to him, with the result that at any given point his remarks usually seem superficial. The whole enterprise has a chaotic and self-indulgent air, which a good editor could have done something to remedy. In addition, it must be said that the author's English style leaves much to be desired, as the foregoing quotation illustrates. Many other grotesqueries, such as "Severians" for "Severans," could be cited. A good editor could also have helped with the innumerable errors and infelicities of expression.

It is odd that the same press that brought out Robert Hoyland's eccentric, if admirably concise *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (2001) should have taken on a much larger book on the same subject just two years later. Those who seek a rapid orientation in the subject will profit more from Hoyland than from Retsö, and historians who are already acquainted with the field will not gain much more from Retsö than the odd reference. His account cannot be trusted. Furthermore, he has chosen to use an aggressively unattractive system of transliteration that may be familiar to some linguists but will undoubtedly drive most historians to distraction. Any reader of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* or of the journal *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* will know that the accurate rendering of Semitic letters does not have to be so user-unfriendly.

In a review such as this, it is impossible to go into much detail to substantiate the criticisms just made. But a few observations will give a sense of the nature and depth of the problems in this book. Irfan Shahid will undoubtedly be amazed to discover that his work on the Romans and the Arabs in late antiquity does not deal with Arabs but with Saracens (p. 107). Peter Högemann will be equally amazed by the misrepresentation (p. 279) of his meticulous argument for Alexander's plans for Arabia. Roman Edessa is discussed without any awareness of the fundamental work by Steven K. Ross, which appeared in 2001 under the same imprint as Retsö's book. The precious fragments

on Arabia from the lost works of Glaucus and Uranius are reviewed (pp. 491–93) in ignorance of full discussions published by this reviewer in two different places. In considering contemporary documents from the Roman Empire (pp. 480–85) Retsö is utterly innocent of the astonishing discovery of third-century documentary papyri now known as P. Euphrat. In trying to make sense of the *shirkat* (or *ethnos* in Greek) of the Thamudeni in a much discussed inscription at Ruwafa in the Hijaz (p. 506), Retsö says nothing of Michael Macdonald's important reinterpretation of the term in a nonethnic sense. There is nothing at all in this book about the Russian excavations at Qana on the coast of Yemen, with their important contributions to our understanding of the Hadramawt and of the Jewish population there.

Probably no one could be expected to control the huge and diverse evidence for Arabs, however conceptualized, from Assyrian times to the Umayyad califate. An introductory handbook with a thematic structure, such as Hoyland's, is the only way to tackle so much within two covers. But the fact that the book under review is so large and so apparently erudite will doubtless intimidate some into thinking that this is a definitive work.

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EUGENE ROGAN, editor. *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*. (The Islamic Mediterranean, number 3.) London and New York: I. B. Tauris, in association with The European Science Foundation, Strasbourg, France. 2002. Pp. vii, 263. \$65.00.

This book is part of a series that I. B. Tauris has undertaken, drawn from the European Science Foundation's multiteam project on "Individual and Society in the Mediterranean Muslim World" that commenced in the mid-1990s. The present volume results from the efforts of Team Two, whose theme was "Norms and Oppositions" in these societies. In a refinement of that topic, team member Eugene Rogan has gathered ten articles on socially marginal groups, taken both from team meetings and from smaller seminars held at European universities. Rogan's introduction defines marginality as broadly as possible, so that it encompasses all manner of social outcasts and minority populations, as well as populations that, while numerically significant, are poorly represented among power elites. Individual authors are likewise not required to subscribe to a particular definition of marginality; in consequence, we encounter assumptions as to the meaning of "marginality" ranging from the Foucauldian to the subaltern studies school to the commonsensical.

The essays are divided into four sections based on their subject matter: consumption, institutions, port cities, and entertainers. All essays in the first two sections demonstrate the impact of "modernity" on



"traditional" societies, so that marginal status results from specific actions taken by modernizing states, whether colonial or indigenous. Thus, François Georleon's study of alcohol consumption in nineteenth-century Istanbul, the lone entry in the "Consumption" category, demonstrates how this activity, which in the first flush of defensive Westernization in the 1820s and 1830s was a symbol of enlightened freedom in the face of disapproving religious authorities, was by the late nineteenth century labeled a threat to individual, familial, and social health by the modernizing Ottoman medical establishment. The essays grouped under "Institutions" pursue this notion of reframing populations and activities in the name of modernization. Although Rudolph Peters limits himself to showing that the nineteenth-century Egyptian penal system did not brand prisoners with an ineradicable social stigma (as did those of supposedly enlightened European societies), Mine Ener's study of poor relief at the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo traces attempts by the modernizing state of Muhammad 'Alī Pasha and his descendants to remove the poor from public spaces and to distinguish "deserving" from "undeserving," while Khaled Fahmy traces the same state's efforts to police prostitution, which it framed as a threat to military discipline and social order, as well as a source of disease. Rogan applies a similarly modified Foucauldian approach to the treatment of the insane in Cairo and Beirut at the turn of the twentieth century, noting the growing hegemony of European "scientific" standards of diagnosis and institutionalization. This sort of approach, while compelling in its own right, misses an opportunity to engage with marginal categories that predate the impact of European penetration of the Middle East. By its nature, furthermore, this approach entails much description of the marginal subjects' position vis-à-vis the modernizing state, and of the state infrastructure by which they are marginalized, but less discussion of the marginal condition itself.

The "Port Cities" section comes closest to addressing the concept of marginality as defined in H. F. Dickie-Clark's classic study, *The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group* (1966), which examined the mixed African-European population labeled "Coloured" by South Africa's apartheid regime. This work and others on marginality, such as Leo Spitzer's *Lives In-Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Austria, Brazil, West Africa, 1780–1945* (1989), posited marginality as the state not of being outside but of being in-between. Ports are quintessentially in-between cultures, as are their varied inhabitants. Thus, Eyal Ginio's study of migrants and unskilled workers in Ottoman Salonica, Jens Hanssen's study of patrons of taverns and other morally suspect establishments in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Beirut, and above all Julia Clancy-Smith's study of southern European immigrants to precolonial Tunisia capture the truly liminal character of down-and-outs displaced from their home countries or denied entrance to the

respectable classes, and therefore obliged to float between locales and between established social categories. Of note here is the consistent marginality of populations such as the Maltese, who dominated such low-wage professions as that of porter in the southern Mediterranean, as pointed out by both Ginio and Clancy-Smith; the role of gender in definitions of marginality is likewise highlighted by Clancy-Smith and Hanssen. Even here, nonetheless, the emphasis is on marginalization as a result of modernization, whether because of Tunisia's unsettled status in the wake of the French occupation of Algeria, or because of the adoption of Western "scientific" norms of social morality, as in Beirut. The one essay that does not treat the effects of European penetration, Ginio's study of Salonica, is oddly achronological in approach. This threatens to create the impression that only Europeanization and modernization effected meaningful social change.

The two essays in the "Entertainers" category, each of great interest by itself, fail to mesh readily with the preceding contributions. Sami Zubaida's "Entertainers in Baghdad, 1900–1950" is a fascinating reminiscence of a lost era; Karen van Nieuwkerk, in an interview with three generations of a family of Cairene entertainers, captures the growing conservatism of Egyptian social values in recent decades without losing sight of the class consciousness that colors the new religious sensibility. Neither essay explains what makes these entertainers marginal, however, although they hint at how their marginality changed with the times.

Perhaps a more comprehensive introductory essay might have helped to link these studies a bit more convincingly and to draw out their common themes, as might organization according to approach rather than subject matter. As the latest word on marginality in the Middle East, therefore, the collection is less than a complete success. Taken on its own terms, however, this is an attractively produced and highly readable group of cutting-edge essays, using a variety of primary research tools and techniques. As such, it constitutes a valuable assortment of case studies of marginal, or at least subaltern, groups. The volume would be a useful guide for graduate students in modern Middle Eastern history or the social sciences.

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JONATHAN K. GOSNELL. *The Politics of Frenchness in Colonial Algeria, 1930–1954*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 234. \$75.00.

Toward the end of his life, the leading Algerian liberal integrationist of the colonial period, Ferhat Abbas, wrote that both colonizers and colonized had been "victims of a myth" (p. 223). The myth to which he was referring was "the politics of Frenchness," the process by which French authorities sought to transpose their



civilizational identity to European settlers in the first instance and, to a much lesser degree, indigenous Algerians—Arab, Jewish, and Berber. While much has been written on the French colonialist experience in Algeria, there is still a great deal to be learned about the socialization process through which contested identities were reconfigured and transformed into a uniform civilizational image, conceived and imposed by the metropolitan power. Jonathan K. Gosnell provides a detailed portrait of this colonizing effort in the last quarter century of French colonial domination of Algeria from 1930 until the onset of the war of independence in 1954.

Gosnell's principal objective is to deconstruct the rhetoric of French identity transmitted to the colonial world through its politics of Frenchness. The latter, incorporated within the grander framework of "civilizing mission," represented a kind of "civic faith," a "consciousness or sensibility, a moral unifying force capable of transcending racial, religious, cultural, and socioeconomic differences" (p. 4). The reality, of course, was much more sinister and racist, since the politics of Frenchness was directed at gallicizing a European community that was only partially French but whose "Western" identity privileged its members over native Algerians. In profiling two of the country's most notable gallicized Algerians, Abbas and Albert Camus, the author provides a useful analytical framework through which to understand the mechanisms of cultural assimilation communicated to a minority albeit politically dominant population. This, then, is not a study of how the vast majority of Algerian Arabs and Berbers experienced the "politics of Frenchness," since so few attended French schools and even fewer were granted French citizenship. Yet in the process of imposing a singular civilizational image on its most socially heterogeneous colonial territory, France left a legacy of cultural and linguistic ambiguity that continues to have an impact on all Algerians, including those *ex-colons* and Muslims who today call France their home.

Organized as six interrelated chapters, Gosnell's book disentangles the harsh reality of trying to make Algeria French from the myth of *l'Algérie française* as represented through the socializing experiences of a centralized system of education and obligatory military service, among other things. These chapters explore the "imagined nation" of French Algeria in the period under study, when barely ten percent of Algeria's total land surface was populated by European settlers. To be sure, the latter inhabited the country's most prosperous coastal regions, from which three administrative departments were carved out. Ninety per cent of the rest of the country was organized into *communes mixtes* and *territoires du sud* within which the overwhelming majority of indigenous Algerians lived, the only exception being the very small Europeanized Arab and Berber elites of the kind represented by Abbas, who lived within the *communes de plein exercice* closer to the coast.

The author does a fine job of succinctly summarizing the major institutionalization efforts undertaken by Paris to integrate what ultimately proved un-integratable. By excluding the bulk of the country's "real" population from citizenship and participation, French measures at making Algeria French proved futile and were doomed to failure. For example, in the two decades preceding the start of the Algerian revolution in 1954, the French citizen population grew rather substantially, rising to 934,000 from 733,000 in 1931. At the same time, however, the number of Arabs and Berbers had expanded from nearly six million to over eight and a half million. This demographic reality overshadowed the celebratory pretensions of France and its settler population that Algeria had been fundamentally transformed during the one hundred years of French presence and influence.

Education served as the principal instrument of French socialization. Assuming the same function as its counterpart in the metropole, the highly centralized French school system, which was applied to the three Algerian departments of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine beginning in 1882, was directed at forming a uniform French identity among the settlers but not among the Muslims. However much authorities sought to orchestrate a process of assimilation similar to the one undertaken in France itself in the nineteenth century, the results in Algeria created anything but "true" Frenchmen for the vast majority of the country's inhabitants. Through a systematic analysis of school textbooks and other instructional materials, Gosnell exposes the inevitable futility of trying to create among a small minority a sense of Frenchness that bore little resemblance to the reality of daily life for the millions of Algerian Muslims to whom this educational experience was denied.

Ultimately the experiment in French acculturation proved a tragic failure for both European settlers and indigenous Algerians, as each pursued distinctive identity formations that bore little resemblance to the idealized version of Frenchness promulgated incessantly by French authorities. Although the French colonial imprint still remains in the country four decades after independence, the reality of contemporary Algeria is that the politics of Frenchness in colonial Algeria served to fragment if not fracture an already heterogeneous society. Gosnell's book succeeds admirably in elaborating and exposing that colonial legacy from which Algeria continues to suffer today.

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#### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

ELIZABETH ISICHEI. *Voices of the Poor in Africa*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 287. \$75.00.

Elizabeth Isichei is a prolific scholar of African history and religion. She has written on the Anaguta and Igbo peoples, on Nigeria, and on the general history of Africa. Her *A History of African Societies to 1870* (1997) is an expository and interpretive synopsis of a range of historical scholarship. A similar approach characterizes this new book, which summarizes a diverse spectrum of multidisciplinary work that Isichei explores in the quest for "certain configurations of myth and symbol—'poetic echoes'—that have been recorded in Africa over several hundred years" (p. 2). This declaration is hedged about by qualifying disclaimers, for Isichei understands how her project might be viewed by orthodox historians.

The book is in two asymmetrical parts. In the shorter but more interesting first section, Isichei addresses the Atlantic slave trade as both closed historical event and open cultural memory (and wound). She gives a summary of current historical understandings of the workings of the trade and then moves to her substantive subject: the disfiguring but also transfiguring cognitive impacts and echoes of the trade among West African peoples. Employing a wide range of commentaries, she mounts a case for the working out through time and memory of the hugely transformative experiences of commodification wrought by the trade. The trade was inscribed on African bodies and selves, and Isichei has things to say about the abiding trace of this in individual and communal refashionings of the experience. She relates the encounter with European slavers to a perceptual and cognitive realm in which ideas about cannibalism, witchcraft, blood, money, and power were jarred into perpetual being by this most brutal of confrontations with predatory "otherness."

Is all her toing and froing across centuries and peoples in pursuit of the history of these ideas convincing? The answer is yes, in the sense that Isichei is engaging with discernible but submerged themes familiar to any student of Africa's past or present. But the answer is also no, in the sense that her argument is too episodic and eclectic to do anything other than suggest historical possibility. This weakness is made plain in the coda to this first part, in which Isichei reflects on the Middle Passage in African-American memory. Here her argument splits asunder into a number of thinly connected "true fictions" about slavery and memory. But what is historically true about such fictions, or indeed historically fictitious about such truths?

The second and by far the larger part of the book is called "Interpreting the Colonial and Post-Colonial Experience." Its dozen chapters are a *tour d'horizon* of fashionable themes in the history of the African experience since the later nineteenth century. Isichei's technique is to use existing work—on money, "zombification," vampires, women, AIDS, "the politics of the belly," village intellectuals, the Mami Wata cult, and modernity—to explore what she sees as geographically widespread and persisting ideas, rumors, and fictions in Africa in the ages of empire, decolonization, and the

World Bank. Her account is engaging and intriguing (and I think undergraduates would agree), but there are significant problems with it. First, the book is about the "voices of the poor," but these are heard only softly behind the sometimes baroque articulations given to them by Western and (much less frequently) African commentators. Second, and necessarily, the argument depends on research of variable depth and quality from disparate regions of Africa. The problem here is a lack of historical continuity. Thus, work on twentieth-century African witchcraft seldom documents any antecedent history. Indeed, most of Isichei's twentieth-century concerns perch atop sketchily explored historical pasts. Her attempts to make sense and pattern of all this have a magpie quality, as if libraries have been ransacked for answers to tautological questions. There is insufficient evidence to sustain the speculations about "true fictions" advanced in this book.

In fairness to Isichei, I think she is aware of the criticisms adduced here. The best approach to her book is to read it not as the history it purports to be but as a series of provisional interpretive essays. It has ideas, and sometimes disturbs the glassy pond of *bien pensant* scholarship. That large parts of African history may not be recuperable in any meaningfully empirical way is an old story, and it is underscored here as Isichei struggles to paper over gaps. This is a brave book, but it cannot redeem lacunae in the African historical record.

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CAROLYN A. BROWN. *"We Were All Slaves": African Miners, Culture, and Resistance at the Enugu Government Colliery*. (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann, Oxford: James Currey, and Cape Town: David Philip. 2003. Pp. xvi, 354. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$24.95.

In November 1949, troops under the panicky command of a British officer opened fire on a crowd of protesting miners outside the Iva Valley Mine in Nigeria's Enugu Colliery complex. When the firing ceased, twenty-one people lay dead, some shot in the back while attempting to flee the scene. This notorious episode in Nigeria's colonial past has usually been taken as marking a key moment of anticolonial protest. Yet precisely because workers' struggles have been subsumed under general accounts of the emergence of Nigerian nationalism, both the specificity of labor history and its ambiguous relationship with nationalism have been largely ignored. It is this underlying problem, which "so penalizes contemporary Africa" (p. 330) that Carolyn A. Brown addresses in her accomplished and stimulating book.

At the outset, Brown sets herself four tasks: to rescue the history of Nigerian colliery workers from its absorption by nationalist historiography; to contextualize the history of these men within the international

historiography of coal miners' narratives; to explore the workplace and interactions between workers and the broader community; and, in doing so, to integrate gender and the organization of the labor process. Any one of these self-imposed burdens would be heavy enough. That Brown carries off all four with great aplomb is testimony to one of the very best studies of African labor history to appear for many years.

The fact that her book was a long time in the making has enabled the author not only to immerse herself in a vast secondary literature encompassing African labor, theoretical cultural and gender issues, and comparative mining history but also to consult an extraordinarily rich and varied array of primary sources, not least of which are her own interviews with local informants. For Brown to have assembled so much is remarkable, given the destruction of scores of private papers during the Nigerian Civil War. Her material is arranged around two main sections, the first of which comprises four chapters, with three chapters and a short conclusion making up the second one. While the first section discusses the origins, mobilization and making of the colliery's black labor force up to the end of the 1920s, the second part traces the evolution of managerial practices and British colonial policies during the 1930s and 1940s. The book's culminating chapter focuses on the highly combustible mixture of postwar African expectations and expedient reforms pushed through after 1945 by a Labour government convinced of its own rectitude.

This is an immensely satisfying work. Clearly written and powerfully argued, the book spills over with insights. Its examination of the world of work reveals miners' consciousness as having been shaped, at least for a time, as much by the roles that men played in their village communities as by the underground labor process, itself a site of struggle. At every point, agency is restored to a historiography that all too often has tended to see Africans as passive victims of colonial capitalism. What emerges instead is a complex history of shifting patterns of differentiation, exploitation, accommodation, and resistance. The subtle evocation of Enugu's moral economy, for example, is all the more convincing because of its unblinking portrayal of the role of wealthy chiefs as self-interested labor recruiters.

All this amounts to a book in which scholarship informed by a wide range of disciplines and perspectives is used to illuminate a key episode in African history. Yet precisely because this case study mediates and qualifies arguments and structures developed in other contexts, it should also have enormous appeal to non-Africanists. Like all good histories, it opens up new avenues of debate even as it closes older controversies. Some readers may think that the book leans a little too heavily on notions of developmental discourse and not enough on patterns of local and international accumulation, especially where the latter were so crucially influenced by the postwar "second colonial occupation" of Africa. Here the author could

certainly have made greater use than she does of the literature concerning the metropolitan dynamics of decolonization. Others will wish that Brown had taken more account of the implications of recent revisionist coal mining studies, such as Roy A. Church and Quentin Outram's *Strikes and Solidarity: Coalfield Conflict in Britain, 1889–1966* (1998), for her own conclusions about strikes and miners' communities. However, these are matters for future research. They do not detract from an outstanding work of scholarship that brilliantly succeeds in rescuing Nigeria's labor history from the condescension of nationalist historiography.

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CLIFTON CRAIS. *The Politics of Evil: Magic, State Power, and the Political Imagination in South Africa*. (African Studies Series, number 103.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 297. \$60.00.

For some years now, it has become clear that the demise of apartheid has led to a declining interest in that staple of South African historiography, the relationship between race and class. Contemporary research has increasingly focused on that complex and subtle "postmodern" world where subjectivities, genders, masculinities, and cultures meld into one another. Like his earlier work, Clifton Crais's new book is firmly located within this slippery conceptual approach. Readers familiar with Crais's research on politics in the eastern Cape (also the regional focus of this book) will readily recognize his concern with cultural explanation and the mentalities of black and white populations hurled together by rapid industrialization and prolonged white supremacy.

Scholars of South Africa will be familiar with much of the historical episodes around which the book is structured: the history of black African resistance in the eastern Cape, the genesis of paternalist colonial bureaucracies, their grotesque efflorescence in the apartheid era, and the outbreak of peasant revolts in the Transkei of the 1950s. However, the book's great value is that it subjects these chestnuts to a refreshing, even pioneering cultural re-examination, laying bare the ideas and assumptions that coursed through communities and official circles in the eastern Cape. Sometimes volubly and violently expressed, sometimes silent and invisible, these ideas—and the mental mappings they made possible—are the central conceptual concern. "Evil," according to Crais, was the key idea that helped Africans comprehend and respond to the century-long tumult of racial domination and rapid industrialization. No mere synonym for "injustice" or "unfairness," "evil," Crais reminds us, is the "intentional or instrumental use of occult forces . . . to cause harm and to bring disorder."

Crais illustrates that "cross-cultural contacts" between blacks and whites always entailed an explicit degree of moral imagining and repackaging that has long been suppressed in the "rational" and "Western"

tack of South African historiography. Magic, sorcery, and the occult therefore take center-stage in Crais's analysis, counterbalancing the state's obsession with modernist themes such as efficiency, scientific planning, and the rationalized bureaucracy. "State-centered" analyses of the past decade have had much to say about these latter themes. The book under review excels when it explores how Africans' conceptions of "evil" shaped their encounter with officialdom and became enmeshed with the larger process of state formation, chiefly through widening resistance against the "evil" of racial domination. "Evil" is not only of historical interest, however. Crais notes that conceptions of "evil" have outlasted the predatory racial state they had earlier sought to hobble: to the great concern of the new government, the murky jurisprudence of sorcery has seized a number of rural parts of contemporary South Africa and outbreaks of "witchcraft murders" are by no means uncommon.

The book is divided into two parts. The first examines the processes of cultural contact and colonization, the growth of the racially authoritarian state and African resistance to these unfolding developments. The focus on "evil" in this part of the book is ably clarified in a chapter that examines the ritualized assassination of a colonial administrator, the corporeal manifestation of Britain's imperial presence in southern Africa. Demonstrating the historical reach of the "politics of evil," the second part of the book presses on into the second half of the twentieth century. This section exposes the cultural unity that threaded together the religious politics of independent African

Christian communities, the generational politics that surrounded the emergence of youth "gangs" in the Transkei, and the radicalization of peasant resistance. All this makes for a sweeping historical tableau lucidly brought to life by salutary literary skills and the historian's eye for the telling nuggets unearthed from mountains of archival sources.

The book raises fascinating questions about the nature of governance and the cultural construction of history in South Africa. However, the focus on "evil" may well be problematic. Crais does not use the concept of "evil" figuratively or as a rhetorical trope, as one might expect. He presents the concept as a real prism that makes as much sense to Africans battling HIV/AIDS in the postapartheid period as it did in 1880, when Africans murdered magistrate Hamilton Hope. Surely the notion of an invariant *Weltanschauung* dilutes Crais's insistence on agency and adaptation in the course of "culture contact"? More attention could have been devoted to the limits of "evil" as summation of African politics: not all Africans shared the perspective of "evil" and not all acts of resistance were understood within the framework of an encompassing "evil." For these reasons, one suspects that subsequent researchers will be more persuaded by the figurative and rhetorical potential of the concept. All in all, however, Crais introduces an exciting and welcome perspective into the analysis of South African history.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### METHODS/THEORY

JOHN TORPEY, editor. *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*. (World Social Change.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003. Pp. ix, 316. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.

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# Communications

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS AND FILMS

### TO THE EDITOR:

Elizabeth W. Etheridge's book review [*AHR* 108 (October 2003): 1136–37] says of *The Deadly Truth*: "The deadly truth, Gerald N. Grob concludes in this aptly named book, is that disease will never be conquered completely." Let me point out that "never" is a very long time. But Etheridge goes on to evaluate Grob's conclusion as "realistic." I do not believe the conclusion is very realistic. As I recently wrote: "If the popular 'big bang' theory (including that space-time

had a beginning) is correct, then presumably most of what is real lies in the future (not in the present or the past). Thus our present and past experiences (such as, 'Nothing is certain but death and taxes') probably do not constitute a very good representative sample of reality" (*Death and Anti-Death, Volume 1* [2003], 429).

CHARLES TANDY  
Fooyin University,  
Kaohsiung Hsien, Taiwan

Elizabeth W. Etheridge does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

### ERRATUM

In the review of Anne Hardgrove's electronic book by Douglas E. Haynes (*AHR* 108 [December 2003]: 1434), the title was given incorrectly: it should be *Community and Public Culture: The Marwaris in Calcutta c. 1897–1997*. And the individual price, not just the site access, should have been given, \$49.50. The editors regret these errors.



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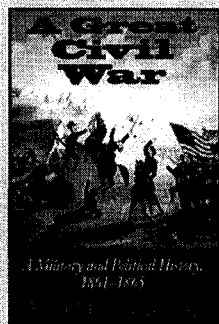
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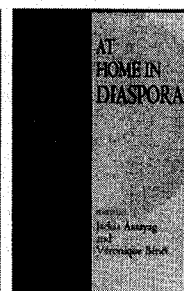
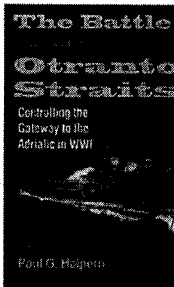
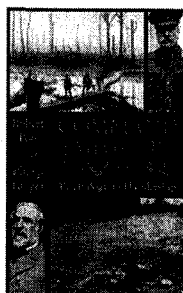
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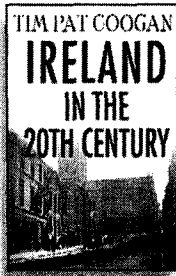
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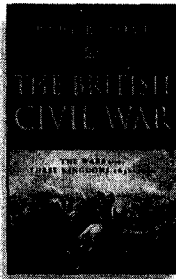
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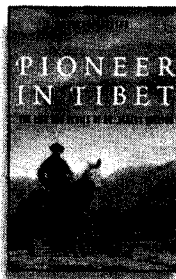


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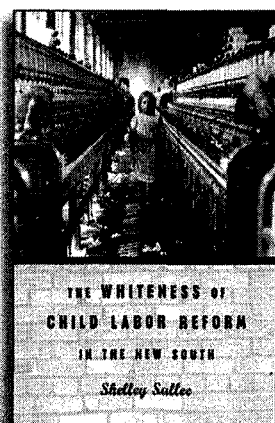
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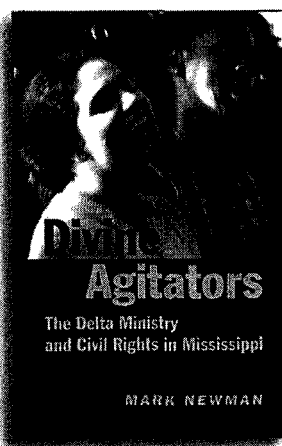


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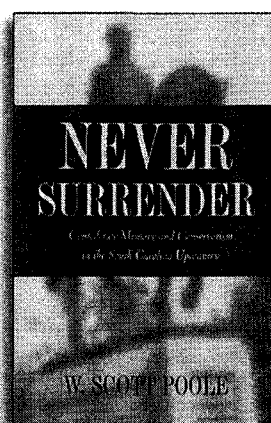
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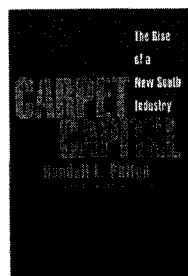
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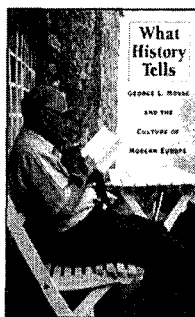
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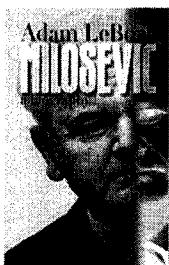
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## Program Description

Slavery—as a means of (dis)ordering economic, political and social life, and as an instrument of oppression, racism and prejudice—has decisively shaped world history. Through the centuries, Christians have variously acknowledged the practice without complaint, rationalized it through biblical interpretation and decried its morally destructive consequences. Curiously, the early church took the ubiquitous practice of slavery and turned it into a metaphor describing both the unredeemed life held hostage to sin and the redeemed life devoted to Christ. In light of diverse resources for reflection, this conference will address the nature, origins and implications of slavery from antiquity through modernity, with special attention to wide-ranging responses among Christians. The conference aims to clarify the underlying economic, political, social and spiritual causes for slavery; understand the deforming effects of slavery on slaves and slaveholders; illuminate the complex history of Christian complicity in and censuring of slavery; examine morally and theologically credible conclusions about the American antebellum practice of slavery, the perpetuation of prejudicial and oppressive practices today and the church's appropriate responses; and explore the merits and limitations of slavery as a metaphor for the life in Christ.

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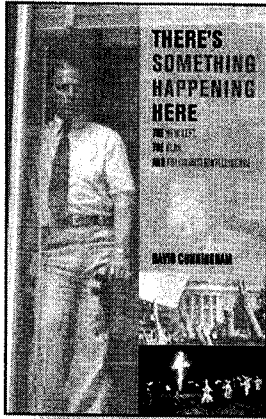
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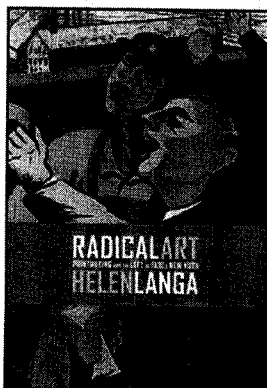
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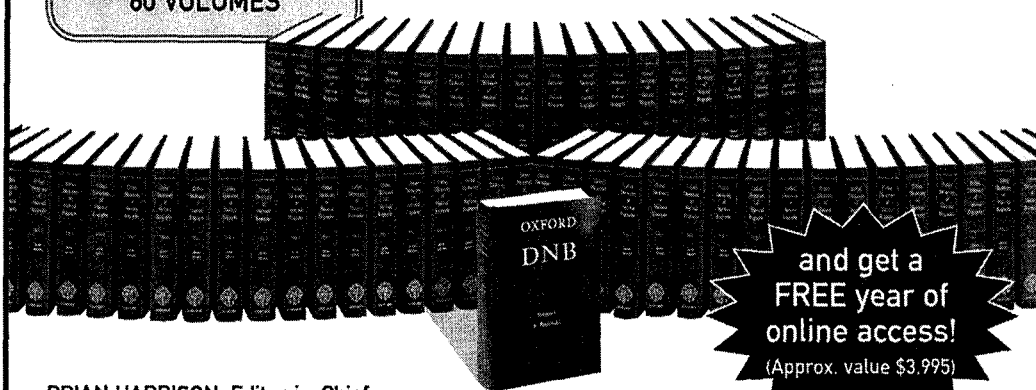
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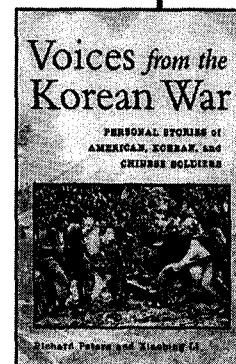
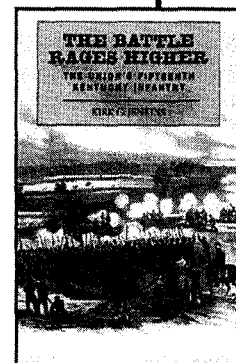
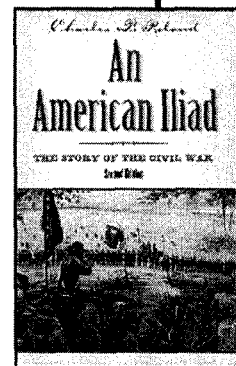
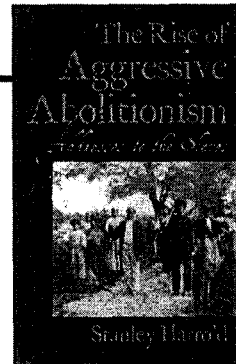
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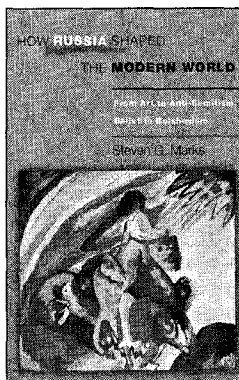
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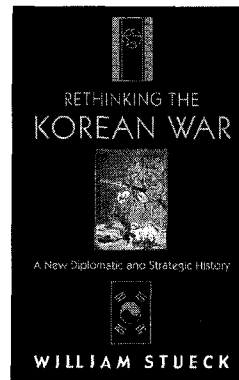


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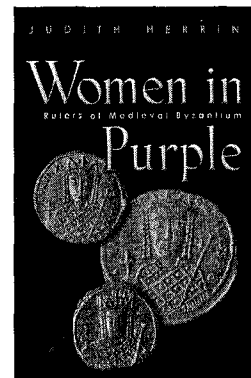
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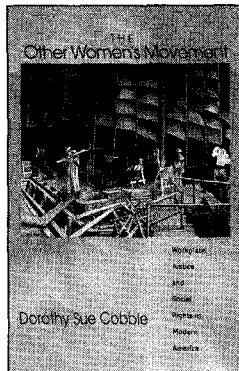
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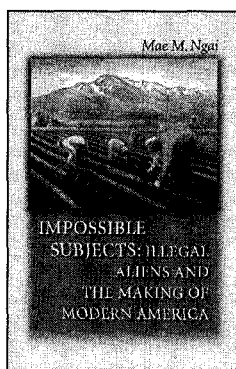
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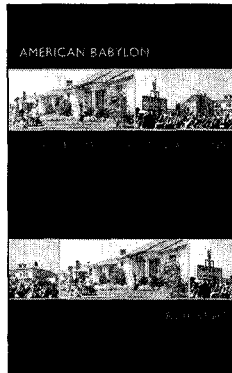
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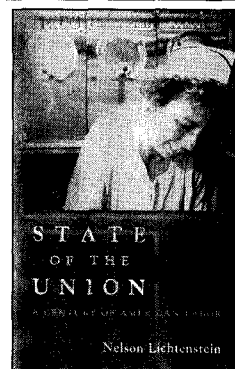
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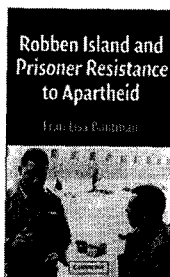


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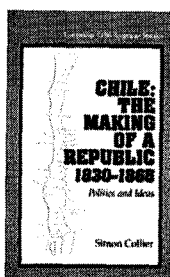
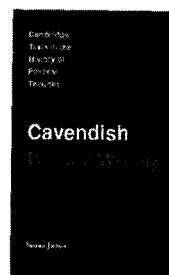
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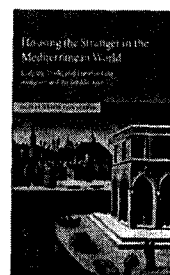
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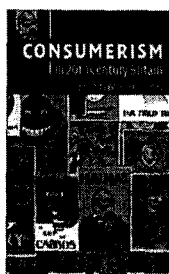
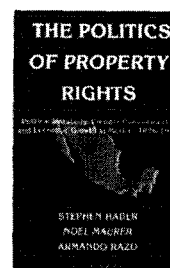
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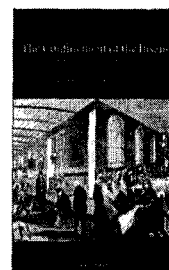
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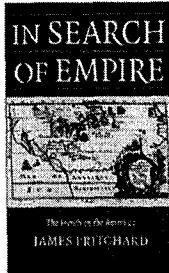


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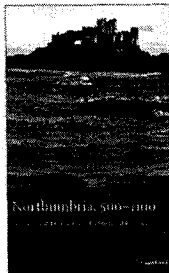
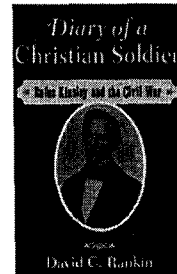
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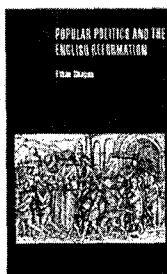
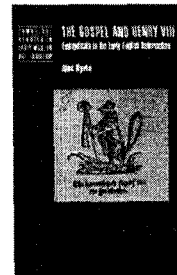
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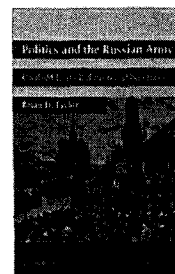
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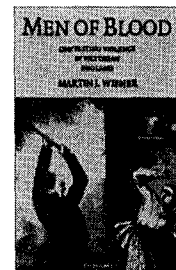


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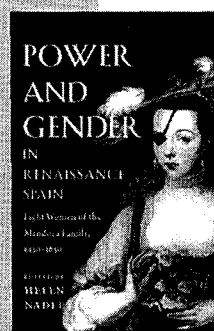
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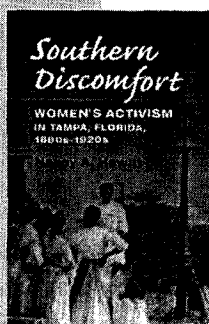
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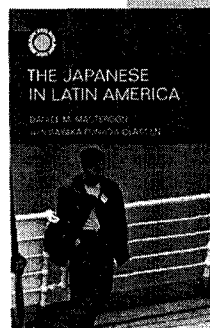
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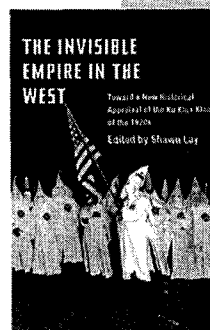
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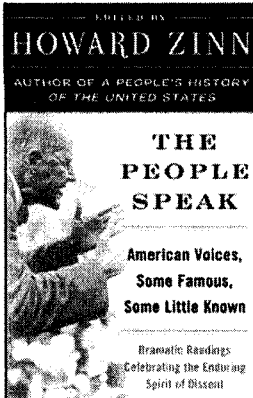
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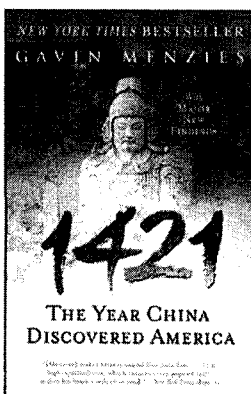
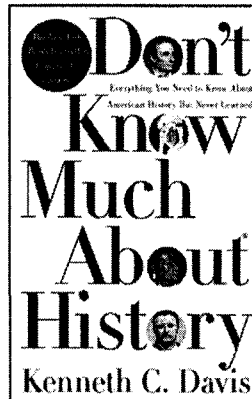
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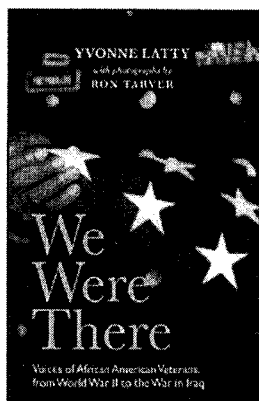
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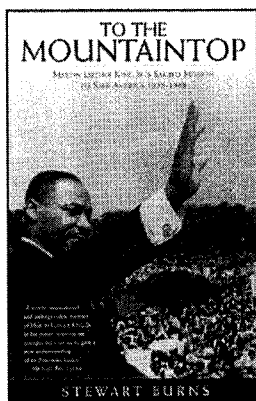
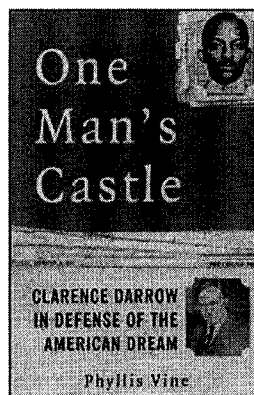
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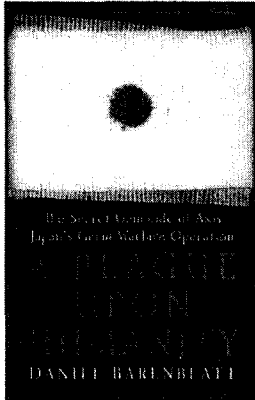
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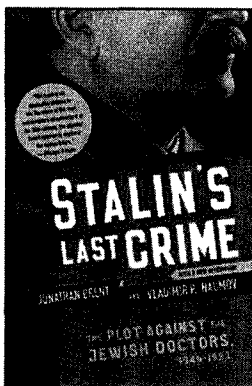
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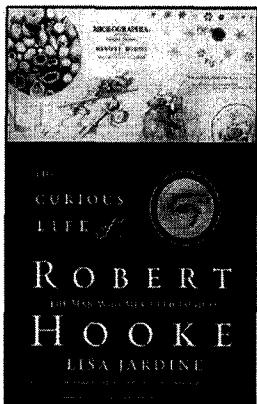
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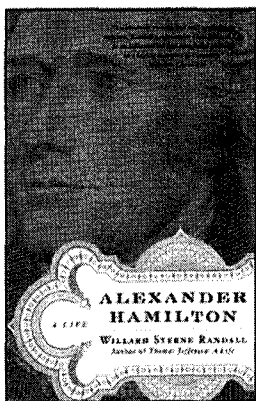
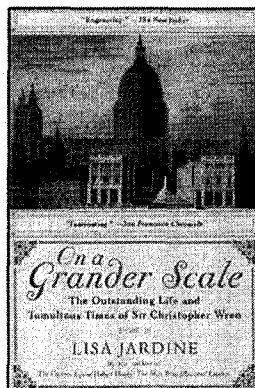
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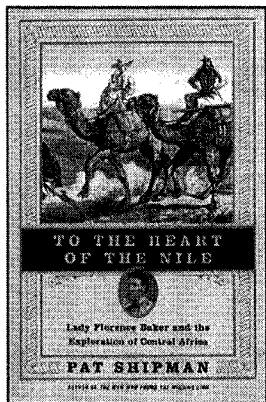
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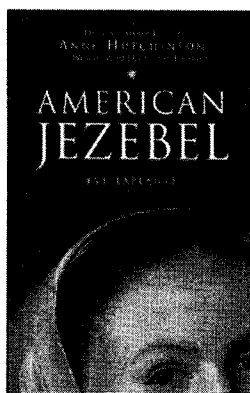
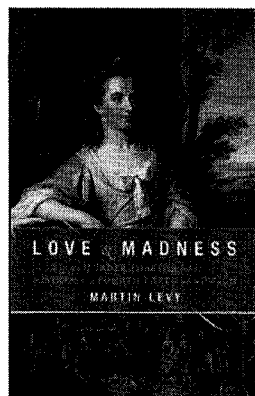
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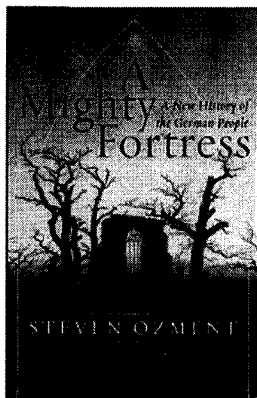
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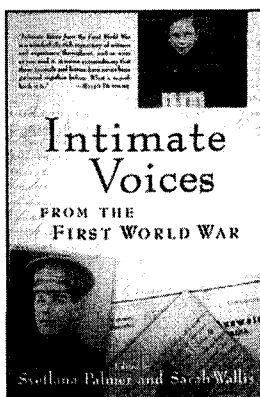
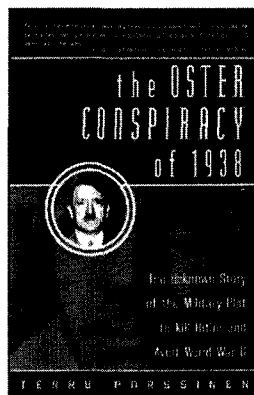
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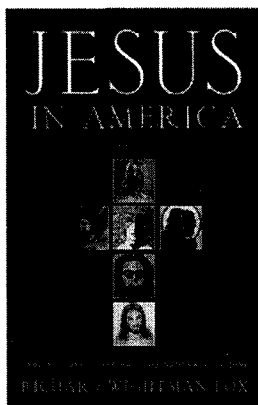
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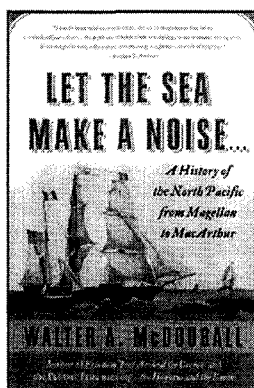
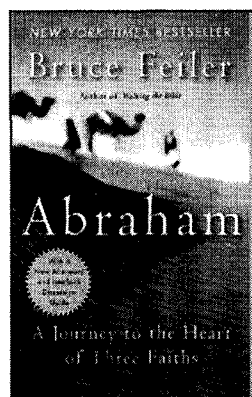
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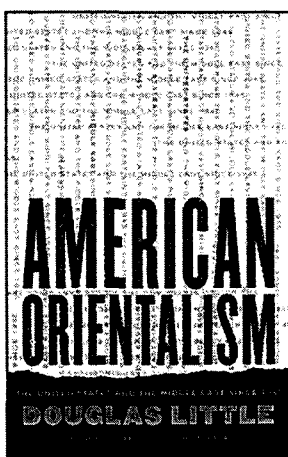
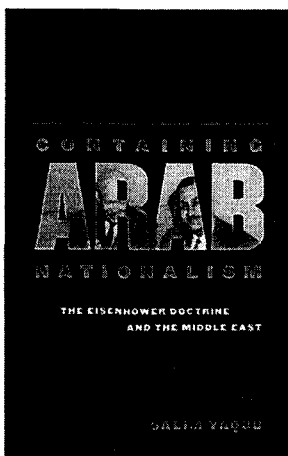
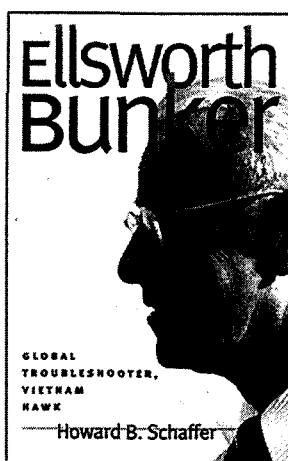
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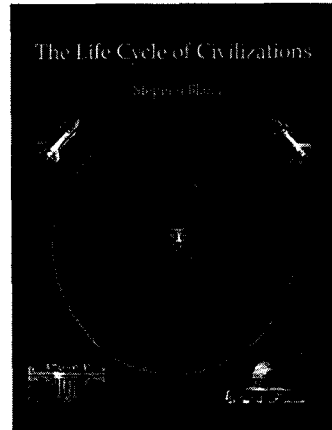
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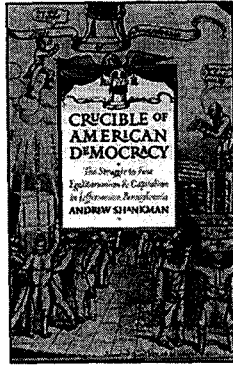
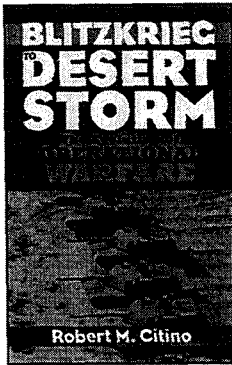
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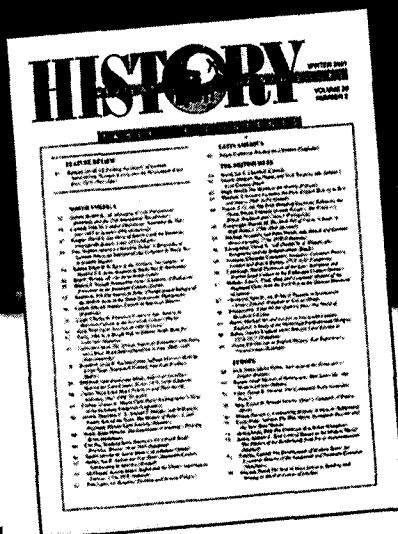


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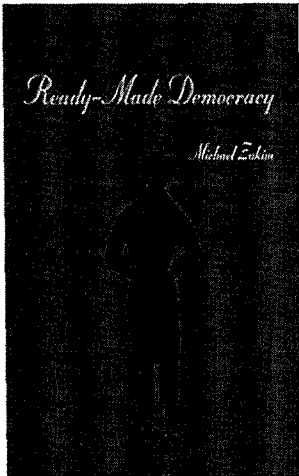
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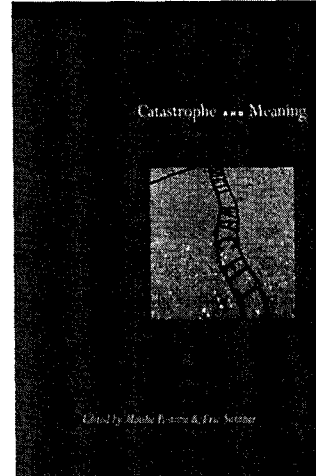
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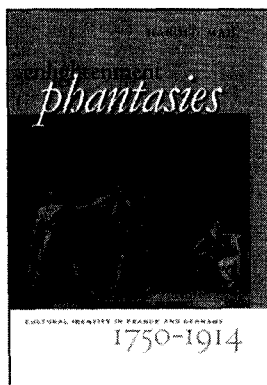
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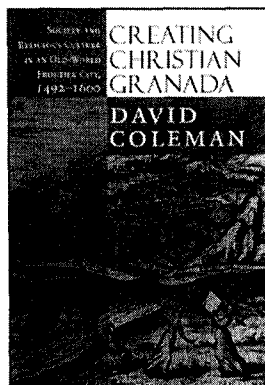
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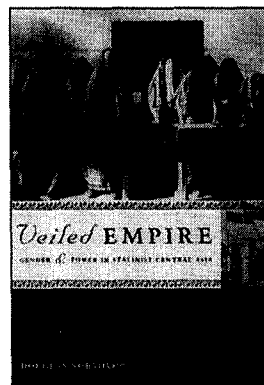
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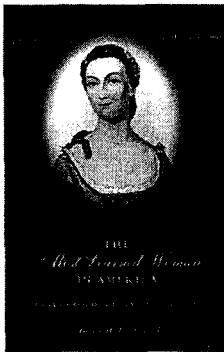
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*There are no application forms. Entrants must submit one copy of their work to each committee member.*

*Further information and submission guidelines will be available on the AHA web site at <http://www.theaha.org/prizes/> in the spring.*

**Submission deadline May 17, 2004**

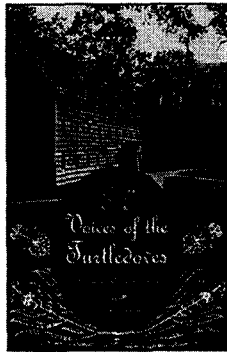




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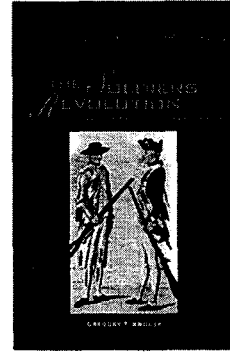
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The AHA serves more than 14,000 historians, representing every historical period and geographical area. AHA members include K-12 teachers, academics at two- and four-year colleges and universities, graduate students, historians in museums, historical organizations, libraries and archives, government and business, as well as independent historians.

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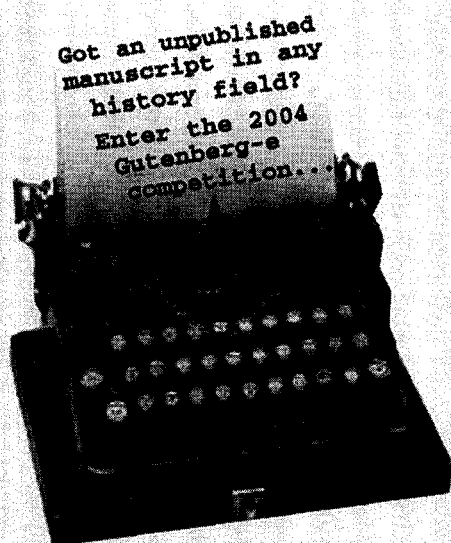
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A panel of distinguished scholars in the field will judge the dissertations. Submissions will be judged primarily on the scholarly merits of the manuscript.

Each entry must consist of: (1) a cover letter with a brief summary (100 to 150 words) of the dissertation; (2) a c.v. of the author; (3) a hard copy of the manuscript (preferably unbound); (4) a letter from the candidate authorizing the AHA to make copies of the manuscript for the purposes of the competition. Authors who have already conceptualized how their work could make significant use of the online medium are encouraged to include a few paragraphs in their cover letters describing how they envision the transformation of their manuscript into a digital publication.

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This award was established to honor teachers of history who taught, guided, and inspired their students in a way that changed their lives. Mentoring is as important to the discipline of history as fine scholarship and good teaching. The ideal mentor is forthright, supportive, and constructively critical, committed to the student as a person, regardless of age or career goals.

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*N.B.: The notice published in the September Perspectives wrongly indicated that the 2004 award was for graduate mentors. The error is regretted.*

#### APPLICATION PROCESS

##### *Nominations should include:*

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***The award will be announced at the January 2005 Annual Meeting in Seattle.***

Cover sheet and checklist, all letters supporting the nomination, and vita must be postmarked *no later than March 31, 2004.*



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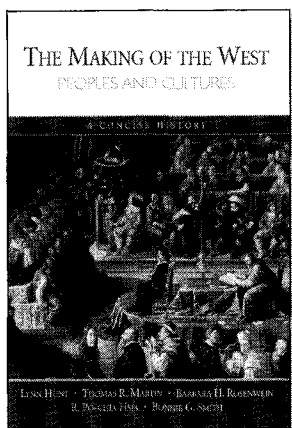
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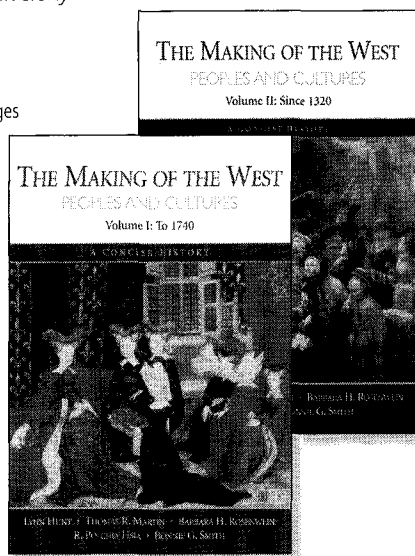


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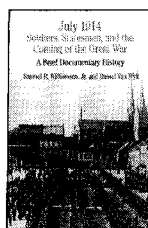


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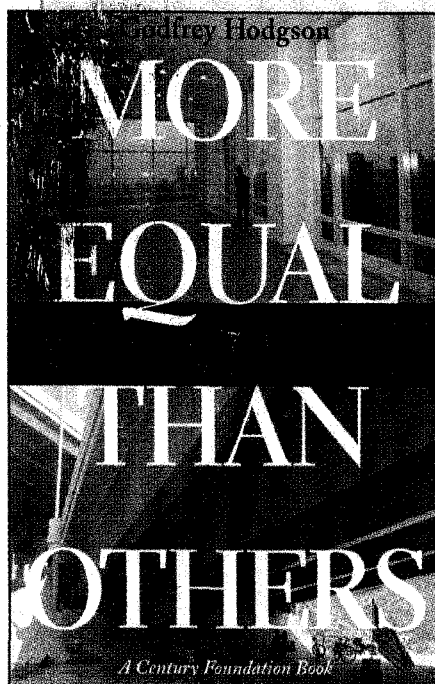
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